

IRANICA 12

Almut Hintze

A Zoroastrian Liturgy
The Worship in Seven Chapters
(*Yasna* 35–41)

Harrassowitz Verlag

IRANICA

Herausgegeben von Maria Macuch

Band 12

2007

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

MRE

Almut Hintze

A Zoroastrian Liturgy

The Worship in Seven Chapters
(*Yasna* 35–41)

2007

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

MRE

Publication of this book was supported by a grant
of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet
at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2007

This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Typesetting: Claudius Naumann

Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed in Germany

ISSN 0944-1271

ISBN 978-3-447-05665-6

Contents

Preface.	XIII
I. Introduction.	1
1. The position of the <i>Yasna Haptanghaiti</i> in the <i>Yasna</i>	1
2. The poetic form of the <i>Yasna Haptanghaiti</i>	2
3. The composition of the <i>Yasna Haptanghaiti</i>	6
3.1. The introductory section, Y 35–36	8
3.2. The central section, Y 37–39.	9
3.3. The concluding section, Y 40–41	18
3.4. Framing devices.	19
3.4.1. <i>ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibi</i> ‘as far as we are concerned’	19
3.4.2. The expression ‘man or woman’, <i>nā vā nāirī vā</i>	20
4. The <i>Yasna Haptanghaiti</i> as an example of Indo-European liturgical poetry	21
5. The manuscripts of the <i>Yasna Haptanghaiti</i>	22
5.1. Pahlavi <i>Yasna</i>	23
5.2. The <i>Vendidad Sāde</i> mss.	24
5.2.1. The Persian <i>Vendidad Sade</i>	25
5.2.2. The Indian <i>Vendidad Sade</i>	25
5.3. The <i>Yasna Sade</i>	25
5.4. Survey of the <i>Yasna</i> manuscripts	26
5.5. The arrangement of the ms. readings in this edition.	27
6. Arrangement of the present edition	28
II. Text and Translation	29
<i>Yasna</i> 35	29
<i>Yasna</i> 36	33
<i>Yasna</i> 37	35
<i>Yasna</i> 38	37
<i>Yasna</i> 39	39
<i>Yasna</i> 40	41
<i>Yasna</i> 41	43
III. Edition and Commentary	47
<i>Yasna</i> 35	49
Y 35.1	49

1	<i>bərəjā</i> ‘with esteem’	50
2	<i>ašahe</i> ‘Truth’	53
3	<i>daēnaiiā</i> ‘belief’	58
Y 35.2	. . . . .	61
1	<i>iiadacā aniiadacā</i> ‘both here and elsewhere’	61
2	<i>naēnaēstārō</i> ‘(we are) not revilers’	63
3	<i>+yaθnā</i>	66
Y 35.3	. . . . .	69
1	<i>ahurā mazdā</i> ‘O Wise Lord’	69
2	<i>aṭ</i> ‘certainly, precisely’	71
3	<i>+varəmaidī</i> ‘we have chosen’	72
4	<i>ašā srīrā</i> ‘by beauteous truth’	72
5	<i>mainimadicā vaocōimācā +varəzimācā</i> ‘we may think, speak and act’	73
6	<i>ī ... yā ... vahištā</i> ‘these ... which (are) best’	73
7	<i>ubōibiiā ahubiiā</i> ‘for both existences’	73
Y 35.4	. . . . .	74
1	<i>gauuōi</i> ‘for the cow’	74
2	<i>+ad-āiš</i> ‘indeed herewith’	75
Y 35.5	. . . . .	77
1	<i>ahmaṭ hiiat aibī</i> ‘as far as we are concerned’	77
2	<i>xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā +huuənmahicā</i> ‘we offer, assign and impart the rule’	78
3	<i>+bā +aṭ</i> ‘indeed the very’	80
Y 35.6	. . . . .	82
1	<i>+taṭ.əθ-ād-ū</i> ‘therefore now ... also’	83
Y 35.7	. . . . .	86
1	<i>və</i> ‘for you’	87
Y 35.8	. . . . .	91
1	<i>ādā</i> ‘I say’	91
2	<i>jījīšəm</i> ‘the desire to gain’	94
Y 35.9	. . . . .	95
1	<i>frauuaocāmā</i> ‘we proclaim’	95
2	<i>uxδā vacā</i> ‘words as solemn utterances’	97
3	<i>ašəm +manaiiā</i> ‘with concentration on truth’	98
4	<i>paitiiāstārəm</i> ‘listener’	99
5	<i>fradaxštārəm</i> ‘teacher’	105
Y 35.10	. . . . .	106
1	<i>staotāiš</i> ‘through these (verses) ... praise’	107
2	<i>θβāt ... θβāt ... θβāt</i> ‘now ... now ... now’	109
3	<i>staotōibiiō aibī</i> ‘from praise’	109

<i>Yasna</i> 36	111
Y 36.1	111
1 <i>paouruiiē</i> ‘at the beginning’	112
2 <i>axtiš</i> ‘harm’	113
Y 36.2	119
1 <i>huuō</i> ‘that one there’	119
2 <i>paitī.jamiiā</i> ‘may you come close’	123
3 <i>yātāiiā</i> ‘for the sake of the request’	124
4 <i>nəmištahiiā nəmanhā</i> ‘with the veneration of the most venerating one’.	127
5 <i>mazištāi yāñhəm</i> ‘for the greatest of the appeals’	128
Y 36.3	132
1 <i>ātarš vōi mazdā aburahiiā ahī mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī</i> ‘You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord. You are truly his most bounteous spirit’	132
2 <i>nāmanəm vāzištəm</i> ‘the most invigorating of names’	133
Y 36.4	145
Y 36.5	146
Y 36.6	147
1 <i>āuuāēdaiiamahī</i> ‘we declare’	148
2 <i>imā raocā</i> ‘this light here’	149
3 <i>sraēštəm ... kəhrpām kəhrpəm</i> ‘the most beautiful manifestation of manifestations’	150
4 <i>yāt</i> ‘ever since’	151
5 <i>barəzištəm +barəzəmanəm</i> ‘highest of heights’	153
<i>Yasna</i> 37	155
Y 37.1	155
1 <i>iθā</i> ‘in this way’	155
2 <i>yazamaidē</i> ‘we worship’	156
3 <i>dāt</i> ‘he has created’	162
Y 37.2	168
1 <i>ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapayhāišcā</i> ‘by his rule, greatness and skills’	168
2 <i>yasnanəm pauruuatātā</i> ‘with the most excellent worship’	168
3 <i>yōi gāuš hacā šiieñtī</i> ‘who are on the side of the cow’	169
Y 37.3	170
1 <i>frauuāšiš</i> ‘choices’	171
2 <i>tōm yazamaidē</i> ‘we worship him’	177
Y 37.4	187
1 <i>ašəm vahištəm</i> ‘best Truth’	187
2 <i>spəntəm aməšəm</i> ‘bounteous immortal’	188

Y 37.5	191
1 <i>fsəratū</i> - 'joy, enjoyment'	192
<i>Yasna</i> 38	196
Y 38.1	196
1 <i>gəṇā</i> - 'noblewoman'	196
Y 38.2	210
1 <i>īžā yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō</i> '(noblewomen like) Invigoration, Vitalization, Perfection, Right-mindedness'	211
2 <i>īžā</i> - 'invigoration'	211
3 <i>yaošti</i> - 'vitalization'	214
4 <i>fərašti</i> - 'perfection'	221
5 <i>vaŋ'hīm ābīš ašīm</i> ... 'together with them (we worship) good Reward ...'	222
6 <i>īš</i> - 'strength, strengthening'	223
7 <i>āzūiti</i> - 'libation'	224
8 <i>frasasti</i> - 'glory'	225
9 <i>parəṇdi</i> - 'abundance'	225
Y 38.3	227
1 <i>*maēkaiianṭīščā</i> 'tasty'	228
2 <i>*həbuuanṭīščā</i> 'and sap-providing'	229
3 <i>frauuazayhō</i> 'moving swiftly'	229
4 <i>ahurānīš</i> 'lordly ones'	230
5 <i>ahurahiiā</i> 'of the lord'	232
6 <i>*hauuapayhā</i> 'by his skill'	235
7 <i>hupəṛəṇḃa</i> - 'easy to cross'	236
8 <i>huuōyžəḃa</i> - 'smoothly flowing'	236
9 <i>hūšnāḃra</i> - 'whose places for bathing are good'	237
10 <i>cagəṃā</i> '(divine) provision'	237
Y 38.4	239
1 <i>*uitī</i> 'thus'	240
2 <i>dadāt</i> 'he assigned (names); he was making (you) into'	240
3 <i>vaŋhudā</i> 'providing good (things)'	241
4 <i>friiṇmahī</i> 'we please'	242
Y 38.5	245
1 <i>*āuuaocāmā</i> 'we call upon'	246
2 <i>azī</i> - 'milch cow'	247
3 <i>mātəṛqščā</i> 'and as mother-cows'	247
4 <i>agəṇiiā</i> 'O prize cows!'	249
5 <i>drigudāiiayhō</i> 'caring for the destitute'	250
6 <i>vīspō.paitīš</i> 'providing drink for all'	251
7 <i>darəgō.bāzāuš</i> 'long-armed, far-reaching'	251
8 <i>nāšū +paitī</i> 'in achievements'	253

9	<i>auuā</i> ‘I want to promote, facilitate’	253
10	<i>paitī.sāṇdā</i> ‘pleasant’	255
11	<i>*viiādā</i> ‘distributions’	255
<i>Yasna</i> 39	. . . . .	257
Y 39.1	. . . . .	257
1	<i>iṭā āt</i> ‘in this way now’	258
2	<i>gōuš uruuānəm cā tašānəm cā</i> ‘the cow’s soul and (her) maker’	258
3	<i>jījīšəntī</i> ‘they desire to gain’	259
4	<i>yaēibiiascā</i> ... <i>yaēcā</i> ‘(the animals) for whom ... and who’	260
5	<i>ā</i> ‘indeed’	267
6	<i>aṇhən</i> ‘they shall be available’	267
Y 39.2	. . . . .	268
1	<i>urunō yazamaidē</i> ‘we worship the souls of ...’	269
2	<i>kudō.zātanəm cīt</i> ‘wherever they may have been born’	269
3	<i>*vaonarə</i> ‘they have prevailed’	270
Y 39.3	. . . . .	271
1	<i>āt</i> ‘finally’	272
2	<i>spəntəṇg aməšəṇg</i> ‘bounteous immortals’	273
Y 39.4	. . . . .	275
1	<i>tū</i> ‘indeed’	276
2	<i>yaṭā</i> ... <i>məṇghācā vaocascā dāscā varəščā</i> ‘as you think, speak, create and perform’	276
3	<i>ī</i> ... <i>yā vohū</i> ‘these ... which (are) good’	277
4	<i>θβā āiš yazamaidē</i> ‘by these we worship you’	278
Y 39.5	. . . . .	280
1	<i>xʷaētəuš xʷaētātā</i> ‘with a relative’s relationship’	280
<i>Yasna</i> 40	. . . . .	283
Y 40.1	. . . . .	283
1	<i>adāhū</i> ‘offerings’	284
2	<i>mazdəm cā būiricā kərəšuuā</i> ‘exercise your wisdom and wealth!’	284
3	<i>rāitī tōi xrapaitī</i> ‘through your generosity there shall take shape’	287
4	<i>mīzdəm *mauuaiθīm</i> ‘the prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me’	289
Y 40.2	. . . . .	292
1	<i>ahiiā</i> ‘from this (prize)’	292
2	<i>haxəmā</i> ‘fellowship’	293
Y 40.3	. . . . .	294
1	<i>dāidī</i> ‘grant!’	295
2	<i>ašacinəṇhō</i> ‘truth-desiring’	296

3	<i>nəraqš</i> ‘men’	296
4	<i>aidiiūš vāstriiōng</i> ‘non-violent herdsmen’	296
5	<i>ahmā.rafənanəhō</i> ‘who are supported by us’	297
Y 40.4	. . . . .	299
1	<i>xʷaētūš</i> ‘families’	300
2	<i>aḍā</i> ‘likewise; thus’	302
3	<i>*haxəmqəm</i> ‘fellowships’	302
4	<i>yāiš hišcamaidē</i> ‘with which we associate ourselves’	303
5	<i>aḍā və utā xiiāmā</i> ‘may we thus also be yours’	304
6	<i>əṛəšiiā</i> ‘inspired’	305
7	<i>ištəm rāitī</i> ‘because of your granting what we desired’ . .	306
Yasna 41	. . . . .	307
Y 41.1	. . . . .	307
1	<i>āuuaēdaiiamahī</i> ‘we dedicate’	307
Y 41.2	. . . . .	310
1	<i>hātəm hudāstəmā</i> ‘O most beneficent of those who exist’	311
Y 41.3	. . . . .	312
1	<i>gaiiascā astəntāscā</i> ‘life and corporality’	313
Y 41.4	. . . . .	314
1	<i>zaēmācā</i> ‘may we obtain’	315
2	<i>*buiiāmā</i> ‘may we become’	315
3	<i>aēšācā ... əmauuantascā</i> ‘vigorous and strong’	316
Y 41.5	. . . . .	317
1	<i>aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsəmadaēcā</i> ‘we declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer’	317
2	<i>hiiaṭ mīždəm ...</i> ‘the prize which ...’	318
Y 41.6	. . . . .	320
1	<i>sarəm</i> ‘union’	321
Y 41.7	. . . . .	324
1	<i>yeñhē hātəm</i> etc..	325
Y 41.8	. . . . .	326
IV. Dictionary	. . . . .	327
V. References	. . . . .	369
VI. Abbreviations	. . . . .	385
VII. Indices	. . . . .	387
1. Index of Words	. . . . .	387
2. Index of Passages	. . . . .	392
3. Index of Names and Subjects	. . . . .	394

Preface

The *Yasna Haptanhāiti* has been the subject of research at irregular intervals. After an initial study by THEODOR BAUNACK in 1888, it received no further treatment until JOHANNA NARTEN's German edition about a hundred years later in 1986. Since then it has again been edited twice, in French by JEAN KELLENS and ERIC PIRART (1988–1991) and in English by HELMUT HUMBACH (1991). The present work is thus the fourth edition of its text in about twenty years.

When I started working on the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* I intended to produce an English translation with short notes rather than another full-scale edition because at that time I assumed that JOHANNA NARTEN's exhaustive study was quite definitive. However, as my own work progressed I realized that this view was mistaken for two reasons. First, in many instances the later editors KELLENS/PIRART and HUMBACH have not accepted NARTEN's conclusions. Second, I felt that NARTEN's very detailed discussions and profound insights into the text have not had the impact which they deserve. I have therefore summarized some of her arguments in English and where appropriate contrasted them with views put forward by other scholars.

The reopening of the discussion has thus resulted in a longer commentary than I had anticipated. I have attempted not only to discuss problems at a scholarly level but also to make the debate accessible to the non-specialist. For this purpose, I have explained, for instance, the functional difference between present and aorist stems on the occasion of the twice-occurring form *dadāt* in Y 38.4, or the various functions of different demonstrative pronouns in connection with *huuō* in Y 36.2. I hope that the commentary will be found useful by both colleagues and students.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of financial support for various aspects of my work on the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and of a publication subsidy from *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Furthermore, I wish to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a grant of sabbatical leave, the British Academy for a two-year Research Readership and the Master and Fellows of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, for electing me to a three-year Visiting Scholarship. I am also grateful to ELIZABETH TUCKER and NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS for various valuable observations, to MARIA MACUCH for accepting this book in her series *Iranica*, to CLAUDIUS NAUMANN both for the layout and for setting up a database of the Avestan dictionary and to IAN WILSON for correcting my English.

Cambridge, October 2007

ALMUT HINTZE

I. Introduction

1. The position of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* in the *Yasna*

In the corpus of Avestan literature, the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* (YH), or ‘Worship in Seven Chapters’, has come down to the present as the central part of a larger text of 72 chapters, also called “Yasna”. Of this larger *Yasna*, the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* forms chapters 35 to 41 and is embedded in the *Gathas*, seventeen hymns traditionally attributed to Zarathustra, the founder of the Zoroastrian religion. Together with the *Ahuna Vairya* (Y 27.13) and *Aryaman Ishya* (Y 54) prayers, the YH and *Gathas* form the central portion of the larger text. They constitute the Older Avesta, the earliest surviving document in any Iranian language, presumably dating from the late second millennium BCE.¹ Preceding and following this OAv. kernel are chapters 1–27 and 55–72, which were added at a later time. Their language and content suggest that chronologically they are more recent compositions in a dialectically slightly different idiom, called Younger Avestan.

In Zoroastrian religious practice, *Yasna* is the name not only of this 72 chapter text but also of a ritual during which the larger text is recited. The *Yasna* is the most important of all Zoroastrian religious ceremonies. Starting in the early hours, it is performed daily by priests in response to a request by a member of the community, who also pays for it.² It is because of this ritual procedure that the *Yasna*, as well as most other Avestan texts, has survived the vicissitudes of Iranian history down to the present day.

We cannot be sure about the original pragmatic function of the *Gathas*, but there is no doubt that the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* is a liturgy intended to be recited during a religious ceremony. References in the text itself to the actual situation indicate that a group of people is assembled around a ritual fire, *ātar-*, for the purpose of worshipping their god, Ahura Mazdā, or ‘Lord Wisdom’. The worshippers usually speak in the first person plural ‘we’, but on probably three occasions an individual, ‘I’, emerges.³ This suggests that the text is recited by one person on behalf of the group.

1 On the chronology of the Avesta see SKJÆRVØ 2003–2004, p. 36ff.

2 The *Yasna* ritual is described by KOTWAL/BOYD, *Yasna*.

3 NARTEN, YH, p. 25; BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 89. The passages are Y 35.8 *ādā*, 38.5 *auuā* and 40.1 = 41.5 *mīždām *mauuaiθīm*, see the commentary *ad loc.*

2. The poetic form of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*

While the language of the YH is virtually identical to that of the *Gathas*,⁴ its poetic form is very different. The latter are metrical texts composed in a syllable counting metre. The principle is that each verse line has a fixed number of syllables and a caesura, although lines may also have one syllable more or less. In addition, each stanza contains the same number of verse lines. When performed, the *Gathas* were probably chanted. By contrast, the poetic style of the YH is different insofar as it does not display such a regular metre. Instead, small syntactic units are counterpointed with one another and form a variety of stylistic figures which display a rhythmic pattern. Possibly the intonation and manner of recitation was also different from that of the *Gathas*. The diverse poetic styles of the two texts may be illustrated by comparing a Gathic stanza with one from the YH.

Y 46.17 may be particularly suitable for this purpose because it has figured in the scholarly debate on the poetic form of the YH. Its metre is that of the *Uštavaitī Gāthā*, of which it is part. The verse consists of five lines each containing eleven syllables. There is a caesura after the fourth syllable, where a word boundary is required. Thus the metrical pattern of syllables is four plus seven. However, in Y 46.17 the first line is exceptional insofar as it is short of one syllable:

<i>yaθrā vā</i>	<i>afšmānī sēnghānī</i>	3 + 7
<i>nōiṭ anafšmām</i>	<i>dējāmāspā huuō.guuā</i>	4 + 7 ⁵
<i>hadā vēstā</i>	<i>vahmēng səraoša rādanhō</i>	4 + 7
<i>yā vīcinaoṭ</i>	<i>dāḍəmcā adāḍəmcā</i>	4 + 7
<i>dangrā maṇtū</i>	<i>ašā mazdā ahurō</i>	4 + 7

(Come here,) where I shall proclaim for you in verses⁶,
not in non-verses, O Dējāmāspa Huuō.guua,
the praises of your generosity together with this attentiveness!
The Wise Lord (is the one) who distinguishes between the just and the unjust
through Truth, his prudent counsellor.

4 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 20f., has shown that the grammar of the YH is identical to that of the *Gathas*. Differences only occur on the lexical level.

5 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 163, consider *huuō.guuā* (i.e. **haṃ-gua-*) as metrically disyllabic. However, as suggested by MONNA, *Gathas*, pp. 67, 69, the compound's second term -*gu-* could itself either be metrically disyllabic because of Siever's Law or represent full grade -*gaṃ-a-*. In either case *huuō.guuā* would be trisyllabic and the verse line regular. The same applies to *huuō.guuā* in Y 46.16b and *huuō.guuō* in Y 51.17a and 18a.

6 The equation of the OAv. hapax legomenon *afšman-* with YAv. *afšman-* 'verse' goes back to NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 239 with n. 1 (p. 462) and is accepted by INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 274, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 202, and HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 72f. and *Gāthās*², II, p. 187, who, however, translates it as 'duty, bond'.

By contrast, no comparable syllable counting metre can be detected in the composition of the YH. For instance, its opening stanza runs as follows (Y 35.2):

*humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm
iiadacā aniiadacā
vərəziiamnanəmcā vāuuərəzananəmcā
mahī aibī.jarətārō
naēnaēstārō *yaθənā vohunəm mahī*

Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds
both here and elsewhere
being done and having been done
we are welcomers,
not revilers of such good (things) are we.

Some interpreters who assume that the YH is ordinary prose, take the expression *nōiṭ anafšməm* ‘not in non-verses’ in Y 46.17 as a polemic against it insofar as the poet of the *Gathas* would reject unmetrical compositions, that is to say the use of “prose” as represented by the YH.⁷ However, while it is clear that the Gathic poet emphasizes his poetic style, it is by no means certain that the expression *nōiṭ anafšməm* ‘not in non-verses’ refers to the YH. Within the 19 stanzas of Y 46, number 17 occurs near the end of the hymn in a context addressing Zarathustra’s patrons, Av. *uruuaθa-*, in particular members of the Haēcaṭ.aspa Spitāma family. Zarathustra promises to sing the praises of their generosity (*vahmāṇg ... rādanhō*) ‘in verses and not in non-verses’.⁸ The context indicates that the expression *afšmānī ... nōiṭ anafšməm* specifically characterizes the praise of the patron’s generous gifts. In other words, it alludes to what in Vedic is termed the *dānastuti-*, the poet’s praise of his patron’s liberality. In Y 46, Zarathustra’s remuneration, the ‘prize’ (*mīžda-*), or sacrificial gift, is explicitly referred to in the final stanza. It does therefore appear that Y 46.17 contains neither an implicit reference to the YH nor a rejection of its poetic form.

This interpretation, based on the context of the Gathic verse, receives additional support from the evidence of the Younger Avesta, where the YH is explicitly said to consist of ‘verses’ (*afšman-*). In Vr 14.4 the *Gathas* are described as being made up of ‘chapters’ (*hāiti-*), ‘verse lines’ (*afšman-*), ‘words’ (*vacas-*) and ‘stanzas’ (*vacastašti-*), and in Vr 16.4 the YH is characterized in the same way using the same literary terms⁹:

*yasnahe haptanḥātōiš haṇdātā yazamaide
yasnahe haptanḥātōiš yazamaide
hāitišca afšmanāca vacasca vacastaštīmca*

7 KELLENS, *Zoroastre*, p. 18f., suggests that this stanza is “une attaque explicite contre l’usage liturgique de la prose”. He considers the YH to be “un texte en prose, ce qui, du point de vue stylistique, le distingue radicalement des *Gāṇā*”.

8 On the context of Y 46, see HINTZE 2004b, pp. 35–40.

9 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 18; WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 232.

We worship the constituent parts of the Worship in Seven Chapters.
Of the Worship in Seven Chapters, we worship
the chapters, the verse lines, the words and the stanzas.

The classification of the YH as poetry is thus in agreement with the views of the indigenous Iranian tradition, for in the Younger Avestan period the YH was considered to represent the same type of composition as the *Gathas*.

Furthermore, a comparison of Gathic and YH stanzas shows that they share a number of stylistic features, in spite of the fact that the *Gathas* are metrical and the YH is not. Thus, the Gathic expression *dāθamcā adāθamcā* ‘the just and the unjust’ displays the figure of Argument + Negated Argument, one which has its equivalent in that of Argument + Counter Argument in the YH *iiadacā aniiadacā* ‘both here and elsewhere’.¹⁰ Both figures are quantifier formulae, which serve to designate the totality of the notion. The characterization of good thoughts, words and deeds as being performed ‘both here and elsewhere’ is equivalent to their being carried out ‘everywhere’.¹¹ Combined with the participles ‘being done and having been done’, it denotes a totality not only in space but also in time with regard to present and past.

A second shared figure in the Gathic and YH verses is that of Argument + Negated Counter Argument illustrated by Gathic *afšmānī ... nōiθ anafšmām* ‘in verses, not in non-verses’ and the YH *aibī.jarətārō naēnaēstārō* ‘(we are) welcomers, not revilers’. Although in the latter case *aibī.jarətar-* ‘welcomer’ and *naēstar-* ‘reviler’ are antonyms, its two clauses effectively make identical statements. Negation turns the second member of the antonymic pair into a quasi-synonym of the first. The expression thus consists of an Argument followed by its Negated Counter Argument, a stylistic figure which is also found elsewhere in the Avesta. It is a litotic qualifying formula intended to intensify the argument. Thus, ‘we are welcomers, we are not revilers’ is equivalent to ‘we are certainly welcomers’.¹² Moreover, the inversion in the second phrase of the word order in the first is the rhetorical figure of a chiasmus: the two verbal forms *mahī* ‘we are’ enclose the two (synonymous) agent nouns ‘welcomers’ and ‘not revilers’.

In contrast to the intricate syntax of the Gathic stanza, that of the YH is more linear. The latter involves a triad, i.e. the group of three co-ordinated components *humatanām hūxtanām huuarštanām* ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds’, and of the dyad *vərəziiamnanām cā vāuuərəzananām cā* ‘being done and having been done’. Again, the purpose of the triad and dyad here is

10 On the expression *iiadacā aniiadacā* see Y 35.2 no. 1. On shared stylistic features in the *Gathas* and YH, see also SCHWARTZ 2006, p. 483.

11 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 43f.

12 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 91 with fn. 19, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 105. On the function of the litotic figure see WATKINS, *Dragon*, pp. 44, 234. On the Umbrian ‘girt and ungirt, under arms and not under arms’, see WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 235, and CAMPANILE, *Cultura poetica*, p. 97ff.

to express totality, in the first instance with regard to human activity (thought, word, action), in the second with regard to time, present and past. Thus, the opening stanza of the YH makes a statement in the most universal and emphatic manner: the worshippers stress that they are definitely welcomers of all types of good action performed anywhere and at any time. In order to express this idea effectively, the poet has employed the stylistic devices just described. The composition of Y 35.2 exhibits a rhythmic pattern of three longer lines alternating with two shorter ones. Such a pattern, however, is by no means continued through any of the other chapters of the YH. It may be that the first stanza was singled out for displaying a particularly regular rhythm in order to mark the beginning of this text.

The above comparison of the YH with the Gathic stanza illustrates both the metrical difference and the poetic similarity of the two texts. It should suffice to support the view that the YH is *not* ordinary prose in the sense of unadorned speech. Rather, it is, like the *Gathas*, a *poetic* text. It is different, however, in that they represent *two distinct* types of poetry. The form of the *Gathas* is governed by the *rhythm of syllables*, that of the YH by the *rhythm of words*.

The discovery that the YH is not ordinary prose but a form of poetry which uses rhythmic units is one of the merits of JOHANNA NARTEN's classic study of this text, published in 1986. She characterizes its style as "liturgical recitation prose close to poetry".¹³ Consequently, she divides the individual strophes into line units corresponding to smaller syntactic components, thus disclosing a wide range of stylistic figures, including those of antithesis, chiasmus, climax, alliteration and polyptoton.

CALVERT WATKINS builds on NARTEN's results and places the YH into the wider Indo-European context. He demonstrates that what he calls the "strophic style" of the YH has parallels in other IE traditions, such as Cato's Early Latin *suouitaurlia*, and the Umbrian Tables of Iguvium. The traditional label for this kind of composition is "rhythmic prose" but, as rightly pointed out by WATKINS, the term "prose" is far from adequate, because these texts, although non-metrical, do exhibit the essential characteristics of verse poetry.¹⁴ However, while both NARTEN and WATKINS focus on the various stylistic devices employed in the YH, little, if any, attention has been directed to its composition as a whole.

13 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 21.

14 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 231. This observation justifies NARTEN's division of the YH text into smaller syntactically cohesive line units, a practice subsequently abandoned by KELLEN/PIRART and HUMBACH, the later editors.

3. The composition of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*

In the mss., the seven chapters, or *hāiti*, of the YH are clearly demarcated. Each has its own theme and internal structure. It has long been recognized that the YH consists of three major sections, a beginning (Y 35–36), a middle (Y 37–39) and an end (Y 40–41).¹⁵ In Y 35, the first chapter of the YH, the worshippers express their commitment to good thoughts, words and deeds, as well as to providing peace and pasture for the cow (35.2–4). They attribute all power to the one whose rule is best, i.e. to Ahura Mazdā, and urge every person, whether male or female, to practise and proclaim what is good (5–6). They recognize that what is best is the veneration (*yasnəmcā vahməmcā*) of Ahura Mazdā, on the one hand, and the care of the cow, on the other. To the best of their ability they intend to practise it and make it known to others (7). An individual voice ('I') urges each and every human being (*kahmāicī hātəm*) to pursue their livelihood on both the spiritual and the material plane in 'union' (*sar-*) and 'community' (*vərəzāna-*) with truth (8). Ahura Mazdā is declared to be both teacher and receiver of the words which are being uttered. On the basis of truth, good mind and good rule, there will be never-ending praises for him (9–10). The second chapter, Y 36, begins with the affirmation that the worshippers approach Ahura Mazdā and his most bounteous spirit in 'community' (*vərəzāna-*) with the ritual fire (36.1). This is followed in stanza two by an invitation to Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire to come down and merge with the ritual fire. Such a fusion of the heavenly and earthly fires must take place between the recitation of stanzas two and three, because the latter explicitly identifies the ritual fire with both Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire and his most bounteous spirit. From that moment on, the worshippers consider themselves to be in the presence of Ahura Mazdā, whose visible form is the light as embodied by the ritual fire. In stanzas four and five they emphasize once more that they are approaching Ahura Mazdā, now present in the fire, with good thoughts, words and deeds and that they bring him honour and strengthening. Finally, the worshippers declare that the sunlight is Ahura Mazdā's most beautiful manifestation (36.6).

The middle part of the YH, extending from Y 37–39, contains the 'we worship' (*yazamaidē*) formulae. The praises begin in chapter three (Y 37) and are addressed to Ahura Mazdā and his spiritual creations, the Bounteous Immortals. The deity is worshipped as the creator both of spiritual beings such as truth and of material ones such as the cow, water, plants, light, the earth and all that is good (37.1). The four times repeated clause 'him ... we worship' (*təm ... yazamaidē*) emphasizes that it is Ahura Mazdā whom the worshippers venerate

15 BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 89–94; KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 124. The latter, however, consider Y 40–41 to be one or several "fragments" arranged by a "diasceua" according to the principle of a ring-composition, see Y 41.5 no. 2 *hiiaṭ mīzdəm ...* 'the praise which ...'.

with their highest worship and all their existence (2–3). Praise continues in stanzas four and five with that of truth, addressed as ‘bounteous immortal’ (*spənta-aməša-*), and of other spiritual beings, including ‘good thought’ (*vohu-manah-*), ‘good rule’ (*vohu-xšaθra-*) and ‘good belief’ (*varəhī-daēnā-*).

The central chapter of the middle section, Y 38, begins with the praise of the earth, which is worshipped together with Ahura Mazdā’s ‘noblewomen’ (*gənā-*). The latter are identified as powers active during the ritual and include ‘refreshment’ (*ižā-*), ‘vitalization’ (*yaošti-*), ‘perfection’ (*frašti-*) and ‘right-mindedness’ (*ārmaiti-*). While *yaošti-* and *frašti-* occur only here, *ižā-* and *ārmaiti-* are old ritual terms also found in the *Gathas* and inherited from the Indo-Iranian parent language. Together with *āzūiti-* ‘libation’, they denote the ‘strengthening’ experienced by Ahura Mazdā as a result of human veneration.¹⁶ Other female powers, associated with these ‘noblewomen’, are also praised, in particular ‘reward’ (*aši-*), ‘strength’ (*iš-*), ‘libation’ (*āzūiti-*), ‘glory’ (*frasasti-*) and ‘abundance’ (*parəndi-*, 38.1–2). Subsequently the waters are worshipped using the names given to them by Ahura Mazdā. Rain water is described as moving swiftly through the air and sustaining the life of both flora and fauna. It is also addressed in the terms of an ancient Indo-Iranian metaphor according to which the milch or milk producing cow is an image for the enlivening rain. Moreover, earthly water, such as that in rivers and lakes, is praised for providing amenities for human life by flowing smoothly, by affording good crossings and bathing places and by supplying drink for everyone, especially for the needy (38.3–5).

The last chapter of the central section, Y 39, praises the cow’s soul and maker. Furthermore, the worshippers worship their ‘own’ souls as well as those of animals, both domestic and harmless wild ones. They also praise the souls of all truthful human beings, both men and women, wherever they may have been born (*kudō.zātanəmcī-*, 39.1–2). The chapter continues with the worship of the good male and female Amesha Spentas (3) and, finally, of Ahura Mazdā himself. The worshippers emphasize that they attribute all that is good to him and that they worship him to the extent that he is its source (4). They also stress that their commitment to truth (*aša-*), joy (*fsəratū-*) and right-mindedness (*ārmaiti-*) is as strong and inalienable as the blood relationships within a family and that it is in the light of such a bond that they approach Ahura Mazdā (5).

The third and final part of the YH contains in chapter six, Y 40, requests for reward. Ahura Mazdā is addressed and asked to exercise his ‘wisdom and wealth’ (*mazdəmcā būiricā*) and to give the ‘prize’ (*mīžda-*), which he has allocated for ‘someone like me’ (*mauuaiθīm*), namely everlasting ‘fellowship’ (*haxəman-*) with himself and with Truth (40.1–2). The nature of the ‘prize’ and ‘fellowship’ is subsequently specified: the worshippers ask for truthful, truth-desiring, cattle-breeding men, families and communities so that they may live their lives in a strong and stable ‘fellowship’. This wish is also extended to other

16 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 34f. with fn. 3.

‘fellowships’ which the worshippers may join (3–4). The last chapter, Y 41, begins with the dedication of all praise to Ahura Mazdā and to best Truth (41.1). The worshippers desire to experience Ahura Mazdā’s good rule and a good human overlord, man or woman, in both their spiritual and material lives (2). In Ahura Mazdā they recognize the goodness of the powerful, invigorating ‘venerable one’ (*yazata-*), who ‘is’ their own bodily life and pervades their whole existence (3). The worshippers desire to obtain his life-long support (*rafənah-*) and, by virtue of the latter, be strong and powerful (4). They declare themselves to be those who know the hymns and formulae to praise him. Finally, they resume the request for the ‘prize’ and ask for everlasting ‘union’ (*sar-*) with both Ahura Mazdā and Truth (5–6).

3.1. The introductory section, Y 35–36

The introductory part of the YH extends from Y 35.2 to 36.6.¹⁷ It begins with the triad *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm* in poem-initial, discourse prominent position. Its theme is resumed by the words *humatāiš ... hūxtāiš... huuarštāiš* towards the end of the section in Y 36.5. As rightly observed by KELLENS/PIRART, such a repetition creates a “jeux d’écho” between the beginning and end of the opening part¹⁸:

Y 35.2 <i>humatanəm hūxtanəm</i> <i>huuarštanəm</i> <i>iiadacā aniiadacā</i> <i>vərəziiamnəmcā vāuuərəzanəmcā</i> <i>mahī aibī.jarətārō</i> <i>naēnaēstārō *yaθənā vohunəm mahī</i>	Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds both here and elsewhere being done and having been done we are welcomers, not revilers of such good (things) are we.
Y 35.3 <i>taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ahurā mazdā</i> <i>ašā srīrā</i> <i>hiiaṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā</i> <i>*varəzimācā</i> <i>yā hātəm *šīiaoθənanəm vahištā xiiāt</i> <i>ubōibiiā ahubiiā</i>	O Wise Lord, because of beauteous truth we have certainly chosen this: that we may think, speak and perform those existing actions which may be best for both existences.
Y 36.4 <i>vohū θβā manəhā</i> <i>vohū θβā ašā</i> <i>vanəhūiiā θβā cistōiš</i> <i>*šīiaoθənāišcā vacəbīšcā</i> <i>pairijasāmaidē</i>	We approach you with good thought, (we approach) you with good truth, (we approach) you with deeds and words of good insight.

17 On the basis of lexical correspondences between Y 35.1 and 35.10, SCHWARTZ 2006, p. 486f., suggests that Y 35.1 is not, as widely assumed, a later addition but forms part of the original composition of the YH. According to him, the YAv. phonology of Y 35.1 results from the popularity of this particular stanza as a *mantra* in YAv. times.

18 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 124.

Y 36.5 <i>nəmaxiiāmahi išūidiiāmahi</i>	We pay homage, we bring refreshment
<i>θβā mazdā ahurā</i>	to you, O Wise Lord.
<i>vīspāiš θβā humatāiš</i>	We approach you
<i>vīspāiš hūxtāiš</i>	with all good thoughts,
<i>vīspāiš huuarštāiš</i>	with all good words,
<i>pairijasāmaidē</i>	with all good deeds.

The prominent position of the triad ‘good thoughts, words and deeds’ at the beginning and end of the opening section marks the worshippers’ most important commitment. Moreover, in addition to that repetition there are other correspondences between the start and finish. The totality expressed in Y 35.2 by the binominals ‘here and elsewhere’, ‘being done and having been done’ (see above, p. 4f.), is achieved in Y 36.5 by the threefold repeated *vīspāiš* ‘all’. Similarly, the chiastic expression ‘we are welcomers, not revilers are we’ of Y 35.2 corresponds in Y 36.5 to the verb pair ‘we show reverence, we bring you refreshment’. This suggests that what is hinted at in the opening stanza of the YH is referred to more directly in Y 36.5. Thus, the theme set in Y 35.2 by its initial stanza is taken up again at the end of the introductory section.¹⁹

The mirroring of the beginning and the end is also found in the antepenultima stanza Y 36.4. With its emphasis on ‘good thought, word, deed’ and ‘good truth’ (*vohū ašā*), it resumes the theme of Y 35.3, where the worshippers state their choice of ‘what is best’ on the basis of ‘beauteous truth’ (*ašā srīrā*). The equivalence between the two stanzas is emphasized by the same syntactic position being taken, respectively, by the expression *ašā srīrā* in Y 35.3 and *vohū ašā* in Y 36.4. These correspondences suggest that the introductory section has the literary form of a ring-composition.

3.2. The central section, Y 37–39

The three central chapters of the YH are comprised of seventeen *yazamaidē* ‘we worship’ formulae extending from Y 37.1 to 39.4. The worship begins with a sequence of five such formulae praising Ahura Mazdā as the creator of the material and spiritual worlds and of ‘all that is good’. This praise is resumed at the end in Y 39.4. At the start of that verse the triad of the verbs *man* ‘to think’, *vac* ‘to speak’ and *varz* ‘to do, to perform’ characterizes Ahura Mazdā’s actions, for which he receives honour by way of five verbs of praise. The same triad is found in Y 35.3 in connection with the worshippers’ personal aspirations.

19 That a caesura was suspected between Y 36.5 and 6 emerges from the way the text is written in the mss. While stanzas are not usually marked, occasionally they are when a caesura was detected. Such is the case at the end of Y 36.5 in the ms. C1, where a little black flower appears in order to indicate the end of the section (fol. 152r l.10, six circles arranged around a central one). Also the beginning of Y 36.5 is marked with a flower in black ink (fol. 152r l.4).

In Y 39.4, however, the verb *dāscā* ‘you create’ which is inserted into the triad ‘think, speak, act’ echoes the thrice repeated verb *dāt* ‘he has created’ of the first stanza of the middle section, Y 37.1. Furthermore, the expression *yā vohū* resumes *vīspācā vohū* of Y 37.1, ‘all that is good’, the creator of which both verses declare to be Ahura Mazdā:

Y 37.1 *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām*
yā gāmcā ašəmcā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vaŋhīš
raocāscā dāt būmīmcā
vīspācā vohū
 Y 37.2 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā*
hauuapaŋhāišcā

In this way we now worship the Wise Lord,
 who has created the cow and truth,
 (who) has created the waters and the
 good plants,
 (who) has created light and the earth
 and all that is good
 by his rule, greatness and skills.

Y 39.4 *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā*
māŋghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā
yā vohū
aθā tōi dadəmahī
aθā cīšmahī
aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē
aθā nəmaxīiāmahī
aθā išūidīiāmahī
θβā mazdā ahurā

As indeed, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practise
 these (things) which (are) good,
 so we offer (them) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you,
 so we pay homage,
 so we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.

The line Y 37.2 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapaŋhāišcā* provides an example of Behaghel’s law of inscreasing members of the three co-ordinated nouns.²⁰ The beginning and end of the central section is thus clearly delimited by the praise of Ahura Mazdā.

The praise of Ahura Mazdā is followed by that of the Amesha Spentas, which are listed individually in Y 37.4–5. Their praise is resumed at the end in Y 39.3, just before that of Ahura Mazdā, and this constitutes the second ring:

Y 37.4 *ašəm at vahištəm yazamaidē*
hiiat sraēštəm
hiiat spəntəm aməšəm
*hiiat *raocōŋhuuat*
*hiiat *vīspā.vohū*

We worship best Truth,
 the most beautiful one,
 the bounteous immortal,
 that is full of light,
 that provides all that is good.

Y 37.5 *vohucā manō yazamaidē*
vohucā xšaθrəm
vaŋhīmācā daēnəm
vaŋhīmācā fsəratūm
vaŋhīmācā ārmaitīm

And we worship good Thought,
 and good Rule,
 and good Belief,
 and good Joy,
 and good Right-mindedness.

20 That this clause is traditionally considered to be the first line of Y 37.2 indicates that the division into stanzas is not always original and may not coincide with sentence or clause boundaries.

Y 39.3 *āt iḍā yazamaidē*
vaṇhūścā īt vaṇ^hhīścā īt
spəntāng aməšāng
yauiuaējiio yauiuaēsuiō
yōi vaṇhōuš ā manəṇhō šiieintī
*yāscā *uitī*

Finally in this way we worship
the good bounteous immortals,
both male and female,
who live forever, who thrive forever,
(the male ones) who are on the side of
good thought
and (the female ones) who (are) as well.

The connection between the two parts is established not only by the same object of praise, the Amesha Spentas, but also by the expression *vaṇhūścā īt vaṇ^hhīścā īt* ‘the good (bounteous immortals), both male and female’ in Y 39.3, which resumes the individual listings *vohu-* and *vaṇ^hhī-* of Y 37.4–5. Moreover, the Y 37.4–5 list is probably also implied in Y 39.5, see below, p. 282 on Y 39.5 no. 1 *x^aētōuš x^aētātā*. In addition, Y 37.4 has echoes of the introductory section. Thus, the epithet of ‘truth’, *sraēštəm* ‘most beautiful’, recalls *aša- sīra-* ‘beautiful truth’ of Y 35.3.

The statement in Y 39.3 that the Amesha Spentas ‘are on the side of good thought’ is parallel to the phrase in Y 37.2, where the worshippers declare that they ‘are on the side of the cow’. As the Amesha Spentas align themselves with good thought, so do the worshippers with the cow. Here ‘good thought’ for the former is the spiritual equivalent of the ‘cow’ for the latter on the material level.

This analysis suggests that, like the introductory one, the central section exhibits characteristics of a ring-composition. Altogether nine recipients of praise are arranged in five circles around the central object, the waters. The first and second concentric rings of *yazamaidē* formulae are dedicated to Ahura Mazdā and his spiritual creations, the Amesha Spentas. By contrast, in the following three the objects of worship at the beginning and end are not the same. The third circle consists of the veneration formula praising the earth (*zam-*) and the ‘noblewomen’ in Y 38.1 and the souls of all truthful human beings in Y 39.2:

Third circle:

Y 38.1

iməm āat zəm
gənābīš haḍrā yazamaidē

Now we worship this earth here
together with the noblewomen.

Y 39.2 *ašāunəm āat urunō yazamaidē*

kudō.zātanəmciṭ
naṛəmca nāirinəmca
yaēšəm vahehiš daēnā
*vanaintī vā vāṇghən vā *vaonarə vā*

Now we worship the souls of the truth-
ful ones,
men and women,
wherever they may have been born,
whose very good beliefs
prevail, will prevail or have prevailed.

The fourth circle praises Ahura Mazdā’s ‘noblewomen’ in Y 38.1–2 and the worshippers’ own souls alongside those of various animals in Y 39.1:

Fourth circle:

Y 38.1 *yā nā baraitī*
yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā
ašāt hacā vairiā
tā yazamaidē
 Y 38.2 *īzā yaoštaiō fəraštaiō*
ārmataiō

(We worship the earth) that bears us
 and we worship
 these noblewomen of yours, O Wise Lord,
 who are excellent on account of Truth:
 (noblewomen like) Invigoration, Vitalization, Per-
 fection, Right-mindedness.

Y 39.1 *ahmākēng āat urunō*
pasukanamcā
yōi nā jīšāntī
yāēibiāscā tōi ā
yācā aēibiiō ā aṇhən
 Y 39.2 *daitikanamcā*
aidiūnam hīat
urunō yazamaidē

Now we worship our own souls
 as well as those of the domestic animals
 which desire to gain our support,
 (the animals) for which people here indeed (shall be
 available)
 and which indeed shall be available for people here,
 and (we worship) the souls
 of the wild animals,
 insofar as they are harmless.

The fifth circle entails the praise of a range of divine gifts, on the one hand, and the cow's soul and maker, on the other:

Fifth circle:

Y 38.2 *vaṇhīm ābīš ašīm*
vaṇhīm īšəm
vaṇhīm āzūtīm
vaṇhīm frasastīm
*vaṇhīm *parəndīm yazamaidē*

Together with them we worship good Reward,
 good Strengthening,
 good Libation,
 good Glory
 (and) good Abundance.

Y 39.1 *iḍā āt yazamaidē*
gəuš uruuanamcā tašanamcā

In this way we now worship
 the cow's soul and (her) maker.

Thus, in the third to fifth circles praises of the earth, of Ahura Mazdā's 'noblewomen' and of gifts that change hand during the ritual at the beginning are matched by those of the souls of various beings at the end. Although the correspondences are here less clear than in the first two circles, the position of circles three to five between the first two circles, on the one hand, and a clearly marked middle circle six, on the other, suggests that they were perceived as corresponding to one another.

Finally, the sixth and central circle consists of two *yazamaidē* formulae dedicated to the praise of the waters in Y 38.3–5:

Y 38.3 *apō at yazamaidē*
**maēkaiiantīscā *hābuaantīscā*
frauuazəṇhō ahurānīš
*ahurahiiā *hauuapəṇhā*
hupərəθpāscā vā
huuōyzaθāscā

We worship
 the tasty, sap-providing waters,
 the lordly ones who move swiftly
 by the Lord's skill.
 (We worship) you, who are easy to cross,
 smoothly flowing

hūšnāθrāscā
ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagāmā

and with good places for bathing,
 (you who are) a gift for both existences.

Y 38.4 **uitī yā vā vaŋhīš*
*ahurō mazdā *nāmam dadāt*
vaŋhudā hiiat vā dadāt
tāiš vā yazamaidē
tāiš friiṇmahī
tāiš nāmaxiiāmahī
tāiš išūidiiāmahī

Thus, with these names which
 the Wise Lord assigned to you, O good ones,
 when he was making you into providers of good
 (things), with these (names) we worship you,
 with these (names) we please (you),
 with these (names) we pay homage (to you),
 with these (names) we bring (you) refreshment.

Y 38.5 *apascā vā*
azīscā vā
mātarāscā vā
agāniiā
drigudāiiāṇhō vīspō.paitīš
**ānuuocāmā*
vahištā sraēštā
anuā vā vaŋhīš rātōiš
*darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī*
**viiadā paitī.səṇdā*
mātarō jītaiiō

We call upon you as the waters,
 (we call upon) you as milch-cows,
 (we call upon) you as mother-cows,
 O prize cows,
 who care for the destitute, provide drink for every-
 one, O best, most beautiful ones!
 Enjoying far-reaching achievements
 because of your generosity, O good ones,
 I want to facilitate
 your pleasant distributions,
 O living mothers!

The three stanzas are organized in such a way that the central one, Y 38.4, contains both the verbs of veneration and the justification for the worship. The framing stanzas Y 38.3 and 5 list the names with which the waters are praised. There are seven in Y 38.3 and ten in Y 38.5.

In Y 38.3, the ‘waters’, *apō*, in sentence initial position, mark the beginning of a new section. Their first two epithets, **maēkaiiāntīscā* **hōbuuāntīscā* ‘tasty and sap-providing’ share the same ending, thus exhibiting the stylistic figure of a homoioteleuton. They probably describe the beneficent impact of rain on flora and fauna (see Y 38.3 no. 3 *frauuazāṇhō*). The following three epithets characterize the water collected in rivers, lakes and seas as being ‘easy to cross’, ‘smoothly flowing’ and provided ‘with good places for bathing’:

- *hupərəθβāscā vā*
- *huuōyžāθāscā*
- *hūšnāθrāscā*

The three adjectives have rhyming endings *-θβāscā*, *-θāscā* and *-θrāscā* and share the first term *hu* ‘good’.²¹ The latter component exemplifies and elaborates on the idea that the waters are the ‘good ones’ (*vaŋhīš*) and ‘providers of good (things)’ (*vaŋhudā*-), as stated in Y 38.4. Finally, they are said to be a *cagāman*-, usually translated as ‘gift, present’, but probably referring to the waters more

21 The second epithet has been explained by NARTEN as *hu-uayž-aθa*-, ‘well, smoothly flowing’, see Y 38.3 no. 8.

specifically as a divine provision (see Y 38.3 no. 10). Their seven names in Y 37.3 may be represented as in the following table:

Table 1: Seven names of the waters in Y 38.3

Rain water	Water in rivers, lakes and the sea
<i>maēkaiiant-</i> ‘tasty’	<i>hupərəθβa-</i> ‘easy to cross’
<i>hābuuant-</i> ‘providing sap’	<i>huuōyzaθa-</i> ‘smoothly flowing’
<i>faunazah-</i> ‘moving swiftly’	<i>hūšnāθra-</i> ‘with good places for bathing’
<i>cagəman-</i> ‘(divine) provision’	

The second list in Y 38.5 is comprised of ten names which also may be divided into two groups of four but with two left over. The first four names are:

- *apascā vā*
- *azišcā vā*
- *mātarāščā vā*
- *agəniā*

The first three end in *-cā vā*, while the first two and the last alliterate. Names two to four epitomize the Indo-Iranian metaphor in which milch cows stand for water. The *tertium comparationis* between the waters and the cow is the liquid state of the waters, on the one hand, and the liquid yielded by the cow, i.e. the milk, on the other. The concept of ‘mother-cows’ as a metaphor for the ‘waters’ has equivalents in the *Rigveda*, where the former are imagined to be ‘mothers’ with teats. The latter are a metaphor for the rain clouds which the Marut draw from, while the rain is perceived as the ‘milk of the sky’ (see Y 38.5 no. 3 at the end). In the YH the praise of the waters as milch cows thus employs an inherited Indo-Iranian metaphor.

The second group of four epithets

drigudāiiānhō vīspō.paitīš ...
vahištā sraēštā

who care for the destitute, provide drink for everyone, ...
O best, most beautiful ones!

elaborate further on the beneficent impact of water on life. Finally, at the end of Y 38.5, the waters themselves are addressed once more, first as ‘good ones’, and then as ‘living mothers’, *mātarō jītaiiō*. As far as such names are concerned, Y 38.5 has a structure comparable to that of Y 38.3 insofar as it consists of two lists of four names plus two additional ones:

Table 2: Ten names of the waters in Y 38.5

Rain water (cow metaphor)	Water in rivers, lakes and the sea
<i>ap-</i> ‘water’	<i>drigudāiiāh-</i> ‘caring for the destitute’
<i>azī-</i> ‘milch cow’	<i>vīspō.paiti-</i> ‘providing drink for everyone’
<i>mātar-</i> ‘mother’	<i>vahišta-</i> ‘best’
<i>agāniā-</i> ‘prize cow’	<i>sraēšta-</i> ‘most beautiful’
<i>vañhīš</i> ‘good ones’ <i>mātarō jītaiiō</i> ‘living mothers’	

On this basis, correspondences may be established between the first four epithets of Y 38.5 and the first three in Y 38.3, insofar as both characterize the rain water. The second group of attributes in Y 38.5 could, like the compounds with *hu-* in Y 38.3, describe, in general terms, the positive impact of water on the earth. If such were the case, Y 38.3 and 38.5 would constitute on a larger scale what CALVERT WATKINS calls a “magic square”.²² Within one stanza there are correspondences on the horizontal, linear axis in the alignment of the two sections insofar as in each of them the praise of the rain water is followed by that of water on the earth. Y 38.3 extols the waters for moving swiftly through the air as rain water and for being beautifully shaped on the earth in rivers, lakes and the sea, thus providing a range of amenities for human life. Their last name, *cagāman-*, indicates that they are a divine provision. Y 38.5 highlights the life sustaining role of the waters by employing the cow metaphor as an image for the rain, while the water on the earth is described as caring for the destitute and providing drink for everyone. The concluding epithet, ‘living mothers’, epitomizes the nurturing properties of the water. On the vertical axis, the two parts of the two stanzas correlate insofar as in both cases the first one refers to the rain water and the second to the water on the earth:

Table 3: Magic square

	Type of water		General epithet
	Rain Water	Water on the Earth	
Y 38.3:	<i>frauuazanhō</i> , provides refreshment for flora and fauna	<i>hu-</i> , provides amenities for human life	<i>cagāman-</i> ‘(divine) provision’
Y 38.5:	cow metaphor	provides drink for all, esp. the destitute	<i>vañhīš</i> ‘good ones’ <i>mātarō jītaiiō</i> ‘living mothers’

22 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 216.

In addition, there are crosswise correspondences between the two stanzas in that the refreshing properties of rain, described in the first half of Y 38.3, are echoed by the second half of 38.5 while the beginning of Y 38.5 corresponds to the end of 38.3. The role of the rain water in providing drink for flora and fauna (Y 38.3) mirrors that of the water on the earth providing drink for everyone, esp. the needy (Y 38.5). Similarly, the epithets with *hu-* in Y 38.3 characterizing the water on the earth as providing amenities for human life, accord with their description as nurturing milch cows in Y 38.5.

The two stanzas mentioning the names of the waters straddle the stanza which is at the centre not only of Y 38, but of the entire YH. Y 38.4 contains the waters' proper worship formulae:

Y 38.4 **uitī yā vā vaṇhīš*
*ahurō mazdā *nāmam dadāt*
vaṇhudā hīiaṭ vā dadāt
tāiš vā yazamaidē
tāiš friiṇmahī
tāiš nēmaxīāmahī
tāiš išūidīāmahī

Thus, with these names which
the Wise Lord assigned to you, O good ones,
when he was making you into providers of good
(things),
with these (names) we worship you,
with these (names) we please (you),
with these (names) we pay homage (to you),
with these (names) we bring (you) refreshment.

Although the waters are at the very centre of the YH, they are explicitly subordinated to Ahura Mazdā by the indication that the deity has created them and provided the names with which they are worshipped. However, there is an affinity between the waters and Ahura Mazdā, and this is implied by the same verbs being used in praise of both. The list of four clauses honouring the waters in Y 38.4 – with anaphoric *tāiš* and the final three verbs having the same ending *-mahī* – corresponds to two lists in praise of Ahura Mazdā, one before in Y 36.5 (quoted above, p. 9), and the other after at the end in Y 39.4 (quoted above, p. 10). Each of the three lists includes the verbs *nēmaxīāmahī* ... *išūidīāmahī* 'we pay homage ... we bring refreshment', which in Y 38.4 are extended by two and in 39.4 by three more ritual verbs of veneration, one of which is *yazamaidē* in both passages.

In addition to the use of the same verbs of worship, the link between the waters and Ahura Mazdā is reinforced by means of the three key words *nāman-* 'name', *āhūirīia-/ahurānī-* 'lordly' and *hauuapaṇha-* 'skill', all of which occur both in Y 38.3–4 and at the beginning of the *yazamaidē*-formulae in Y 37.2–3. In Y 38.4, the waters are said to be worshipped with the names which Ahura Mazdā has given them and in Y 37.3 Ahura Mazdā is worshipped in the 'Ahurian names':

Y 37.3 *tām aṭ āhūirīia nāmānī*
*mazdā.varā *spəntō.tamā*
yazamaidē

We worship him in the form of his lordly names,
(which are) welcome to the Wise one (and which
are) the most bounteous ones.

The various names with which the waters are praised in Y 38.3–5 then belong to the ‘Ahurian names’ referred to in Y 37.3.²³ The affirmation that Ahura Mazdā is worshipped when such names are mentioned, legitimizes the veneration of the deity’s creations, especially the waters. This is borne out by the latter’s epithet *āhurānīš* in Y 38.3,²⁴ since it echoes *āhūirīiā* ‘Ahurian, lordly’, which characterizes Ahura Mazdā’s ‘names’ in Y 37.3. The third key word linking the central stanzas Y 38.3–5 to the beginning of the *yazamaidē* formulae is the noun *hauuapaṇha-* ‘skill’, typifying Ahura Mazdā’s creativity with regard to the waters in both Y 38.3 *ahurahiīā hauuapaṇhā* and in Y 37.2 *hauuapaṇhāiš*°. The function of such cross-references is not only to emphasize that the waters are dependent on and subservient to Ahura Mazdā but also to mark the centre and highpoint of the composition.

This analysis suggests that the central section of the YH, Y 37–39, is a ring-composition with a focal point clearly marked by the praise of the waters. Its beginning, the praise of Ahura Mazdā and the Amesha Spentas, is mirrored by its end, and its middle is linked to the two extremities by echoes of key words. Five rings of *yazamaidē* formulae are arranged around a hub, the sixth circle, which involves the praise of the waters. The structure of the central part may be summarized and illustrated as in the following table:

Table 4: The seventeen *yazamaidē* formulae, Y 37.1–39.4

no.	Y	Ring	Object of praise
1	37.1	1	Ahura Mazdā as creator of ‘all that is good’, the spiritual and material worlds.
2	37.2	1	Ahura Mazdā worshipped with the highest worship.
3	37.3	1	Ahura Mazdā worshipped in the form of his Ahurian names.
4	37.3	1	Ahura Mazdā worshipped ‘with our limbs and lives’.
5	37.3	1	Ahura Mazdā worshipped in the form of the choices (<i>frauuāšīs</i>) of truthful men and women.
6	37.4	2	Truth (<i>aša-</i>), <i>spəntəm aməšəm</i> .
7	37.5	2	Good Thought (<i>vohu- manah-</i>), good Rule (<i>vohu- xšaθra-</i>), good Belief (<i>vaŋhī- daēnā-</i>), good Joy (<i>vaŋhī- fəratū-</i>), good Right-mindedness (<i>vaŋhī- ārmaiti-</i>).
8	38.1	3	The earth (<i>zam-</i>) together with the ‘noblewomen’ (<i>gənābīš</i>).
9	38.1–2	4	Ahura Mazdā’s noblewomen (<i>gənā</i> °): <i>īžā yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō</i>

23 On the form *nāmānī* and its syntactic interpretation see Y 37.3 no. 2 *təm yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’.

24 On *ahurānī-* see Y 38.3 no. 4 *ahurānīš* ‘the lordly ones’.

no.	Y	Ring	Object of praise
10	38.2	5	Together with the ‘noblewomen’ the following are worshipped: good Reward (<i>vaŋ^hī- aši-</i>), good Strengthening (<i>vaŋ^hī- īš-</i>), good Libation (<i>vaŋ^hī- āzūiti-</i>), good Glory (<i>vaŋ^hī- frasasti-</i>), good Abundance (<i>vaŋ^hī- parəndi-</i>).
11	38.3	6	The waters (<i>apō</i>) are worshipped with seven names.
12	38.4	6	The names with which the waters are worshipped were given to them by Ahura Mazdā.
	38.5	6	The waters are called upon (<i>āuuuacāmā</i>) with ten names.
13	39.1	5	The cow’s soul and her maker.
14	39.1-2	4	Our own souls as well as the souls of the domestic animals and of the harmless wild animals.
15	39.2	3	The souls of all truthful human beings, men and women.
16	39.3	2	The male and female bounteous immortals (<i>spəntāng aməšəng</i>).
17	39.4	1	Ahura Mazdā.

3.3. The concluding section, Y 40–41

The conclusion, Y 40–41, is clearly set apart from the preceding verses. Its beginning is marked by the demonstrative pronoun *āhū* in the discourse initial position, and this presumably refers to the ritual currently taking place:

Y 40.1 *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā ...*

Here especially during these offerings, O Wise Lord ...

Chapter 40.1–2 contains the request for the ‘prize’, *mīžda-*, and, apart from a difference of one word, is repeated verbatim at the end in Y 41.5–6:

Y 40.1 *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū
mazdā ahurā
mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā
rāitī tōi xrapaitī
ahmaṭ hiiat aibī
hūiat mīždəm *mauuaiḍīm
fradadāḍā
daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā*

Here especially during these offerings,
O Wise Lord,
exercise your wisdom and wealth!
Through your generosity there shall take shape
– as far as we are concerned –
the prize which you have allocated to someone like
me
for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord.

Y 40.2 *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī
ahmāicā ahuiē manaxiiāicā
taṭ ahiiā
yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā
tauuacā haxəmə aṣaxiiācā
vīspāi yauuē*

You, there, give us from this (prize)
for both this and the spiritual life,
(give us) this of this (prize)
by which we shall attain the following:
fellowship with you and Truth
for all time!

Y 41.5 *hiiat mīždām *mauuaiθīm*
fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā

The prize which you have allocated to
someone like me
for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord,
you, there, give us from this (prize)
for both this and the spiritual life,
(give us) this of this (prize)
by which we shall attain the following:
union with you and Truth
for all time!

Y 41.6 *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī*
ahmāicā ahuiē manāxiiāicā
taṭ ahiiā
yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā
tauuacā sarām ašaxiiācā
vīspāi yauuē

In Y 41.6, the word *sarām* ‘union, communion’ replaces *haxāmā* ‘fellowship’ in Y 40.2. Nevertheless, by the repetition of the beginning at the end, the concluding section is particularly clearly marked as a ring-composition.²⁵

3.4. Framing devices

3.4.1. *ahmat hiiat aibī* ‘as far as we are concerned’

The three sections of the YH, all of which exhibit characteristics of a ring-composition, are linked together to form a unified whole by a series of framing devices, i.e. key expressions distributed throughout the text. One of these is the phrase *ahmat hiiat aibī* ‘as far as we are concerned’, which occurs in both Y 35.5 and 40.1. While in 40.1 the expression emphasizes that a good prize (*mīžda-*) is reserved for those present at the ritual, in Y 35.5 it affirms the worshippers as those who have transferred all power to Ahura Mazdā, and thus sets them apart from other people:

Y 35.5 **huxšaθrō.tāmāi *bā *at xšaθrām*
ahmat hiiat aibī
*dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuənmahicā*
hiiat mazdāi ahurāi
ašāicā vahištāi

As far as we are concerned,
we offer, assign and impart
the rule to the one whose rule is indeed
the very best,
namely the Wise Lord,
and to the best Truth.

This delimiting formula implies that insofar as the transfer of power to Ahura Mazdā is confined to those present and involved in the ritual taking place when this text is recited, to that extent the ‘prize’, *mīžda-*, is reserved for them (see Y 35.5 no. 1). The assignment of all authority to Ahura Mazdā in Y 35.5 is echoed at the end in Y 41.2, where the worshippers state that they desire to obtain the deity’s good rule:

25 KELLENS/PIRART consider the repetition of the initial section to be unauthentic. Consequently, in their edition (*TVA*, I, p. 140) they omit the second half of Y 41.5 and the whole of stanza six. They suggest that chapters 40–41 represent one or more “prose fragments” added to the preceding five “authentic” chapters at a later stage (*TVA*, III, p. 129). Their argument, however, is not convincing, see Y 41.6 no. 1 *sarām* ‘union’, below, p. 321f.

Y 41.2 <i>vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā</i>	May we obtain, O Wise one,
<i>apaēmā</i>	your good rule
<i>vīspāi yauiē</i>	for all time!
<i>huxšaθrastū nē</i>	May a good ruler,
<i>nā vā nāirī vā</i>	a man or a woman,
<i>xšaētā</i>	rule over us
<i>ubōiio aṇhuuō</i>	in both existences,
<i>hātām hudāstēmā</i>	O most beneficent of those who exist!

3.4.2. The expression ‘man or woman’, *nā vā nāirī vā*

Y 41.2 also contains a framing device, namely the expression ‘man or woman’, *nā vā nāirī vā*, which occurs four times in the YH, once in each of its beginning and end in the nom.sg. *nā vā nāirī vā* (Y 35.6, 41.2) and twice in its central section in the gen.pl. *narāmcā nāirināmcā* (Y 37.3, 39.2). In Y 35.6 the expression immediately follows the power transfer to Ahura Mazda in the preceding stanza:

Y 35.6 <i>yaθā aṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā</i>	Just as now a man or a woman
<i>vaēdā haiθīm</i>	knows what is real,
<i>aθā haṭ vohū</i>	so (do they know) what is really good.
<i>*taṭ.āθ-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi</i>	Therefore let them now also put it into practice
<i>fracā vātōiioṭū iṭ aēibiiō</i>	and let them make it known to those
<i>yōi iṭ aθā vərəziiān</i>	who shall practise it in the way
<i>yaθā iṭ astī</i>	that it really is.

The contextual collocation in Y 35.5–6 of the transfer of power to Ahura Mazda and the expression ‘man or woman’ is also found in Y 41.2. The worshippers desire both to experience Ahura Mazda’s good rule and to be governed by a good ruler, whether man or woman. What the latter should be like is stated in Y 35.6: it is not gender which is important, but that the person knows, practises and propagates what is really good.²⁶

While the nom. expression is found in the introductory and concluding sections, the phrase occurs in the gen.pl. at the beginning and end of the central, *yazamaidē*, part. The latter two attestations are syntactically parallel, in that *frauuašiš* ‘choices’ in Y 37.3 is replaced by *urunō* ‘souls’ in Y 39.2:

Y 37.3 <i>tām ašāunqm frauuašiš</i>	We worship him in the form of the choices of
<i>narāmcā nāirināmcā yazamaidē</i>	the truthful ones, both men and women.
Y 39.2 <i>ašāunqm āaṭ urunō</i>	Now we worship the souls of the truthful ones,
<i>yazamaidē</i>	men and women,
<i>kudō.zātanāmcīṭ</i>	wherever they may have been born.
<i>narāmcā nāirināmcā</i>	

26 For more textual evidence on the equal status of men and women as moral agents in Zoroastrian doctrine, see HINTZE, “Prophetic and Priestly Authority in Zoroastrianism” (forthcoming).

4. The *Yasna Haptanghaiti* as an example of Indo-European liturgical poetry

The stylistic devices discussed above suggest that the YH is a structured text consisting of three major sections which form an organic whole. Each of these three parts entails a ring-composition and is thus categorized as a unit.²⁷ Framing devices distributed throughout the three sections include the expression ‘as far as we are concerned’ at its beginning and end and the four times repeated phrase ‘man or woman’.²⁸ The three parts are thus linked together by responses to form one unified whole.

The tripartite structure of the YH corresponds to that of the Old Latin prayer to *Mars pater*, which forms part of Cato’s *suovitaurlia*, a purification ritual. CALVERT WATKINS has shown the latter to be a threefold composition with initial and final invocations framing the central part as a “wrapping”.²⁹ The literary style of formal, solemn diction in strophic structures is widely attested across Indo-European languages. In addition to Cato’s *suovitaurlia*, WATKINS adduces the Umbrian Iguvine Tables, dating from about the first century BCE and containing prayers accompanying the sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius.³⁰ Further instances include the non-metrical strophic mantras of the Vedic *Áśvamedha* or Horse Sacrifice, Old Hittite funeral verses, a Palaic sacrificial song addressed to the victim, an Armenian epic quoted by the ninth cent. author Moses of Chorene, the Old Irish invocation to the Caldron of Poetry and the eulogy of Saint Columba. All these texts share the same strophic structure with short lines governed by rules of parallelism, anaphora and other stylistic devices in addition, especially, to the rhythm of small units of syntactic cohesion.

The YH is thus a fine example of the literary form of an ancient Indo-Iranian, indeed Indo-European, ritual liturgy characterized by rhythmic speech. Both the metrical, stichic and the non-metrical, rhythmic style are parallel inheritances from the Proto-Indo-European poetic language and of equal antiquity.³¹ In spite of the small volume of surviving early Zoroastrian texts, both styles are represented in the Old Avestan text corpus: the metrical, stichic one by the Gathas, the non-metrical, rhythmic by the YH.

27 SCHWARTZ 2006, pp. 486–488, detects lexical and semantic correspondences within the individual chapters of the YH and suggests that each *hāiti* has the internal structure of concentric ring-composition.

28 A further framing device is the expression *dadamahicā cīšmahicā* ‘we offer and assign’ which is combined with a third verb and placed at strategic points in the composition of the YH, see Y 41.1 no. 1 *āuuāēdaiiamahī* ‘we dedicate’.

29 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 200f.

30 WATKINS, *Dragon*, pp. 214–225.

31 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 276.

5. The manuscripts of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*

Together with the Gathas, the YH is transmitted in the mss. of the *Yasna*. Of all the Avestan texts, the latter is the one with the best transmission. This is due to the importance of the *Yasna* in Zoroastrian ritual practice. Iranian and Indian mss. are distinguished on the basis of their origin, although ultimately all Indian mss. go back to an Iranian original. The extant Iranian mss. were written in Yazd and Kerman and the Indian ones in Gujarat. The oldest Indian mss. date from the late 13th and early 14th centuries, while the Persian ones are no older than the 17th century. The Persian manuscripts, however, surpass the contemporary Indian ones with regard to care and precision of writing. The main editor of the Avesta, K.F. GELDNER, assumes that an excellent school of Dasturs must have existed in Kerman and Yazd until the 18th century.³² The most important collection of Persian mss. is preserved in the Mulla Firoze library (Mf) at the Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay. Other valuable collections include those in the University Library of Copenhagen (K), the British Library in London (L) and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (P). The largest collection in private hands is that of Dastur Dr. JAMASPJI M. JAMASPASA (died 1922) from Bombay (J).

A further division is that between mss. which have only the Avestan text (*sāde* or 'pure' mss.) and those where that text is split into short clauses each of which is followed by a Pahlavi translation and commentary. Mss. with such a translation may be either of the Pahlavi *Vendidad* (Vd), i.e. the Av. text of the *Videvdad* accompanied by its Pahlavi translation, or of the Pahlavi *Yasna*.³³ Of the Sade mss., there are those of the *Vendidad Sade*, in which the *Yasna* is combined with the *Visperad* and the *Videvdad*, and those of the *Yasna Sade* which have only the text of the *Yasna*. The following classification of the *Yasna* and *Videvdad* mss. is based on HOFFMANN 1984, whose source again is GELDNER's *Prolegomena*, pp. 13–37³⁴ (see table 5).

While there are many variations in detail, all *Yasna* mss. contain the same text with regard to word sequence and content.

32 GELDNER 1896–1904, p. 12f. On the mss. of the *Yasna*, see also DHABHAR, *Catalogue*, pp. 53–54, and *Pahlavi Yasna*, pp. 1–8.

33 On the mss. of the Pahlavi *Vendidad* and Pahlavi *Yasna*, see WEST 1896–1904, pp. 81–85. *Vendidad* is a corrupt form of *Videvdad*.

34 For practical reasons the page numbers of GELDNER's *Prolegomena* are here given in Arabic numerals, although GELDNER uses Roman figures.

Table 5: Mss. of the *Yasna* and *Videvdad*

Av. with Pahl. translation				Av. text only						
Pahl. <i>Vendidad</i>	Pahl. <i>Yasna</i>			<i>Vendidad Sade</i> (Y + Vr + Vd)				<i>Yasna Sade</i>		
	Av.-Pahl.		Av.-Pahl.- Skt.							
Sistan tradition	Persian	Indian	Indian only	Persian	Indian			Indian only		
L4	Pt4	K5	S1	Mf2	Br1	Dh1	L1	C1	H1	J5
K1	Mf4	J2	J3	Jp1	L2	Ml1	M2	K11	J6	L20
etc.	Mf1	etc.	P11	K4	K10	D2	O2	Lb2	L13	P6
	etc.		etc.				etc.		etc.	

5.1. Pahlavi *Yasna*

The Pahlavi *Yasna* contains the *Yasna* in Avestan with a Pahlavi translation and commentary. The Av. text is not continuous, as it is in the Sade mss., but is split into small units each of which is followed by its rendering into Middle Persian. Three dots or circles (:), at times in the middle of an expression,³⁵ mark the point at which the text switches between Av. and Pahl. Such mss. fall into two groups, Iranian and Indian.

The most important specimens of the Persian Pahlavi *Yasna* are Pt4, Mf4 and Mf1. These mss. became available to GELDNER only in the course of his work on an edition of the Avesta. Indeed, the ms. Mf4, an “important keystone in *Yasna* criticism” (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 24b, 26b), arrived only after his work on the *Yasna* had been completed and therefore could not be collated. However, Mf4 has since been published in facsimile, and was used for the first time by JOHANNA NARTEN in her 1986 edition (NARTEN, *YH*, p. 49). It has again been collated in the present work. Mf4 is slightly younger than Pt4, and both are independent copies of the same original (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 25a). Pt4, which is more accurate than Mf4 (p. 25b), was copied in Navsari from an old Iranian *Yasna* in 1779–1780 CE. Despite their relative youth as compared to the mss. of the Indian Pahlavi *Yasna*, the Persian ones, in particular Pt4, are most important codices. At the time GELDNER prepared his edition of the Avesta, Pt4 belonged to the family collection of Dastur Dr P.B. SANJANA in Bombay.³⁶ While the whereabouts of the original manuscript are presently unknown, a

35 For instance, in Y 36.3, the Pahlavi translation splits the Av. sentence in the middle, i.e. after *vōi* and before *ahiiā*, thus separating the substantive *mainiiuš* from its attribute *spāništō*, see Y 36.3 no. 2 *nāmanam vāzištōm* ‘the most invigorating of names’.

36 GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 12b–13a.

facsimile and a microfilm are kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.³⁷ Mf1 is also very accurate.

The best mss. of the Indian Pahlavi *Yasna* are K5 and J2. They were written within a few months of each other in the year 1323 in Cambay (Gujarat) by the priest MIHRĀBĀN, who also copied the valuable Pahlavi *Videvdad* mss. K1 and L4 as well as the oldest extant Pahlavi codex MK. K5 and J2 are closely related and constitute the oldest extant *Yasna* mss. (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 24).

In general, Pt4 and Mf4 offer a more accurate text than K5 and J2. The former pair, on the Persian side, and the latter, on the Indian, are the offshoots of two independent but related traditions of the Pahlavi *Yasna* which have branched off from the same original ms. The Iranian version tends to converge with the Persian *Vendidad Sade* texts, while the Indian mss. often agree with the Indian vulgate (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 38a).

Around 1200 CE the Parsi priest NERYOSANGH DHAVAL translated the Pahlavi version of *Yasna* 1–47 into Sanskrit. This further rendering constitutes the third group of Pahlavi *Yasna* mss., called Pahlavi-Sanskrit *Yasna*, and as expected is found in Indian mss. only. The latter contain the Avestan divided into clauses, each of which is followed first by its Pahlavi and then by its Sanskrit translation. The most important of such mss. are S1 and J3. They are of great text-critical value because they represent a tradition which goes back to a ms. older than the ancestral ones of the Persian and Indian Pahlavi *Yasnas* (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 30f., 33–34).

5.2. The *Vendidad Sāde* mss.

Mss. of the Avestan text alone, without its Pahlavi translation and commentary, are called *Sade* or ‘pure’ mss. The *Vendidad Sade* mss. contain the text recited during the longest of all Zoroastrian rituals, the *Vendidad* ceremony. The text consists of the *Yasna* combined with the chapters of the *Visperad* and the *Videvdad*. Initially, only those from the *Visperad* are interspersed with chapters from the *Yasna*. Then from the beginning of the *Gathas* in Y 28 to the end of the *Staota Yesnya* in Y 55 both the *Visperad* and the *Vendidad* are inserted. Finally, after this, all insertions cease and the *Yasna* alone is recited to the end.³⁸

All mss. of the *Vendidad Sade* ultimately go back to a common archetype. GELDNER has no doubt that the latter in turn was compiled from the Pahlavi Avesta mss. because “we can hardly conceive of the Vendîdâd of the Sassanians without the Pahlavî translation”. He suggests that the assumed archetype of the *Vendidad Sades* is earlier than our oldest extant Pahlavi *Vendidads*, i.e. that

37 See CANTERA/DE VAAN 2005, p. 32. The two scholars argue that both Pt4 and Mf4 ultimately descend from an ancestral manuscript that was written before 1020 CE and in which the Avestan text of the *Yasna* was combined with its Pahlavi translation and commentary from two separate sources.

38 GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 19 with n. 1; GIPPERT 2002, p. 174; HINTZE 2004a, pp. 300–302.

it predates the ms. of Rustam, the original from which L4 and K1 were copied (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 19). As evidence for this GELDNER adduces the fact that Avesta quotations from the Pahlavi mss. have crept into the Sade ones (*Prolegomena*, p. 19). Moreover, the independence of the *Vendidad Sade* mss. from the Pahlavi *Vendidad*s is proved by a series of divergent and independent readings found as common class signs in the former, but not in the latter. Of the extant mss., there are those of the Persian *Vendidad Sade*, on the one hand, and those of the Indian *Vendidad Sade*, on the other. Often the Persian one agrees with the Pahlavi *Vendidad* and Pahlavi *Yasna* against the Indian *Vendidad Sade* (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 20).

5.2.1. The Persian *Vendidad Sade*

The Persian *Vendidad Sade* is attested by the valuable mss. Mf2, Jp1 and K4. Mf2 and Jp1, dating from 1618 and 1638 respectively, represent the old tradition written in Yazd, whereas K4 was written in 1723 in Kerman. Ultimately the three mss. go back to a common ancestor. They preserve a considerably better text than the Indian *Vendidad Sades*, and GELDNER considers their text-critical value to be “inestimable”, although their readings are not as original for the *Yasna* as they are for the *Videvdad*. In any case, the Persian *Vendidad Sade* testifies that in Iran mss. were copied with greater care than they were in India (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 22b–24a, 34–35).

5.2.2. The Indian *Vendidad Sade*

All mss. of the Indian *Vendidad Sade* ultimately go back to a common Indian ancestral ms., though it is not known when the latter was brought from Iran to India. The Indian *Vendidad Sades* represent the vulgate text which must have already existed in India in the first half of the 14th century (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 20–22). It is likely that such a text existed before the arrival of the Iranian Pahlavi *Vendidad* in India. This emerges from the influence of vulgate readings on the old Pahlavi *Vendidad* mss. L4 and K1 written in Cambay (Gujarat) by MITRŌ-ĀBĀN and dating from 1323 and 1324 respectively. Although copied in India, both mss. are of Iranian descent (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 18). Only a very few extant mss. of the Indian *Vendidad Sade* group predate the eighteenth century.

5.3. The *Yasna Sade*

All mss. of the *Yasna Sade* are of Indian origin. They contain the Av. text only of the *Yasna*. Their text often resembles that of the *Vendidad Sades*, but is more influenced by the Indian vulgate pronunciation. GELDNER distinguishes two families of *Yasna Sades*. The first, represented by C1, K11 and Lb2, ultimately goes back to a *Yasna* originally imported from Persia but whose tradition was subsequently indianized. By contrast, those of the second family, e.g. H1, J6 and

L13, derive from one Indian ancestral ms. Those of a third group, represented by J5 and L20, are so inaccurate that, according to GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 36–37, they may even be left out of account.

5.4. Survey of the *Yasna* manuscripts

The mss. of the groups discussed above are as follows³⁹:

I. Pahlavi *Yasna*

- Persian: Pt4 (1780) Mf4 (shortly after 1780)⁴⁰ Mf1 (1741)⁴¹ Fl1 Br2⁴²
- Indian: K5 (1323)⁴³ J2 (1323)⁴⁴ B3 L17 (1551) M1 (1734)⁴⁵
- Pahl.-Sanskrit *Yasna* (only Indian): S1 (14/15 cent.?) J3 P11⁴⁶ P3 K15⁴⁷ K6⁴⁸ J4⁴⁹

II. Persian *Vendidad Sade*⁵⁰

- Mf2 (1618) Jp1 (1638) K4 (1723)⁵¹

III. Indian *Vendidad Sade*⁵²

- better mss.: Br1 (1748)⁵³ L2 (1759) K10 (after 1743)
- mss. of intermediate quality: Dh1 (1764) Ml1 (date?) S2 (modern)
- inferior mss.: L1 (very old)⁵⁴ M2 (1657) O2 (1681) B2 (old) P1 (1714) L3 (date?) Bb1 (date?) L5 (1792) Jm2 (date?) Jm3 (date?) J1 (carelessly written)

39 They are listed after HOFFMANN 1984, cf. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 49f.

40 Facsimile edition by JAMASPASA/NAWABI 1976. The ms. is also described by DHABHAR, *Pahlavi Yasna*, p. 7f. Cf. also above, p. 23f.

41 Like Pt4 and Mf4, Mf1 is a copy of the codex of HÖŠANG, but the Pahlavi commentary has been omitted by the scribe (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 25b; CANTERA/DE VAAN 2005, p. 32).

42 Both Fl1 and Br2 are modern copies of Mf1, see GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 27, 34.

43 Facsimile edition by CHRISTENSEN, K5.

44 Facsimile edition by MILLS, J2.

45 While no descendents of J2 survive, B3, L17 and M1 are all copies of K5, see GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 30a, 34.

46 P11 is a copy of J3.

47 P3 and K15 are both copies of P11.

48 K6 is a copy of J3.

49 J4 is a copy of K6.

50 GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 22–24, 35b.

51 K4 is not a real *Vendidad Sade* but a *Vishtasp Sade* in which the eight *Fargards* of the *Vishtasp Yasht*, rather than the *Videvdad*, are inserted into the *Yasna*, see GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 34a.

52 GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 20–22.

53 Br1 is the most accurate of the Indian *Vendidad Sade* mss. (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 21), but GELDNER did not collate it for his edition of the *Yasna* (*Prolegomena*, p. 35f.).

54 L1 is the oldest ms. of the Indian *Vendidad Sade*, but the date 1435 CE (A.Y. 804) is doubtful because it is inserted by a later hand (*secunda manu*) on fol. 246, which is made of modern paper (GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, pp. 8, 22).

IV. *Yasna Sade*

- from an Iranian ancestral ms., but later indianized: C1 (before 1700) K11 (1647) Lb2 (1660)
- from an Indian ancestral ms.: H1 (old)⁵⁵ J6 (1600?)⁵⁶ L13 (date?)⁵⁷ J7⁵⁸ Jm1⁵⁹ O1⁶⁰
- incorrect mss. of Indian descent: J5 (ca. 1700) L20 (modern) P6 (old)⁶¹

In addition, there are mss. of the Iranian *Khorda Avesta* containing the *Abunavaiti Gatha* (Y 28–34) only. They are irrelevant for the YH:

V. Iranian *Khorda Avesta*

- K 37 (modern) Pd (date?). Both mss. are close to K4 and C1.

Finally, there are mss. of the YH which belong to none of the groups listed above. Most of them are *Khorda Avestas*:

- F2 K7c K8 K20 K36 M25 M26 R1 (= Jm4)

5.5. The arrangement of the ms. readings in this edition

The present edition follows the example of NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 49–85, and lists the manuscript readings in the order given above. A semicolon separates mss. belonging to different groups and a comma those of different sub-groups. Of the mss. already at GELDNER's disposition, I have once more collated the ms. C1 at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and J6 of the collection J.M. JamaspAsa. In addition, I have consulted the facsimile editions of the mss. Mf4, K5 and J2, also freshly collated by NARTEN, and supplied additional readings. Dastur K.M. JAMASPASA kindly granted me access not only to J6 but also to the second part of the ms. J5, of which GELDNER only had the first 136 folios up to *Yasna* 36. The second part consists of fols. 138–253 and contains Y 36.6–61.4.⁶²

55 H1 is the most accurate of all *Yasna Sade* mss.

56 In J6, the YH is on fols. 116v to 124r.

57 L13 has been corrected after the Pahlavi *Yasna* mss. K5 and J2.

58 J7 is a copy of H1 with many corrections and improvements.

59 Jm1 is a copy of J6.

60 O1 is a copy of L13.

61 P6 is copied from an original corrected after K5.

62 GELDNER, *Prolegomena*, p. 4. While the location of the first 136 folios is presently unknown, I found the second half of J5, i.e. fols. 138–253, in the family collection of Dastur K.M. JAMASPASA, see HINTZE 1989, p. 31.

6. Arrangement of the present edition

The present edition offers the Avestan text of the YH with the variant readings of the mss. In part III, Edition and Commentary, the Avestan text with ms. readings and translation is given stanza by stanza. A small superscript number after an Avestan word refers to the number in the text-critical apparatus where variant readings are listed. These numbers are those of GELDNER's edition. The form edited by GELDNER is indicated by the siglum G. Additional readings are marked with the preceding number followed by a small letter. After the Avestan text and variant readings a translation is given. A small superscript number after a word in the translation refer to the commentary. In order to facilitate a continuous reading of the text, part II also offers the running text and translation, but without variant readings. In the Dictionary and Indices, Avestan words are arranged according to the Latin alphabet (see p. 327).

II. Text and Translation

Yasna 35

Y 35.1

(zōt̥ ·:) *ahurəm mazdąm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide ·:*
aməṣā¹ spəntā¹ huxšaθrā² huδāṇhō yazamaide ·:
vīspąm ašaonō stīm yazamaide
mainiiəuuīmā³ gaēθiiąmā⁴
bərəjā⁵ vaṇhōuš ašahe
bərəjā⁵ daēnaiiā vaṇ^vhiiā⁶ māzdaiiasnōiš ·:

(rāspī ·:) *ahurəm ... °tā° (= Y 35.1) ... māzdaiiasnōiš ·:*⁷

(Chief priest:) We worship the Wise Lord, the truthful model of truth.
We worship the Bounteous Immortals of good rule, the beneficent ones.
We worship the entire spiritual and material
existence of the truthful one
with esteem¹ for good Truth²,
with esteem¹ for the good Mazdā-worshipping belief³.

(Assistant priest:) We worship the Wise Lord ... °to° (= Y 35.1) ... of the good
Mazdā-worshipping belief.

Y 35.2

(zōt̥ ·:) *¹humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm²*
iiadacā³ aniiadacā^{3a}
vərəziiamnanąmā⁴ vāuuərəzanąmā⁵
mahī aibī.jarətārō⁶
naēnaēstārō⁷ +yaθnā⁸ vohunąm⁹ mahī ·:
humatanąm ... °tā° (= Y 35.2) ... mahī (du bār)¹⁰ °:

(Chief priest:) Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds
both here and elsewhere¹
being done and having been done
we are welcomers,
not revilers² of such³ good (things) are we.
Of good thoughts ... °to° (= Y 35.2) ... are we. (Twice).

Y 35.3

*taṭ aṭ +varəmaidī¹ ahurā² mazdā²
 ašā srīrā
 hīiaṭ³ ī mainimadicā⁴ vaocōimācā⁵ +varəzimācā⁶
 yā hātqm +šīiaoḍananqm⁷ vahištā xīiaṭ⁸
 ubōibīiā ahubīiā⁹ ∴*

O Wise Lord¹, because of beauteous truth⁴
 we have certainly² chosen³ this:
 that we may think, speak and perform⁵ those⁶
 existing actions which may be best
 for both existences⁷.

Y 35.4

*gauuōi¹ +ad-āiš^{1a}
 tāiš šīiaoḍanāiš² yāiš vahištāiš
 fraēšīiāmahi³
 rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdīiāi
 surunuuatascā⁴ asurunuuatascā⁵
 xšaiiaṇtascā⁶ axšaiiaṇtascā⁷ ∴*

For the benefit of the cow¹ by (doing) these²,
 (namely) these best actions,
 we urge
 those who listen and those who do not,
 those who rule and those who do not
 to provide peace and pasture.

Y 35.5

*+huxšaḍrō.təmāi¹ +bā +aṭ² xšaḍrəm^{2a}
 ahmaṭ hīiaṭ³ aibi⁴
 dadəmahicā⁵ cīšmahicā⁶ +huuṇmahicā⁷
 hīiaṭ⁸ mazdāi ahurāi
 ašāicā vahištāi ∴
 +huxšaḍrō.təmāi ... °tā° (= Y 35.5) ... vahištāi (si bār)^{8a} ∴*

As far as we are concerned¹,
 we offer, assign and impart²
 the rule to the one whose rule is indeed the very³ best,
 namely the Wise Lord,
 and to the best Truth.

As far as we are concerned ... °to° (= Y 35.5) ... and to the best Truth. (Three times).

Y 35.6

yaθā āt̥¹ utā nā vā² nāirī vā³
vaēdā haiθīm⁴
aθā⁵ haṭ vohū^{5a}
+taṭ.ēθ-ād-ū⁶ vərəziiōtūcā⁷ īt ahmāi⁸
fracā⁹ vātōiiōtū¹⁰ īt aēibiiō^{10a}
yōi īt¹¹ aθā vərəziiān¹²
yaθā īt astī ∴

Just as now a man or a woman
 knows what is real,
 so (do they know) what is really good.
 Therefore let them now also¹ put it into practice
 and let them make it known to those
 who shall practise it in the way
 that it really is.

Y 35.7

ahurahiiā zī¹ aṭ vā² mazdā³
yasnəmcā⁴ vahməmcā
vahištəm^{4a} aməhmaidī⁵
gəušcā vāstrəm⁶
taṭ aṭ vā⁷ vərəziiāmahi⁸
fracā⁹ vātōiiāmahi¹⁰
yā.tā¹¹ isāmaidē¹² ∴

For we recognized
 that the worship and praise
 of the Wise Lord alone
 and pasture of the cow is best for you¹.
 It is precisely this that we shall practise for you¹
 and make (it) known
 as much as we can.

Y 35.8

ašahiiā āaṭ¹ sairī²
ašahiiā³ vərəzānē⁴
kahmāicī⁵ hātəm
jījišəm vahištəm ādā⁶
ubōibiiā⁶ ahubiiā
ašahiiā ... °tā° (= Y 35.8) ... ahubiiā (du bār)⁷ ∴

I now tell¹ every (human) being
that in union with Truth,
(and) in the community of Truth
the desire to gain (one's living)² is best
for both existences.

I now tell ... °to° (= Y 35.8) ... for both existences. (Twice).

Y 35.9

*imā¹ āt² uxδā vacā³
ahurā³ mazdā³
ašəm +manaiiā⁴ vahehiiā⁵
frauuaocāmā⁶
θβəm at aēšəm
paitiiāstārəmca^{6a} fradaxštārəmca⁷
dadəmaidē⁸ ∴*

These words now,
O Wise Lord,
we proclaim¹ as solemn utterances²,
with very good concentration³ on Truth.
We designate
you only as their
listener⁴ and teacher⁵.

Y 35.10

*ašāatcā¹ hacā²
vañhəušcā² manəñhō²
vañhəušcā xšaθrāt³
staotāiš⁴ θβāt⁵ ahurā^{5a} staotōibiiō^{5b} aibī⁶
uxδā θβāt^{6a} uxδōibiiō^{6b}
yasnā θβāt^{6c} yasnōibiiō ∴
yeñhē hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yāñhəmca tascā] tascā yazamaide⁷ (du bār) ∴ ∴*

On account of truth,
of good thought
and of good rule,
through these (verses), O Lord, praise¹ now² (follows on) from praise³,
solemn utterance now² from solemn utterance,
worship now² from worship.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

Yasna 36

Y 36.1

ahiiā ॐβā āॐrō¹ vərəzānā²
paouruiiē³ + pairijasāmaidē⁴ mazdā⁵ ahurā⁵
ॐβā ॐβā⁶ mainiiū spāništā⁷
yā⁸ ā⁹ axtiš⁹ ahmāi
yām axtōiōi¹⁰ dāyḥē¹¹ ∴

Together with the community of this fire here,
we approach you, O Wise Lord, at the beginning¹,
(we approach) you together with your most bounteous spirit
who indeed (is) harm² for the one
whom you consign to harm².

Y 36.2

uruuāzištō^{1a} huuō nā¹
yātāiiā² paitī.jamiiā³
ātarā⁴ mazdā⁵ ahurahiiā
uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziiā⁶
namištahiiā nəmanḥā⁷ nā⁷
mazištāi⁸ yāyḥam paitī.jamiiā⁹ ∴

You there¹, the most joyful one,
may you come close² to us for the sake of the request³,
O fire of the Wise Lord!
May you come close² to us,
with the joy of the most joyful one,
with the veneration of the most venerating one⁴,
for the greatest of the appeals⁵.

Y 36.3

*ātarā*¹ vōi² mazdā³ ahurahiiā ahī³
mainiiuś⁴ vōi ahiiā spāništō^{4a} ahī⁵
hiiat⁶ vā tōi⁷ nāmanam vāzištəm
ātarā⁸ mazdā^{8a} ahurahiiā
tā ॐβā⁹ pairijasāmaidē¹⁰ ∴

You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord¹.
 You are truly his most bounteous spirit¹.
 We approach you,
 O fire of the Wise Lord,
 (while uttering) what is indeed the most invigorating² of your names.

Y 36.4

vohū^{1a} θβā manayhā
vohū^{1a} θβā ašā
vanhuiiā θβā cistōiš
+šiiāoθānāišcā¹ vacēbīšcā²
pairijasāmaidē³ ∴

We approach you
 with good thought,
 (we approach) you with good truth,
 (we approach) you with deeds and words
 of good insight.

Y 36.5

nəmaχiiāmahi^{1a} išūidiiāmahi¹
θβā mazdā ahurā
vīspāiš θβā humatāiš
vīspāiš hūxtāiš^{1b}
vīspāiš huuarštāiš²
pairijasāmaidē³ ∴

We pay homage, we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.
 We approach you
 with all good thoughts,
 with all good words,
 with all good deeds.

Y 36.6

¹sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpēm² kəhrpəm²
āuuaēdaiiamahi³ mazdā ahurā
imā⁴ raocā⁵
barəzištəm^{5a} +barəzəmanəm⁶ auuaṭ
yāt⁷ huuarē⁸ auuācī⁹ ∴

¹⁰*yeñhē hātām* [(= Y 27.15) *āat yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēdā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide* ∴ ∴

We now declare¹, O Wise Lord,
 that this light here²
 has been the most beautiful manifestation of your manifestations³,
 ever since⁴ yonder highest of heights⁵
 was called the sun.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

Yasna 37

Y 37.1

iθā¹ āt² yazamaidē³ ahurəm mazdām
yā gāmcā ašāmcā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vañhīs⁴
raocāscā dāt būmīmcā⁵
vīspācā vohū^{5a} ∴

In this way¹ we now worship² the Wise Lord,
 who has created³ the cow and truth,
 (who) has created the waters and the good plants,
 (who) has created light and the earth
 and all that is good

Y 37.2

ahīiā xšaθrācā mazānācā hauuapañhāišcā¹
tām at yasnanām² pauruuatātā^{2a} yazamaidē^{2b}
yōi^{2c} gōuš hacā šīieñti³ ∴

by his rule, greatness and skills.¹
 We worship him with the most excellent worship² (of those)
 who are on the side of the cow³.

Y 37.3

tām¹ at ābhūiriiā² nāmānī³
mazdā.varā⁴ +spəntō.tāmā⁵ yazamaidē^{5a}
tām⁶ ahmākāiš⁷ +azdābīšcā⁸ uštānāišcā⁹ yazamaidē^{9a}

*tām¹⁰ aṣāunqm¹¹ frauuaṣīṣ¹²
narqmā nāirinqmā¹³ yazamaide^{5a} ∴*

We worship him in the form of his lordly names,
(which are) welcome to the Wise one (and which are) the most bounteous ones.
We worship him with our limbs and lives.
We worship him in the form of the choices¹ of the truthful ones,
both men and women.²

Y 37.4

*aṣəm at¹ vahištəm yazamaide^{1a}
hiiat² sraēštəm^{2a}
hiiat^{2b} spəntəm aməṣəm
hiiat^{2c} + raocōṇhuuat³
hiiat^{3a} + vīspā.vohū^{3b} ∴*

We worship best Truth¹,
the most beautiful one,
the bounteous immortal²,
that is full of light,
that provides all that is good.

Y 37.5

*vohucā¹ manō yazamaide^{1a}
vohucā^{1b} xšaθrəm²
vaṇvīmā³ daēnqm^{3a}
vaṇvīmā^{3b} fsəratūm⁴
vaṇvīmā⁵ ārmaitīm^{5a} ∴
⁶yejhē hātqm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā aṣāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide ∴ ∴*

And we worship good Thought,
and good Rule,
and good Belief,
and good Joy¹,
and good Right-mindedness.
We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

Yasna 38

Y 38.1

imam āat¹ zam
ganābīs² haθrā^{2a} yazamaidē³
yā nā⁴ baraiti^{4a}
yāscā tōi ganā⁵ ahurā⁶ mazdā
ašāt hacā vairiia^{6a}
tā yazamaidē³ ∴

Now we worship this earth here
 together with the noblewomen¹.
 (We worship the earth) that bears us
 and we worship
 these noblewomen¹ of yours, O Wise Lord,
 who are excellent on account of Truth:

Y 38.2

īzā^{1a} yaoštaiiō¹ fəraštaiiō² ārmataiio³
vaṇhīm⁴ ābīs⁵ ašīm⁶
vaṇhīm^{6a} īšam⁷
vaṇhīm^{7a} āzūitīm^{7b}
vaṇhīm⁸ frasastīm
vaṇhīm^{8a} + parəndīm⁹ yazamaidē^{9a} ∴

¹(noblewomen like) Invigoration², Vitalization³, Perfection⁴, Right-mindedness.
 Together with them we worship good Reward⁵,
 good Strengthening⁶,
 good Libation⁷,
 good Glory⁸
 (and) good Abundance⁹.

Y 38.3

¹apō at yazamaidē^{1a}
+ maēkaiiaṇtīscā² + hēbuuaṇtīscā³
frauuazayhō ahurānīs^{3a}
*ahurahiiā *hauuapayhā⁴*
hupərəθpāscā⁵ vā⁶
huuōyžadāscā⁷
hūšnāθrāscā⁸
ubōibiiā^{8a} ahubiiā cagəmə⁹ ∴

We worship
 the tasty¹ and sap-providing² waters,
 the lordly ones⁴ who move swiftly³
 by the Lord's⁵ skill⁶.
 (We worship) you, who are easy to cross⁷,
 smoothly flowing⁸
 and with good places for bathing⁹,
 (you who are) a gift¹⁰ for both existences.

Y 38.4

⁺uitī¹ yā² vā² vaṇ^hhīš³
 ahurō mazdā⁴ nāmam⁴ dadāt⁵
 vaṇhudā^{5a} hiiat⁶ vā⁶ dadāt^{6a}
 tāiš vā⁷ yazamaide^{7a}
 tāiš^{7b} friiṇmahī⁸
 tāiš nāmaxiiāmahī⁹
 tāiš išūidiiāmahī¹⁰ ∴

Thus¹, with these names which
 the Wise Lord assigned² to you, O good ones,
 when he was making² you into providers of good (things)³,
 with these (names) we worship you,
 with these (names) we please⁴ (you),
 with these (names) we pay homage (to you),
 with these (names) we bring (you) refreshment.

Y 38.5

apascā vā¹
 azīščā² vā¹
 mātəṛqščā³ vā⁴
 agəniā⁵
 drigudāiiāṇhō⁴ vīspō.paitīš⁵
⁺āuuāocāmā⁶
 vahištā sraēštā^{6a}
 auuā⁷ vā⁸ vaṇ^hhīš⁹ rātōiš¹⁰
 darəgō.bāzāuš¹¹ nāšū¹² paitī¹³
 viiādā¹³ paitī.sāṇdā¹⁴
 mātārō jītaiiō¹⁵ ∴

¹⁶yeṇhē hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat¹⁶ yesnē paitī
 vaṇhō mazdā ahurō vaēdā ašāt hacā
 yaṇhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide ∴ ∴

We call upon¹ you as the waters,
 (we call upon) you as milch cows²,
 (we call upon) you as mother-cows³,
 O prize cows⁴,
 who care for the destitute⁵, provide drink for everyone⁶,
 O best, most beautiful ones!
 Enjoying far-reaching⁷ achievements⁸
 because of your generosity, O good ones,
 I want to facilitate⁹
 your pleasant¹⁰ distributions¹¹,
 O living mothers!

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

Yasna 39

Y 39.1

*iṭā āt̥¹ yazamaidē^{1a}
 gəuš uruuānəm̐cā tašānəm̐cā^{1b}
 ahmākəṅg^{1c} āt̥^{1d} urunō
 pasukanəm̐cā
 yōi nā̊ jījīšəntī²
 yaēibiiascā^{2a} tōi ā³
 yaēcā³ aēibiiō ā aṇhən*

In this way we now¹ worship
 the cow's soul and (her) maker².
 Now we worship our own souls
 as well as those of the domestic animals
 which desire to gain our support³,
 (the animals) for which⁴ people here indeed⁵ (shall be available)
 and which⁴ indeed⁵ shall be available⁶ for people here,

Y 39.2

*daitikanəm̐cā¹
 aidiiūnəm̐² hīiat̥
 urunō yazamaidē^{2a}
 ašāunəm̐³ āt̥⁴ urunō yazamaidē^{2a}
 kudō.zātanəm̐cīt̥⁵*

narəmcā nāirinəmcā⁶
yaēšəm⁷ vahehīš⁸ daēnā⁹
vanaiṇti⁹ vā vānəghən¹⁰ vā +vaonarə¹¹ vā ∴

and (we worship) the souls¹
 of the wild animals,
 insofar as they are harmless.
 Now we worship the souls of the truthful ones,
 men and women,
 wherever they may have been born²,
 whose very good beliefs
 prevail, will prevail or have prevailed³.

Y 39.3

āṭ¹ iṭā² yazamaidē^{2a}
vaṇhūšcā³ iṭ^{3a} vaṇ^hhīšcā⁴ iṭ^{4a}
spəntəng aməšəng^{4b}
yaunaējiiō⁵ yaunaēsuno⁶
⁷yōi vaṇhəuš ā⁸ manəhō⁸ šūieṇti⁹
yāscā¹⁰ +uiti¹¹ ∴

Finally¹ in this way we worship
 the good bounteous immortals²,
 both male and female,
 who live forever, who thrive forever,
 (the male ones) who are on the side of good thought
 and (the female ones) who (are) as well.

Y 39.4

¹yaṭā tū² ī² ahurā³ mazdā³
mānəghācā⁴ vaocascā dāscā varəšcā⁵
yā vohū^{5a}
aṭā tōi dadəmahī⁶
aṭā cīšmahī^{6a}
aṭā ṭβā⁷ āiš⁷ yazamaidē^{7a}
aṭā nəmaxiiāmahi
aṭā išūidiiāmahi^{7b}
ṭβā mazdā ahurā ∴

yaṭā tū ī ... °tā° (= Y 39.4) ... mazdā ahurā (du bār) ∴

As indeed¹, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practise²

these (things) which (are) good³,
 so we offer (them) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you⁴,
 so we pay homage,
 so we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.

As indeed, O Wise Lord ... °to° (= Y 39.4) ... O Wise Lord. (Twice).

Y 39.5

vañhəuš^{1a} xʷaētəuš¹ xʷaētātā^{1b}
^{1c}*vañhəuš ašahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē²*
vañhuiiā² +fsəratuuō³
vañhuiiā āmatōiš^{3a} ∴
yeñhē^{3b} hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
vañhō mazdā² ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yāñhəm cā tascā] tāscā yazamaide (du bār)⁴ ∴ ∴

We approach you in the relationship of a good relative¹
 to good Truth,
 to good Joy,
 to good Right-mindedness.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

Yasna 40

Y 40.1

āhū at paitī¹ adāhū²
mazdā ahurā
mazdəm cā būiricā^{2a} kərəšuuā³
rāitī tōi xrapaitī⁴
ahmat⁵ hiiat aibī
hiiat mīždəm⁶ xmauuaiθīm⁷ fradadāθā^{7a}
daēnābiiō^{7b} mazdā ahurā

Here especially during these offerings¹,
 O Wise Lord,
 exercise your wisdom and wealth!²

Through your generosity there shall take shape³
 – as far as we are concerned –
 the prize which you have allocated to someone like me⁴
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:

Y 40.2

¹*ahiiā huuō nē² dāidī*
ahmāicā³ ahuiē³ manaxiiāicā⁴
taṭ ahiiā
yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā⁵
tauuacā⁶ haxēmā⁷ aṣaxiiācā⁸
vīspāi⁹ yauuē¹⁰ ∴

You there, give us from this (prize)¹
 for both this and the spiritual life,
 (give us) this from this (prize)
 by which we shall attain the following:
 fellowship² with you and Truth
 for all time!

Y 40.3

dāidī¹ aṭ nərəṣš² mazdā ahurā^{2a}
aṣāunō³ aṣacinaṇhō⁴
aidiiūš⁵ vāstriiēṇg⁶
darəgāi⁷ iṣiiāi⁸ bəzuuaitē⁹ haxmainē¹⁰
ahmaibiiā¹¹
ahmā.rafənaṇhō¹² ∴

Grant¹, indeed, O Wise Lord,
 truthful, truth-desiring² men³,
 non-violent herdsmen⁴,
 for long-lasting, invigorating, firm fellowship,
 (grant) to us
 (men) who are supported by us⁵,

Y 40.4

aṭā x^aaētūš¹
aṭā vərəzənā^{1a}
aṭā +haxēmam² xiiā³
yāiš hišcamaidē⁴
aṭā vā⁵ utā⁶ xiiāmā⁷ mazdā ahurā

*ašauuanō⁸ ərašiiā⁹
ištām¹⁰ rāitī¹¹ ∴*

*¹²yeṇhē hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yañhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide ∴ ∴*

likewise (grant us) families¹,
likewise communities!
May thus² be the fellowships³
with which we shall associate ourselves⁴.
May we thus also be yours, O Wise Lord,⁵
being truthful and inspired⁶
because of your granting what we desired⁷.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

Yasna 41

Y 41.1

*stūtō^{1a} garō^{1b} vahmāng^{1c}
ahurāi mazdāi
ašāicā¹ vahištāi^{1d}
dadəmahicā² cīšmahicā³ ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī ∴*

We offer, assign and dedicate¹
praises, hymns and prayers
to the Wise Lord
and to the best Truth.

Y 41.2

*vohū¹ xšaθrəm^{1a} tōi mazdā^{1b} ahurā
apaēmā^{1c}
vīspāi yaunē²
huxšaθrastū nā³
nā vā⁴ nāirī vā⁵
xšaētā^{5a}
ubōiō^{5a} aṇhuuō⁶
hātəm hudāstəmā^{6a} ∴*

May we obtain, O Wise one,
 your good rule
 for all time!
 May a good ruler,
 a man or a woman,
 rule over us
 in both existences,
 O most beneficent of those who exist!¹

Y 41.3

*humāim*¹ *θβā īžīm*²
yazatəm^{2a} *ašaṇhācim*³ *dadəmaidē*^{3a}
*aθā tū nā*⁴ *gaiiascā*⁵ *astəntāscā*⁶ *xiiā*^{6a}
*ubōiiō*⁷ *aṇhuuō*⁸
*hātqm hudāstəmā*⁹ ∴

*humāim θβā īžīm ... °tā° (= Y 41.3) ... hudāstəmā (du bār)*¹⁰ ∴

We regard you as the good-powered, invigorating
 venerable one, whose companion is Truth.
 May you then thus be for us life and corporality¹
 in both existences,
 O most beneficent of those who exist!

We regard you ... °to° (= Y 41.3) ... O most beneficent of those who exist!
 (Twice).

Y 41.4

hanaēmācā^{1a} *zaēmācā*^{1b} *mazdā*¹ *ahurā*
θβahmī^{1c} *rafənahī*²
*darəgāiiāu*³
*aēšācā*⁴ *θβā əmauuantascā*⁵ *+buiiāmā*⁶
*rapōišcā*⁷ *tū nā*⁸
*darəgəmcā*⁹ *uštācā*
*hātqm hudāstəmā*¹⁰ ∴

May we earn and obtain¹, O Wise Lord,
 your lifelong
 support!
 May we become² vigorous and strong³ through you
 and may you support us
 for a long time and according to (our) wish,
 O most beneficent of those who exist!

Y 41.5

θβōi¹staotarascā² mąθranascā ahurā³ mazdā³
 aogəmadaēcā usmahicā⁴ vīsāmadaēcā
 hiiat⁵ mīždəm⁶ *mauuaiθīm^{6a} fradadāθā
 daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā ∴

θβōi staotarascā ... °tā° (= Y 41.5) ... mazdā ahurā (du bār) ∴

We declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer¹
 to be your praisers and poets, O Wise Lord.
 The prize which² you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:

We declare ourselves ... °to° (= Y 41.5) ... our beliefs, O Wise Lord: (twice)

Y 41.6

ahiiā huuō¹ nā¹ dāidī^{1a}
 ahmāicā^{1b} ahuiiē² manaxiiāicā³
 taθ ahiiā⁴
 yā taθ^{4a} upā.jamiiāmā⁵
 tauuacā sarəm⁶ ašaxiiācā
 vīspāi yauuē⁷ ∴

You, there, give us from this (prize)
 for both this and the spiritual life,
 (give us) this from this (prize)
 by which we shall attain the following:
 union¹ with you and Truth
 for all time!

Y 41.7

¹yeñhē hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
 vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
 yāñhəm cā tascā] tāscā yazamaide (du bār) ∴

²humatanəm [(= Y 35.2) hūxtanəm huuarštanəm
 iiadacā aniiadacā
 vərəziiamnəmcā vāuuərəzanəmcā
 mahī aibī.jarətārō
 naēnaēstārō + yaθənā] vohunəm mahī (du bār) ∴

(rāspī ∴) ³yaθā ahū vairiiō [(= Y 27.13) aθā ratuš ašāt cīt hacā
 vañhōuš dazdā manəñhō šīiaoθananəm añhōuš mazdāi
 xšaθrəmcā ahurāi.ā yim drigubiiō dadat vāstārəm] (cihār bār) ∴

⁴*aṣəm vohū*^{4a} [(= Y 27.14) *vahištəm astī*
uštā astī uštā ahmāi
hiiat aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm] (*si bār*) ∴

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

Of good thoughts, [(= Y 35.2) good words, good deeds
both here and elsewhere
being done and having been done
we are welcomers,
not revilers] of such good (things) are we. (Twice).

(Assistant priest:) Just as he is to be chosen by existence, [(= Y 27.13) so the judge-
ment according to truth
about existence's actions of good thought is attributed to the Wise one
and the rule (is attributed) to the Lord whom one has appointed as a herdsman
for the destitute.] (Four times).

Truth is the [(= Y 27.14) highest good.
It is according to will, (it is) according to his will for him,
since Truth is for the best Truth.] (Three times).¹

Y 41.8

*yasnəm sūrəm haptanhaitīm*¹
aṣauuanəm aṣahe ratūm yazamaide

²*yeṇhē hātəm* [(= Y 27.15 *āat yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēvā aṣāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide* ∴ ∴

We worship the strong Seven-chapter Worship,
the truthful model of truth.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

III. Edition and Commentary

Yasna 35

Y 35.1

(zōt̥ ·:) *ahurəm mazdām ašaunām ašahe ratūm yazamaide ·:*
aməšā¹ spəntā¹ huxšaθrā² huδāñhō yazamaide ·:
vīspām ašaonō stīm yazamaide
mainiiəuuīmcā³ gaēθiiāmca⁴
bəraja⁵ vañhəuš ašahe
bəraja⁵ daēnaiiā⁶ vañhuiiā⁶ māzdaiiasnōiš ·:

(rāspī ·:) *ahurəm ... °tā° (= Y 35.1) ... māzdaiiasnōiš ·:*⁷

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>aməšāspəntā</i> Pt4; L2, L1 L3; C1, L13
 <i>aməšā. spəntā</i> G Mf4 K5 J2, S1 J3; K4;
 J6 (<i>aməš°</i>)
 <i>aməšā. spəntā</i> Jp1
 <i>aməšā</i> S2</p> <p>2 <i>huxšaθrā</i> G
 <i>huxšaθrā</i> C1, J6
 <i>huxšaθrā</i> Jp1</p> <p>3 <i>mainiiəuuīmcā</i> Pt4 Mf4, S1; K11, H1
 L13, P6
 <i>mainiiəuuīmcā</i> K5 J2, J3; C1, J6 (<i>°im.cā</i>,
 <i>a sec.m. over an erasure</i>)
 <i>mainiiəuuīmcā</i> G Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>mainiiəuuīmcā</i> L2, Bb1; [J1]
 <i>mainiiūmcā</i> S2, L1 B2 L3; J7, J5; [M25]</p> | <p>4 In Mf1 part of the page is torn away
 <i>gaēθiiāmca</i> Pt4 (first <i>i</i> above the line)
 Mf4; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>gaēθiiāmca</i> G K5 J2, S1 J3
 <i>gaēθiiāmca</i> L2
 <i>gaēθiīmcā</i> S2, B2 L3; K11, J6 J7, J5
 <i>gaēθiīmcā</i> C1, J6 (<i>°im.cā</i>)
 <i>gaēθiim. cā</i> H1</p> <p>5 <i>bəraja</i> Mf4
 <i>bəraja</i> G K5 J2, J3; L2; C1, J6 J7
 <i>bəraza</i> S2, L1 O2; H1 the second time</p> <p>6 <i>vañhuiiā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; K4; L2; C1
 <i>vañubiiā</i> L1 L3; K11, H1 J6 L13 J7</p> <p>7 The Rāspī repeats Y 35.1</p> |
|---|---|

(Chief priest:) We worship the Wise Lord, the truthful model of truth.
We worship the Bounteous Immortals of good rule, the beneficent ones.
We worship the entire spiritual and material
existence of the truthful one
with esteem¹ for good Truth²,
with esteem¹ for the good Mazdā-worshipping belief³.

(Assistant priest:) We worship the Wise Lord ... °to° (= Y 35.1) ... of the good
Mazdā-worshipping belief.

1 *bərəjā* ‘with esteem’

In all of its six Av. attestations, the fem. root noun *bərəj-* governs the gen. or dat. of either *aša-* ‘truth’ or *daēnā-* ‘belief’. It usually occurs as the instr.sg. *bərəjā*, especially in the formula

bərəja vaṇhōuš ašahe
bərəja daēnaiiā vaṇhuiiā māzdaiiasnōiš

with esteem for good Truth,
 with esteem for the good Mazdā-worshipping belief

which is found in Y 15.1, G 5.6 and also in Y 35.1, where the form is (Pseudo-) OAv. *bərəjā*. Elsewhere, *bərəj-* governs either the gen. *ašahe* (Y 62.10, Purs. 48, A 3.4) or the dat. *daēnaiiāi* (Yt 10.92). The various instances usually occur in a ritual context. Thus, the ritual fire is involved in

Y 62.10 *uruuāxšaṇha gaiia jiyaēša*
tā xšapanō yā juuāhī
imaṭ āθrō āfriuanəm
yō ahmāi aēsməm baraiti
hikūš raocas.pairīštā
ašahe bərəja yaoždātā

May you live a joyful life
 all the nights that you live!
 This is the blessing of the fire (for the one)
 who brings to it firewood,
 dry, chosen for a bright flame,
 purified, with esteem for Truth.

In Yt 10.92, the expression *hē ... bərəja ... daēnaiiāi* probably refers to Mithra:

Yt 10.92 *frā hē aməša spənta*
*bərəja *vərənata daēnaiiāi*
frā hē mazdā huuāpā
ratuθβəm barāt gaēθanəm

Because of his [i.e. Mithra’s] esteem for the Belief
 the Bounteous Immortals made their choice¹.
 To him [i.e. Mithra] the Wise one, whose works are good,
 shall confer the office of judge over the living beings.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 957, posits the meaning of *bərəj-* as ‘rite’ (“religiöser Brauch, religiöse Form, Ritus”) and connects it etymologically with Ved. *bṛh-* in *bṛhaspāti-* and *bráhman-*. While the equation with Ved. *bráh-man-* has to be

1 NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 20f. with fn. 40, cf. 1985a, p. 43 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, p. 291] emends the transmitted *vərənta* to the 3pl. **vərənata*. She interprets the sentence as Mithra’s attitude to the Mazdā-worshipping belief providing the model for the Bounteous Immortals choosing in favour of the same, *AmSp.*, p. 21f.

abandoned because the latter actually corresponds to Iranian **braz-man-* (preserved in the OP expression *artācā brazmaniy(a)*), that with Ved. *bṛh-* has continued to figure in discussions on the etymology of *bərəj-* and its derivatives.² If both Av. *bərəj-* and Ved. *bṛh-* go back to a common IIr. root noun **bʰrǵʰ-*, then the adjective *bərəxδa-* 'esteemed', the only representative of a form from this root in the Older Avesta, necessitates some explanation. For if the underlying root is aspirated, then BARTHOLOMAE's law applies:

**bʰrǵʰ-tʰa- > *bʰrǵ-dʰa- > *bərəg-da-*,

cf. OAv. *aogədā < *augʰ-ta* 'he speaks', YAv. (analogical) *aoxta*.³ However, if *bərəxδa-* is the result of regular sound laws, an unaspirated root is required:

**bʰrǵ-tʰa- > *bʰrk-tʰa- > *bərəx-θa- > bərəx-δa-*.⁴

In order to retain the etymological connection with Ved. *bṛh-*, Av. *bərəxδa-* could be explained by analogical remodelling. BARTHOLOMAE 1895–1901, p. 22, §53.II.3, suggests such an operation for some YAv. forms, in particular *aīfidraoxδa-* 'to be deceived', which is built from a root ending in an aspirated velar (IIr. **dʰrayǵʰ-*). All of his examples, however, are from the Younger Avesta, and if *bərəxδa-* is derived from the aspirated root **bʰergʰ*, it constitutes an instance of such analogical remodelling in the Older Avesta.

Regardless of whether or not the IIr. root is aspirated, it is well represented not only in Avestan but also in Middle Iranian. In particular, it is found in Khot. *buljāte* 'honours' (< **bṛjāia-*), which continues the same present formation as Av. *bərəjaiia-*.⁵ The Av. verb is variously translated as 'to greet', 'to welcome' or 'to honour'.⁶ The fact that syntactically *bərəjaiia-* governs the gen. agrees well

2 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, p. 233; *LIV²*, p. 79f. with n. 1; for earlier views on the etymology of *bərəj-* see the survey by KELLEN, *Noms-racines*, pp. 350–353.

3 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 95f.; BARTHOLOMAE 1895–1901, p. 21, §53.I.3. Cf. PIRART in KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 80, n. 7, according to whom, however, the expected **bərəgāda-* goes back to **bʰrǵʰ-tó-*.

4 On the Av. development of **xθ*, **fθ > xδ, fδ*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 94, §60g.

5 EMMERICK, *SGS*, p. 102; KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, p. 135 with n. 2; cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2002b, p. 404, fn. 25. The root is also continued in MP *ārzōg* 'desire, lust', which translates the Av. root noun *bərəj-*. GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, pp. 236, 328, convincingly derives *ārzōg* from **ā-bərəj-u-*, but seems to go too far in also postulating the meaning 'desire' for Av. *bərəj-*. The Av. present stem *bərəjii-* underlies the superl. *bərəjiiqstama-* in N 1 [= Herb.1] *yō aṣāi bərəjiiqstamō* 'the one who has the greatest esteem for truth'. According to his own semantic definition of the root noun *bərəj-* (see above), of which *bərəjii-* is a denominative pres., BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 958, translates the phrase as 'der des heiligen Rechts Riten am besten zu vollziehen weiss' and considers the dat. *aṣāi* to be functioning as a gen. HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN's reading is 'he who (is) most desirous of Righteousness' (p. 17) and that of KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, p. 27, 'he who is most welcoming to righteousness'.

6 GELDNER, *Studien zum Avesta*, p. 35: 'ehren, achten'; BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 945: 'willkommen heißen'; KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, pp. 16, 135: 'saluer' and *Liste*, p. 38: 'honorer'.

with its basic meaning ‘to pay attention to, take notice of’, postulated on the basis of its etymological connection with Gothic *bairgan* ‘to keep, preserve’ and the IE verb **b^herg^b*.⁷ The semantic component of ‘to preserve’ could be one of the Av. verb’s overtones in Vd 7.52, a passage which describes the good fate of the soul of a deceased person who has earned merit by digging away earth from the ground (*daxma-*) where human corpses have been deposited (Vd 3.13 and 7.50). After death such a soul proceeds from ‘endangered’ to ‘unendangered’ life in the vicinity of the divine beings. Here the verb *barəj* describes the action of the heavenly bodies and Ahura Mazdā who welcomes the soul as it ascends to ‘best life’:

Vd 7.52 *nōiṭ zī ahmi paiti nairi*
duua mainiiū rāna auua.stāṇhaṭ
fraša fraiia vahištəm ā ahūm
bərajaiaṇti šē zaraθuštra
strāšca māṇhəmca huuarəca
azəmca hē bərajaēm
yō daδuuā ahurō mazdā
ušta iḍa tē narə
yō iḍiiejaṇhataṭ haca aṇhaot
aiḍiiejaṇhəm ahūm ā frafra

For the two spirits shall not engage in struggle
over this man.

“Forwards, proceed to best life!”:

(with these words) the stars, the moon and the sun
shall welcome him, O Zarathustra;
and I, the creator, Ahura Mazdā,
shall welcome him (with the words):

“What is desired (is) here for you, O man,
as you have proceeded from endangered life
to unendangered life.”

In Yt 10.90 the agent of *bərajaia-* is also Ahura Mazdā and, in addition, the Amesha Spentas, while the object is Haoma, to whom the deities are favourably disposed. The verb describes the same attitude in Y 65.11, although the agent is not identified but simply indicated by *pouru-* ‘many’:

Y 65.11 *āpō ištīm vō jaiḍiiāmi*
pouru.sarəδəm amauvaitīm
frazantīmca xāparəm
yeṇhā pourūšca bərajaiaṇ
naēcišca aṇhā yāsāiti ziiānāi
nōiṭ snadāi nōiṭ mahrkai
nōiṭ aēnanḥe nōiṭ apaiiatē

7 B. SCHIRMER/M. KÜMMEL in *LIV*², p. 80, n. 3.

O waters, I beseech you for this
 multifarious, strong desire
 and for successful offspring,
 which many will esteem⁸,
 and no one shall seek to damage it,
 neither to smite, nor to destroy,
 neither to harm, nor to deprive.

It thus appears that the common translation of the verb *bərəj* as ‘to honour, esteem, welcome’ is justified. While in three out of its four attestations the verb describes the favourable disposition of divine beings and heavenly bodies to the human soul and to Haoma, the root noun *bərəj-* characterizes the human and divine attitude towards *aša-* and *daēnā-*.

2 *ašahe* ‘Truth’

The neuter noun *aša-* and its derivatives are the most frequent Av. words with -š-. HOFFMANN 1986, p. 166 [= *Aufs.*, III, p. 840] accepts BARTHOLOMAE’s, *ArFo*, II, p. 46, derivation of *aša-* from a full grade formation **árta-* but points out that Av. *aša-* thus differs in both accent and root vowel grade from its Vedic equivalent *ṛtá-*. DE VAAN, *Av.Vowels*, p. 588, adds that, as one would expect for a substantivized *ta*-participle, *aša-* < **árta-* preserves traces of the original root accent. For while Ved. *ṛtá-* is an adjective (e.g. RV 9.62.30 *ṛtáh kavíh sómas* ‘Soma (is) the right seer’)⁹ which may be used as a substantive, Av. *aša-* has undergone substantivization and never occurs as an adjective. .

CANTERA 2003 agrees that the shift of the accent from the suffix to the root syllable is due to substantivization but he challenges the derivation of Av. *aša-* from a full grade *ta*-participle. Instead, he argues, Av. *aša-* continues a PrIr. zero grade formation **érta-* < **ýta-* with an accented root syllable. The latter results from a shift of the accent from the suffix to the root in the process of substantivization of the Ir. adjective **ṛtá-*. Ved. parallels for zero grade forms in *-ta-* with substantivizing accent retraction include the neuter noun *ásta-* ‘home’ ← **as-tá-* ‘returned (home)’ < IE **ns-tó-*.¹⁰ In CANTERA’s reconstruction, Avestan *aša-* is

8 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 945, suggests that the nom.sg. *pourūšca* is constructed here with the plural verb *bərəjaiiān*, 3pl.subj. pres.act. (s.v. *barəg-* note 2: “nach dem Sinn konstruiert”).

9 GRASSMANN, 282; TICHY 1986, p. 95.

10 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 150. CANTERA 2003, p. 260, refers, in addition, to Ved. *sītā-* ‘furrow’, whose underlying root, however, is disputed (see *EWAia*, II, p. 732). Substantivizing retraction of the accent is also found in *ánna-* ‘food’ ← **anná-* < **ad-ná-* ‘eaten’ (*EWAia*, I, p. 79, *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 733). Nevertheless, it is not possible to invoke substantivizing accent retraction in the case of the *ti*-abstract *aši-* ‘reward’, which CANTERA 2003, p. 260f., equally derives from a zero grade form **érti-*. If such a reconstruction is correct, **érti-* continues a baryton noun Ir. **ýti-* and is formed like the homonymous Ved. *ṛti-* ‘attack, assault’ (the latter exists alongside *ṛtí-*, and both are derived from the root *ar* ‘to set in motion’, IE **h₃er*), *išti-* ‘sacrifice’ and others, see *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 631f.,

thus in agreement with Old Persian *arta-* as well as with the Eastern and Western Middle Iranian languages, all of which continue a zero grade form. The latter is also found in the YAv. personal name *astuuat.ərəta-*, which is formed on the basis of the Gathic phrase *astuuat ašəm* in Y 43.16. In CANTERA's interpretation, the YAv. compound preserves the original ablaut grade, while in the Gathic expression the OAv. zero grade form **ártam* was replaced by YAv. *ašəm*.

According to CANTERA 2003, p. 258f., the cluster *-rt-* remained intact in all positions in OAv. where the correct form was */árta/* or */urta/*. The existence of the cluster *rt* in OAv. is indicated in MP and Sogdian by OAv. loan words, such as MP *'wrtwhšt /urdwahišt/* for Av. *aša- vahišta-* and the forms */urtāi /* and */urtam/* in the Sogdian *ašəm vohū* prayer. CANTERA further suggests that it was during the YAv. period that **-árt-* developed into **-áhr-* and *-əhr-*. Accordingly, YAv. loanwords with *-š-* have *hr* in MP, e.g. *frawahr* from YAv. *frauuāši-*.¹¹ In the initial word position YAv. **áhr-* or **əhr-* later became *ahr-*, a sound change parallel to YAv. *arš* as compared to OAv. *ərəš*,¹² but further developed into *aš-* some time after the 4th cent. of the Christian era. The sign *š* then reflects the pronunciation of *h_l* < *h_r* at the time of the creation of the Avestan alphabet.¹³ CANTERA concludes that the pronunciation *aša-* originally applied only to the YAv. texts but that it subsequently entered into the recitation of the Older Avesta, where the noun had always remained **ártam*.

CANTERA discounts the counter-evidence of a full grade form *arəta-* attested in the adjectives YAv. *anarəta-* 'lawless' and OAv. *dājīr.arəta-*, usually translated as 'whose truth is fading' (pp. 261–263). According to him *an-arəta-* derives its root initial *a-* from YAv. **ahra-* or **ahrta-* while *dājīr.arəta-* goes back to **dājīta-ərəta-*.¹⁴ While his first explanation may or may not hold, the

§468b. Here the variation in the accent's position is possibly due to the fact that in the inflection of *i*-stems the accent shifts between the root and the suffix, see *AiGr.*, II.2, pp. 631, 633.

11 By contrast, HOFFMANN 1986, pp. 173–175 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, pp. 847–849] explains the MP and Parth. words with *-rd-* as "Median" (e.g. Parth. *ardāw* 'just, righteous' < Med. **ártāyan-*), while those borrowed from Avestan have *-hl-* or *-hr-* (e.g. *ahlaw* ← Av. *ašauuan-*, pronounced **áhlawan-* at the time of borrowing). His assumption of "Median" **ártam* and **ártāyan-*, however, is rightly criticized by CANTERA 2003, p. 255 with fn. 19, who points out that the Elamite tablets rather attest Med. **ártam*.

12 On YAv. *arš* < **ərš-* see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 91, §57 bc.

13 CANTERA 2003, p. 259: "Dementsprechend ist die Lautentwicklung *-rt- > -'hrt- > -'hr-* in die jungavestische Zeit zu versetzen. Nachdem dieser Lautwandel vollzogen wurde, entwickelte sich die anlautende Gruppe **áhr-* oder **əhr-* zu *ahr-*, das irgendwann nach dem 4. Jhr. u.Z. zu *aš-* wurde". HOFFMANN 1986, p. 179 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, p. 853] attempts a reconstruction of the phonetic processes which led to the creation of the sign *š* to represent the etymological cluster **rt*.

14 CANTERA 2003, p. 262, attributes this explanation of *dājīr.arəta-* to TH. BURROW, "Sanskrit *kṣi-*: Greek *φθίνω*", in: *JAOS* 79, no. 4, 1959, p. 260, to whom KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 262, also refer. However, BURROW in fact makes no such proposal, but is only

second is only conceivable if *-arəta-* represents the substantivized zero grade form. Otherwise **dājīta-arəta-*, consisting of two past perfect participles, could only be a dvandva. The compound's accent is then probably on the first term **dājī́ta-* while the second term represents an unaccented **ṛta-*, cf. below on *astuuat.arəta-*. CANTERA rightly draws attention to the metrical value of *dājī́t.arəta-*, although his argument remains inconclusive because if the stem is metrically trisyllabic, then Y 53.6 is regular though one syllable is missing in Y 53.9. On the other hand, if it contains four syllables, then the verse line in Y 53.6 has one syllable in excess but is metrically regular in Y 53.9. However, if *dājī́t.arəta-* represented **dājīta-arəta-*, one would expect the form to be **dājī́tārəta-*, cf. the YAv. adj. *vazā́rat-* 'coming with strength', which probably goes back to **vaza-arət-*.¹⁵

The first term of the transmitted *dājī́t.arəta-* is usually analysed as a root noun functioning as an agent noun, but CANTERA objects that there are no other instances either in Avestan or Vedic for such a compositional type. Contrary to this claim, however, that type is in fact well documented, cf. YAv. *sruṭ.gaoša-*, Ved. *śrútkarṇa-* 'one who has hearing ears, quick to hear' and *AiGr*, II.1, p. 44. Moreover, a full grade second term is suggested by the manuscripts which all have readings with *°.arə-*.¹⁶ Furthermore, there is a third full grade attestation, not discussed by CANTERA, in the compound *arə́tō.kərəiṭīna-* 'characterized by the performance of rites' (see below, p. 57), which gives additional support to the derivation of Av. *aṣa-* from a full grade substantive **árta-*.

The only exception in Avestan then is the name *astuuat.arəta-* (and the parallel formation *uxšīiat.arəta-*). If *astuuat.arəta-* is based, as seems likely, on the Gathic expression *astuuat aṣəm*, the compound results from univerbation, but its second term cannot be accented **árta-*, because then **aṣa-* or *aṣa-* would result. It is either the accented zero grade **ṛtá-* or the unaccented **ṛta-*. The latter is more likely, because compounds whose second term is a verbal adj. in *-ta-* or

concerned with the initial cluster *dāj-*, which he derives from IE **d^hg^{wh}-*. His translation of *dājī́t.arəta-* as 'destroying righteousness' (p. 255) rather suggests that he considers the compound's first term to be an agent noun. Without reference to CANTERA, the zero grade explanation is adopted by TREMBLAY 2005, p. 8, according to whom *dājī́t.arəta-* represents *dājī́t.ārəta-* < **jīta-ṛta-*.

15 On *vazā́rat-* see KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, pp. 127–130 and below, p. 137 with fn. 77 (Y 36.3 no. 2 *nāmanəm vāzištəm*).

16 Unfortunately, GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, pp. 189, 190, does not record many variant readings of the second term of the compound, but those he does list have *°.arə-* in Y 53.9. Such is also the reading of Mf4, K5 and J2, of which facsimile editions are available. In Y 53.6 the reading is *dājī́t.arətaēibiūō* in Mf4 (p. 528, ll. 10–11), K5 (fol. 245v, ll. 7–8) and J2 fol. 298v, p. 596, ll. 11–12) while in Y 53.9 it is *dājī́t.arəta* in Mf4 (p. 530, l. 12). K5 (fol. 247r, l. 1) has *dājī́t.arətaēibiūō*, but *iūō* is deleted. In J2 (fol. 300r, p. 599, l. 8) the beginning of the second term of the compound is destroyed, but the surviving traces of letters suggest *°.arə-* rather than *°.arə-*. The reading of J2 was probably *dājī́t.arəta* though in the following line 9 *aēibiūō* is deleted.

-*na*- bear the accent on the first term, i.e. **astyát.ərəta-* (cf. Ved. *asthanvánt-*).¹⁷ The zero grade ablaut of the name's second term could be explained as either caused by the loss of the accent in composition or as a dialectal feature.¹⁸

Therefore, as to the question whether or not a full grade root is to be associated with the process of substantivization of the IIr. past perfect participle **H₂rtá-*, the Av. evidence points towards a full grade root. If this is so, the substantivization of IIr. **H₂rtá-* → **árta-* is an innovation that sets Avestan apart from the other Old and Middle Iranian languages. Being a peculiarity of and confined to the Av. language, the full grade substantive **árta-* arose at a time, presumably in the second millennium BCE, when vowel gradation caused by accent shift was still in operation. Like Vedic, the other Iranian dialects then continue the IIr. zero grade adjective, which may be used as a substantive. The IIr. ancestor of both the Iranian and Old Indian forms is **H₂rtá-*, the past perfect participle of the IE root **h₂er* 'to fit, join, put in order'. The substantivized Av. neuter noun **árta-* literally denotes that which is affected or produced by the notion of the root (*AiGr.*, II.2, p. 584), i.e. 'what is joined, fitted or ordered', 'the order'.

Both Ved. *ṛtá-* and Av. *aša-* are extremely common in their respective traditions where they represent significant concepts, although *ṛtá-* dies out after the Vedic period and is replaced by the term *dhárma-* 'support, order, law'. According to KEITH, *Religion*, p. 83, in both Vedic India and in the Avesta *ṛtá-/aša-* is an IIr. inheritance and has the same "triple sense": it denotes "the physical order of the universe, the due order of the sacrifice, and the moral law in the world". Similarly BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 229f., defines Av. *aša-* as the central notion for truth, order and law. Accordingly most scholars consider *aša-* to denote a principle of 'order' and 'rightness' in the widest sense and on a range of different levels: cosmic, ritual and social/ethical. It is an order installed by the deity and is the yardstick by which everything is gauged as to whether it is right, straight and true.¹⁹ By contrast, SKJÆRVØ 2003a, pp. 407–416, argues that in OAv. *aša-* denotes cosmic and ritual order, but not moral. According to him, cosmic order is the "true" order imposed by Ahura Mazdā in primeval times "upon what was till then chaos" (p. 407). The ordered cosmos then provides the model which ritual seeks to emulate (p. 415). When governed by *aša-*, ceremonial thought, words and action produce a good ritual which is "the means of making Order

17 Cf. *AiGr.*, II.1, p. 214. That **ṛta-* in *astyuāt.ərəta-* is unaccented is suggested by CANTERA 2003, p. 251.

18 On the latter question see the discussion by CANTERA 2003, p. 251f. with references.

19 Cf. NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 130, his quotation by SKJÆRVØ 2003a, p. 407, and BOYCE, *HZ*, I, pp. 5, 27, who comments that Av. *aša-* "stands for 'order' in the widest sense: cosmic order, by which night gives place to day and the seasons change; the order of sacrifice, by which this natural rhythm is strengthened and maintained; social order, by which men can live together in harmony and prosperity; and moral order or 'truth'." PANAINO 2004b, p. 17f., interprets the Av. emphasis on 'choice' between *aša-* and *druj-* as indicating the ethical-moral character of the two notions.

and the sun reappear”, while “the bad poet-sacrificers endeavor to achieve the same result with their ritual, but with disastrous consequences” (p. 411). Similarly BRERETON, *Ādityas*, p. 262, fn. 15, defines the concept of Ved. *ṛtá-* as referring “to the truth as the proper structure or real nature of things, as much as the expression which reveals it”, but in contrast to SKJÆRVØ, renders *ṛtá-* as ‘truth’.

That *aša-* may refer to ritual order emerges from the adjective *arətō.kərəiθina-* ‘characterized by the performance of rites’, an epithet of the feast *hamaspaθmaē-daiia-* in Vr 1.2 and 2.2 and rendered by *yazišn kardārīh* in Pahlavi. The adj. probably refers to the ritual practices that continue an ancient ancestor cult and take place during that festival.²⁰ Furthermore, the adjective *aša.nāsa-* ‘order-obtaining’, which likewise occurs in the context of the *hamaspaθmaēdaiia-* time, suggests that *aša-* is strengthened by means of the ritual.²¹ It characterizes *nəmah-* ‘veneration’ in Yt 13.50, where the Fravashis ask:

Yt 13.50 *kō nō stauuāt kō yazāite*
kō ufiāt kō frīnāt
kō paiti.zanāt
gaomata zasta vastrauuata
aša.nāsa nəmaṇha

Who will praise, who will worship us?
 Who will laud, who will please (us)?
 Who will receive (us)
 with a hand offering meat and clothing,
 ‘with order-obtaining veneration?’

Any attempt to translate Av. *aša-* adequately is doomed to fail for the simple reason that the concept which it denotes does not exist in Western European languages. Scholars usually render this complex term by either ‘order’ or ‘truth’, but neither of the two on its own represents the Av. and Ved. words, with LÜDERS going too far when he argued that both Ved. *ṛtá-* and Av. *aša-* meant only ‘truth’, “die Wahrheit und nichts weiter als die Wahrheit”.²² KUIPER rightly emphasizes that ‘order’ and ‘truth’, which to the modern mind are two different notions,

20 See HINTZE, forthcoming [2008]: “The Return of the Fravashis in the Avesta”.

21 The adj. *aša.nāsa-* is attested in Yt 13.50 and Vd 18.6. While BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 241, interprets the form *aša.nāsəm* in Vd 18.6 as an infinitive, BENVENISTE, *Infinitifs*, p. 22, rightly identifies it as the acc.sg. of the adj. *aša.nāsa-*. The meaning of the compound’s second term is probably that of an agent noun ‘obtaining order’. On this type of compound see *AiGr.*, II.1, p. 174ff.

22 LÜDERS, *Varuṇa*, I, pp. 14, 23f. On pp. 13–27 LÜDERS argues that Ved. *ṛtá-* is the old word for ‘truth’ and was later replaced by *satyá-*. He draws the same conclusion for Av. *aša-*, supporting it with reference to its semantic opposite *druj*, which according to him denotes not the disturbance of order in nature but a lie. Moreover, he derives further corroboration for his view from the translation of *aša-vahišta-* as ‘truth’ by Plutarch (ἀλήθεια) and later by Al-Beruni in Arabic (p. 27 with fn. 1), a point already made by NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 447 (S. 130 n. 1). His arguments are critically reviewed by SKJÆRVØ 2003a, pp. 412–414.

were probably part of the same idea in ancient Indo-Iranian thought. As a parallel, he adduces the Egyptian concept of *maat*, which has been interpreted as comprised of notions such as “order, truth, correctness, right, authenticity as a characteristic of the order of life”.²³

When in the present work *aša-* is translated as ‘truth’, it should be kept in mind that the term denotes much more than the common contemporary understanding of ‘truth’ in the sense of conformity with fact. *Aša-* applies on both the spiritual and material levels. On the latter, it denotes the laws of nature or ‘order’ by which the physical world functions well on the cosmic, ritual and social planes. With regard to the former, it refers to that way of thinking which is in conformity with the perfect spiritual and material worlds. The semantic description proposed here combines both SKJÆRVØ’s definition, according to which *aša-* is confined to the material level (cosmic and ritual order, see above, p. 56f.), and that of SCHLERATH, who suggests that *aša-/rta-* refers to the internal correctness of identifications made by means of the spoken word. According to him, such identifications may involve items on either the spiritual or the material plane, for instance ‘(Lord) Wisdom (is) the father of truth’,²⁴ and, in addition, the correlation of items from the two planes, for instance the affirmation that the cow (*gauu-*) equals good thought (*vohu- manah-*).²⁵ In conclusion, in the Avesta *aša-* denotes the internal, ordered and perfect structure of Ahura Mazdā’s spiritual and material worlds and, in addition, the ordered relationship between the two. Being the pervading principle of both, *aša-* holds them together.

3 *daēnāiiā* ‘belief’

Being metrically trisyllabic in the *Gathas*, the noun *daēnā-* is best explained as a formation with the suffix **-ánā-* and its ancestor form reconstructed as *IIr. *d^haiH-ánā-*.²⁶ It is, however, uncertain whether such a noun existed at all in the *IIr.* protolanguage because *daēnā-* has no Vedic equivalent.²⁷ The root from which it is derived, *Av. dī* ‘to perceive, see’, though, has equivalents in the *Ved.* verb *dhī* and the fem. root noun *dhī-* ‘perception, vision, thought’. According to NARTEN’s morphological analysis, *Av. daēnā-* is a verbal abstract noun with a suffix *-anā-* from the full grade root *dī*, and its basic meaning is ‘perception, vision’.

23 KUIPER 1961–1962, p. 42f. The inadequacy of modern languages for rendering *aša-/rta-* is also noted by GONDA, *Religionen Indiens*, pp. 77–79.

24 Y 47.2 *ptā ašahiā mazdā*, SCHLERATH 1987, p. 695.

25 SCHLERATH 1986, p. 199f.

26 NARTEN 1986, p. 263 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, p. 321].

27 For morphological and semantic reasons *Av. daēnā-* cannot be equated with *Ved.* (disyllabic) *dhénā-* ‘stream of milk’, see MAYRHOFER, *EWAIa*, I, p. 797 (with references). BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 665f., leaves *daēnā-* without an etymology, even though GELDNER had rightly connected it with the root *dī* ‘to perceive’ (see below, fn. 29). On the suffix *-anā-* see *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 190f.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 662–667, posits two homonymous stems *daēnā-*, one denoting ‘religion’, the other ‘inner being’ (“inneres Wesen, geistiges Ich, Individualität”).²⁸ However, as argued convincingly by GELDNER and later by NYBERG,²⁹ there is only one noun *daēnā-*, and this has been variously translated as “Schausinn” or “Schauseele” (NYBERG), ‘religious view’,³⁰ ‘conception, vision’,³¹ ‘vision-soul’,³² ‘âme-voyance’,³³ or ‘conscience’.³⁴ In particular, the *daēnā-* is moulded by each person’s choices and denotes the ‘outlook’, ‘attitude’ or ‘world-view’ with regard to whether the individual decides to support Ahura Mazdā or not. That people fashion their own *daēnā-* by how they think, speak and act, emerges from

Y 48.4 *yā dāt manō vahiiō mazdā aštiāscā*
huuō daēnām šiiāoḍanācā vacayhācā
*abiiā zaošōng *uštīš varənōng hacaitē*

He who makes his thinking better or worse,
 (makes better or worse) his belief by his action and word.
 It follows his leanings, likings³⁵ and choices.

- 28 BARTHOLOMAE’s view is accepted, for instance, by LOMMEL, *Religion*, p. 150f., *Yāst*’s, p. 103 and BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 238ff., who postulates two pairs of Avestan words, *daēnā*/Daēnā ‘conscience/the Maiden of the Bridge’, and *daēnā*/Daēnā ‘religion/the *yazatā* Religion’.
- 29 GELDNER, *Metrik*, p. 2 and “Yasna 33”, in: BB 15 (1889), p. 260; NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 114f.
- 30 LANKARANY, *Daēnā*, p. 80f. (“religiöse Anschauung”).
- 31 INSLER, *Gāthās*, p. 192.
- 32 SKJÆRVØ 2003a, p. 420.
- 33 KELLEN 1996, p. 88.
- 34 KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 252.
- 35 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 419, interprets the transmitted form *uštīš* as the acc.pl., although there is no variant reading with *-īš*, which would be its expected *i*-stem ending, see DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 276f. This variant absence causes KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 222, “nolens volens” to take *uštīš* as a nom.sg. and translate: ‘(et) son vœu suit les approbations et les choix’ (*TVA*, I, p. 179), but such a rendering does not seem to make much sense. By contrast, if interpreted as an acc.pl., *uštīš* is syntactically co-ordinated with two other nouns from the same semantic field and also in the acc.pl. (*zaošōng*, *varənōng*). HUMBACH, *Gathas*, I, p. 77, *Gāthās*², II, p. 198, points out that the acc.sg. *uštīm* is syntactically co-ordinated with *zaošām* in:

Vd 2.11 *āat yimō imām zām višāuuaiiat*
aēuua ḍrišuuā ahmāt masiiehīm
yāḍa para ahmāt as
tām iḍra fracarənta
pasuuasca staorāca mašiiāca
huuām anu uštīm zaošāmca
yāḍa kaḍaca hē zaošō

Then Yima made this earth extend
 by one-third more
 than it was before.
 There walked forth on it
 herds, cattle and people
 according to their own liking and leaning,
 whatever one’s leaning might be.

If Y 48.4 *uštīš* is interpreted as the acc.pl., one has to assume the confusion of *i* and *ī*. Such a blurring occurs in nearly all attestations of either nom.sg. or acc.pl. forms of *i*-stems. For instance, in Y 43.4 the acc.pl. *ašīš* is found in Pt4, K5, S1 J3, and the variant reading *ašīš* in J2. Vice versa, the nom.sg. in *-īš* usually has variant readings in *-īš*. For

Human beings have their own, personal *daēnā*-, the nature of which is believed to be decisive after death when their souls face judgment at the Cinwad Bridge. It is for the sake of their *daēnā*- that people are urged:

Y 53.5 *vaēdōdūm daēnābīš *aibiiascā ahūm yā vaṇhāuš manayhō*

Find the life of good thought by means of your beliefs and for their own sake!³⁶

The ‘good *daēnā*-’ is the Mazdā-worshipping one. In English, the word ‘belief’ is perhaps closest to this concept.

example, in Y 34.5 the correct nom.sg. form *īštiš* is attested in Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2 K4, but *īštīš* in Pt4; L2, Dh1 S2, L1 L3 Bb1; C1, J6, J5, besides *īštāš* in Jp1. It might therefore be pure chance that no variant readings in *-īš* are transmitted for *uštiš* in Y 48.4.

36 For a translation of the entire stanza and a discussion of the form **aibiiascā* see Y 37.3 no. 2 *tām yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’ (below, p. 178ff.).

Y 35.2

(zōt ∴) ¹*humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm*²
*iiadacā*³ *aniiadacā*^{3a}
*vəraziiamnanəm*⁴ *vāuuərazananəm*⁵
*mahī aibī.jarətārō*⁶
*naēnaēstārō*⁷ *yaḍanā*⁸ *vohunəm*⁹ *mahī* ∴
humatanəm ... °tā° (= Y 35.2) ... *mahī* (du bār)¹⁰ ∴

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Y 35.2 recurs in Y 41.7, 68.20 and at the end of the <i>Āfrīnagān</i>; cf. also Vd 18.43. Most mss. abbreviate.</p> <p>2 <i>huuarštanəm</i> Pt4 Mf4, S1 J3; K4; [F2]
 <i>huuarštanəm</i> G K5 J2
 <i>huuarəstanəm</i> C1</p> <p>3 <i>iiadacā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3
 <i>yaṭ. cā</i> B2
 <i>yaṭcā</i> C1
 <i>yadacā</i> [F2 K36 M26]</p> <p>3a <i>aniiadacā</i> G
 <i>āñaiiaṭcā</i> C1</p> <p>4 <i>vəraziiamanənəm</i>⁴ Pt4 Mf4, S1; [R1]
 <i>vəraziiamnanəm</i>⁴ G K5
 <i>vəraziiamnamnəm</i>⁴ J2
 <i>vərazaiiamanənəm</i>⁴ J3
 <i>vərazamanənəm</i>⁴ C1</p> <p>5 <i>vāuuərazananəm</i>⁵ Pt4, J3
 <i>vāuuərazaiiamanənəm</i>⁵ Mf4
 <i>vāuuərazananəm</i>⁵ G K5; [R1]
 <i>vāvərazanəm</i>⁵ J2
 <i>vāuuəraziiamanənəm</i>⁵ S1
 <i>vā. varazañanəm</i>⁵ C1</p> | <p><i>vāuuəraziiamnanəm</i>⁵ [F2]
 P.V. divides after, S.V. before <i>mahī</i>, S.V. after <i>naēnaēstārō</i></p> <p>6 <i>aibī.jarətārō</i> Pt4 Mf4
 <i>aibī.jarətārō</i> G K5 J2, J3
 <i>aibī.jarətārō</i> S1; [R1]
 <i>abī.zatārō</i> C1</p> <p>7 <i>naēnaēstārō</i> Pt4; K11
 <i>naēnēstārō</i> Mf4
 <i>naēnaēstārō</i> G K5 J2, J3; [F2]
 <i>naē. naēstārō</i> S1; [M26 R1]
 <i>ñanaistārō</i> C1</p> <p>8 <i>yaḍinā</i> Pt4 Mf4; [F2 K36]
 <i>yaḍanā</i> G K5, J3
 <i>yaḍanā</i> J2 (ə sec.m., corr. from <i>yaḍanā</i>), S1; K11; [R1]
 <i>aitanəm</i> C1</p> <p>9 <i>vohunəm</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 (ū pr.m. corr. to u); [R1]
 <i>vohanəm</i> K5
 <i>vōhūnəm</i> J3; C1</p> <p>10 Y 35.2 is to be recited twice, cf. Vd 10.4</p> |
|--|--|

(Chief priest:) Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds
both here and elsewhere¹
being done and having been done
we are welcomers,
not revilers² of such³ good (things) are we.
Of good thoughts ... °to° (= Y 35.2) ... are we. (Twice).

1 *iiadacā aniiadacā* ‘both here and elsewhere’

BARTHOLOMAE identifies the hapax legomena *iiada-cā* and *aniiada-cā* as local adverbs comprising a pair of antonyms ‘here and elsewhere’. Although he does not comment on the formation of *aniiadā*, a small vertical stroke before -*dā* implies that he considers the latter to be a suffix attached to the pronoun *aniiā*- ‘other’ (*AirWb.* 138). He explains *iiada*° as resulting from the analogical

remodelling of an original *idā* ‘here’ (attested in Y 29.8) after the model of the following antonym *aniiadā* (*AirWb.* 379). This analysis is accepted and refined by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 87–88. She points out that *idā*, which equals RV *ihá* (instead of **idhá*, *AiGr.*, I, p. 250), is a transparent formation with the adverbial suffix *-dā* from the demonstrative pronoun *i-* ‘this’. By contrast, no underlying pronominal stem can be identified for the form *iiā-dā*. The latter is therefore likely to be a secondary formation. Moreover, she analyses *aniiada*° as **anīa-da*, an adverbial derivative with the suffix *-da* produced from the pronominal adjective **anīa-* ‘other’. It is formed like Y 51.10 *aniiāθdā* ‘otherwise’, RV *anyáthā*, *anyátra*.

KELLENS/PIRART reject this explanation. Considering *iiadā* as a regular formation, they partition the second member of the pair as *an-iiadā* and maintain that it is formed from *iiadā* by the addition of the privative particle *an-* ‘un-, not’ (*TVA*, II, p. 203). To support this analysis they argue that a demonstrative stem **iia-* is “indirectement attesté” in Ved. *íyant-* ‘so big’, *kíyant-* ‘how big’ and in the form *kíyāti* (*TVA*, III, p. 130). The latter, usually interpreted as a loc.sg. of the stem *kíyant-* with irregular *-āt-* instead of *-at-* (*AiGr.*, III, p. 256), is regarded by KELLENS/PIRART as an adverb from a stem *kíyā-* with an adverbial suffix *-ti* like *kāti*, *tāti*, *yāti*. Whatever the explanation of *kíyāti*, however, none of the three nouns adduced attests a stem **iia-*, not even indirectly, because Ved. *íyant-* and *kíyant-* are derived from the well-attested pronouns *i-* and *ki-* with the suffix *-ant-*.³⁷ The only Avestan pronominal stem *ya-*, the relative pronoun, is excluded because of the demonstrative meaning of the adverb *iiadā*. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*, II, p. 116, also considers *aniiada* to be a privative formation ‘not here’, without, however, commenting on the form *iiada-cā* ‘here’ from which *aniiada-cā* is supposed to be built. To support his view, he adduces YAv. *ainiḍatca* (Y 57.33) as a parallel, thereby accepting BARTHOLOMAE’s interpretation of that adverb as *ainiḍat* ‘not here’, allegedly a privative formation from *iḍat* ‘here’ (*AirWb.* 126).

Against the explanation of both OAv. *aniiada-cā* and YAv. *ainiḍat-ca* as privative derivatives from adverbs it must be objected that there are very few, if any, instances of such a morphological type in Avestan, or indeed in any Indo-European language.³⁸ Apart from the hapax legomenon *aṇtarə anan̄tarə* in a corrupted passage of the *Nerangestan* (N 83), the only other instance listed in BARTHOLOMAE’s *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* is YAv. *ain-iḍat* ‘not here’.³⁹ The

37 MAYRHOFFER, *EWaia*, I, pp. 194, 351f., cf. *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 168, §70h.

38 Cf. SCHWYZER 1929b, pp. 103–111, who nevertheless admits privative derivation from adverbs for YAv. *ainiḍat-cā*, which he interprets with BARTHOLOMAE as ‘not here’.

39 Case forms used adverbially do not count, such as *a-paiti.busti* ‘unnoticed’ Vd 13.10, 40 (*AirWb.* 74), originally the instr.sg. of a feminine noun **paiti.busti-* from the verb *bud* ‘to perceive, notice’, OAv. *a-paouruuīm* ‘without precedent’, originally acc.sg.ntr. of the adjective *a-paouruuīia-*, *an-arəθe* ‘in an improper manner’ (Y 65.9, *AirWb.* 120), originally the loc.sg. of *an-arəθa-*, and finally *a-srutəm*, only attested in N 103 and, according to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 222–223, used as an absolutive ‘while not reciting’ (‘beim Nichtzugehörbringen, Auslassen beim Vortrag’). More likely, however, the form is the acc.sg.m. of the negated past participle *a-sruta-* ‘not heard’.

latter, however, has been more convincingly explained by DARMESTER and NARTEN as resulting from an analogical remodelling.⁴⁰ In the antonymic expression Y 57.33 *iḍatca ainiḍatca* the second member was transformed from original **anīa-dat* ‘elsewhere’ after the preceding *iḍat* ‘here’. Thus both BARTHOLOMAE’s interpretation of *ainiḍat* and KELLEN/PIRART and HUMBACH’s analysis of *anīiada* as privative formations from adverbs are open to the same criticism of postulating morphologically isolated forms. The explanation of *anīiada* as privative is further weakened by the fact that an underlying adverb *īiada*, on which *anīiada* is supposed to be built, is morphologically unjustified but must itself be the product of an analogical remodelling. For these reasons, BARTHOLOMAE and NARTEN’s explanation of the antonymic expression *īiadaḥ anīiadaḥ* ‘here and elsewhere’ has the greatest degree of probability. The process whereby *īiadaḥ* replaced the expected **īiadaḥ* in this phrase might have involved some stage during which *anīiadaḥ* was understood as containing the privative *an-*, even though the adverb was originally built from **anīa-* ‘other’. Other examples of adverbs in **-dha* formed from pronominal adjectives include OP *vispadā* ‘everywhere’.

The expression *īiadaḥ anīiadaḥ* ‘both here and elsewhere’ is an example of Argument + Counter Argument. It has the function of designating totality: good thoughts, words and deeds performed ‘both here and elsewhere’ is equivalent to their being carried out ‘everywhere’.⁴¹ Combined with the participles ‘being done and having been done’, the bipartite quantifier formula denotes totality not only in space and but also in time with regard to present and past.

2 *naēnaēstārō* ‘(we are) not revilers’

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1035f., explains the hapax legomenon *naēnaēstārō* as the nom.pl. of an agent noun from an intensive present stem **nai-nait-*. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 91f., rightly objects that this is untenable because such a nominal formation would be without parallel in Avestan, where agent nouns in *-tar-* are always formed directly from the root. While some are built from present stems in Vedic, e.g. *ninditár-* ‘reviler’ from the present stem *ninda-* (TICHY, *Nomina agentis*, p. 37), there are no agent nouns in *-tar-* from intensives. More plausible, therefore, is BAUNACK’s suggestion (1888, p. 343f.), rejected by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1036, n. 1, but supported by NARTEN, that the form *naēnaēstārō* results from the univerbation of what originally were two separate words. While it is clear that the second member is the nom.pl. of the agent noun *naēstar-* (< Ir. **nāid-tar-*), derived from the full grade of the root *nid* ‘to blame, revile’ with the suffix *-tar-*, the difficulty lies with the identification of the first syllable *naē-*.

NARTEN suggests that *naēstar-* is preceded by the negative particle *naē-* (< Ir. **nāi*). The latter, however, does not otherwise occur as an independent word in

40 DARMESTER, *ZA*, I, p. 367, fn. 54; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 88, fn. 7. This explanation is accepted by KREYENBROEK, *Sraoša*, p. 95, n. 33¹.

41 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 43f.

Avestan but only in combination with enclitic pronouns or particles, such as OAv., YAv. *naēciš* ‘nobody’, OAv. *naēdā*, YAv. *naēda* ‘and not’. The independent negation is *nōiṭ* ‘not’ (< **na-id*, cf. Ved. *néd* ‘not’). NARTEN assumes that in OAv. both **nai* and **nait* existed side by side, but only the latter was continued in YAv. and generalized at the expense of the former in the course of the orthoepic redaction.⁴² In *naēnaēstārō*, NARTEN argues, *nai-* escaped replacement by *nōiṭ* because the redactors considered it to be a single word, either interpreting it as ‘non-reviler’ or as a formation with intensive reduplication, because the first two syllables in **nai-nais-tar-* happened to be identical.⁴³ The latter possibility requires the assumption that the redactors did not understand the sentence at all, since the root *nid* always has the meaning ‘to blame, revile’ in Avestan, and in the context of Y 35.2 the agent noun from this root would make no sense without a negative in the sentence. The Pahlavi translation *ān ī mard ō mard be abespārdār* of *naēnaēstārō* suggests that the translators recognized neither a negation nor a form from the root *nid* ‘to blame, revile’:

Y 35.2 hwmt’n’ hwṣt’n’ hwlšt’n’
 MNW LTMḤ-c dhšn’
 ’P-š pṭ’-c ZK y ZK-HD dhšn’
 [’YK-š LTMḤ W LTMḤ-c nywkyh hc-š]
 ZK y wlycyt [’D K’N]
 ZK-c y wlycyht [MN K’N pr’c]
 HWH-m QDM glpt’l [’YK ’w’ NPŠḤ ’HDWN-m]
 ZK y GBR’ ’w’ GBR’ BR’ ’pšp’lt’l [krpk’ y pṭ’ d’t l’s]
 cygwn ŠPYL HWH-m [’YK cygwn p’hlwm ’w’ NPŠḤ ’HDWN-m]

humatān hūxtān huwarštān
kē ēdar-iz dahišn
u-š pad-iz ān-ī ān-ēw dahišn
[kū-š ēdar ud ēdar-iz nēkīh az-iš]
ān-ī warzēd [tā nūn]
ān-iz ī warzīhēd [az nūn frāz]
hēm abar griftār [kū ō xwēš gīrēm]
ān ī mard ō mard be abespārdār [kirbag ī pad dād rāh]
ciyōn weh hēm [kū ciyōn pahlom ō xwēš gīrēm]

Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds,
 which are performed here
 and which are performed elsewhere
 [that means goodness comes from them here and elsewhere],
 which are performed [up to now]
 (and) which are going to be performed [from now on]
 we are receivers [that means we hold on to them as our own],
 which a man entrusts to a man [the good deed of the path of law]
 of what is good we are [that means that we hold on to them best as our own].

42 On the orthoepic redaction see below, p. 84f.

43 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 92 with fn. 24.

By contrast, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, pp. 277, 173, propose an orthographic explanation and consider *naē-* to be a variant spelling of *nōit̥*. Similarly, SKJÆRVØ 2002a, p. 47, fn. 54, interprets *naē-* to represent *nōit̥*, but offers a phonetic solution. With reference to *aṭka-* = *aōka-*, he points out that secondary *t̥* has a stronger affinity to *d* than to *t* and assumes that *naēnaē°* goes back to **naiṭ-nai°* and represents an Avestan development of internal *-dn-* > *-n-*. SKJÆRVØ's explanation is attractive and could be further simplified, since the assumption of an intermediary stage with **naiṭ* becomes unnecessary if one assumes that the univerbation happened at an early stage and that the original *-d-* of the negative particle was preserved before *-n-* by internal sandhi. In that case, **naid-naistar-* could have developed directly to *naēnaēstar-* by regular Av. sound laws involving the assimilation *-dn-* > *-nn-* > *-n-* as in PrIr. **budna-* > *būna-* 'bottom, ground, base', Ved. *budhná-*.⁴⁴

NARTEN points out that Y 35.2 exhibits a parallel chiasmic structure:

Y 35.2 *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm ...*
mahī aibī.jarətarō
*naēnaēstārō *yaθənā vohunəm mahī*

Of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, ...
 we are welcomers;
 not revilers of such good (things) are we.

Although *aibī.jarətar-* 'welcomer' and *naēstar-* 'reviler' are antonyms and their objects have positive meaning, the two clauses effectively 'make identical statements. This is achieved by negation of the second member of the antonymic pair, thus turning it into a quasi-synonym of the former. The expression consists of an Argument followed by its Negated Counter-Argument ("Aussage plus negierte Gegenaussage"), a stylistic figure which is also found elsewhere in the Avesta. It is a litotic qualifier formula the function of which is to intensify the argument. Thus, 'we are welcomers, we are not revilers' is equivalent to 'we are certainly welcomers'.⁴⁵

By contrast, two parallel statements, one positive and the other negative in content, occur in Yt 13.89,⁴⁶ where it is said of Zarathustra

44 On the sound change **dn > n*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 97 (§63ce) and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 94.

45 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 91 with fn. 19, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 105. On the function of the litotic figure see WATKINS, *Dragon*, pp. 44, 234. SKJÆRVØ 2002a discusses 'blame' and 'praise' poetry in the Avesta, Rgveda and other IE literatures and concludes that praise and blame are "at the root of the cosmic conflict between good and evil, which takes on different garbs in different literatures" (p. 62).

46 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 116, draws attention to this parallel in Yt 13.89.

Yt 13.89 *yō paoiriiō stōiš astuuaiθiiā*
staot̥ ašəm nāist̥ daēuuō

Who was the first of the corporeal existence
 to praise Truth and blame the demons⁴⁷.

3 **yaθanā*

In Y 35.2 as well as in the two Gathic passages Y 31.22 and 43.10, GELDNER, *Avesta* edits the form *yaθanā*. This is analysed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1249, as trisyllabic *yaθa-nā* and consisting of the relative adverb *yaθa* ‘as’ with a particle *-nā*. However, HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, pp. 31, 50, observes that in both Y 31.22 and 43.10 *yaθanā* is metrically disyllabic and represents **yaθanā*, a form transmitted by several good manuscripts. As argued convincingly by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 92, **yaθanā* is also to be read in Y 35.2. Disyllabic **yaθanā* can be equated with YAv. *yaθna*, explained by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1250, as the pausal form of the relative pronoun **iat* followed by the particle *na*. Thus, following HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, pp. 31, 50 and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 94, OAv. **yaθanā* could be understood in the same manner.

HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 116, interprets **yaθanā* not as a relative particle but as a conjunction which has been shifted here from the first to the second position: ‘as we are non-abusers of the good (things)’. This interpretation, however, is less convincing because it destroys the chiasmic structure of the stylistic figure of Argument + Negated Counter-Argument (‘we are welcomers, not revilers are we’), see p. 65.

KELLENS/PIRART accept the reading **yaθanā* but reject its analysis as **iat nā* on the grounds that “l’indien ne permet pas d’établir un ii. **yad-nā**”. According to them the occurrence of *nā* after **iad* cannot be justified etymologically. Instead, they accept a proposal by INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 193, according to which the form is the instr.sg. of a thematic noun *yaθna-* and is equivalent to post-Vedic *yatna-* ‘effort’.⁴⁸ Against INSLEER, who also assumes a similar meaning for the Avestan attestations, KELLENS/PIRART object that the meaning of Classical Skt. *yatnena* ‘with effort, with care’ should not be transposed into Avestan. Instead, they postulate a meaning closer to that of the verbal root *yat* ‘to take position’ and render the instr.sg. *yaθanā* as ‘en se mettant à l’endroit requis, avec à propos, avec ou par déférence’. However, they only translate Y 35.2 (*TVA*, I, p. 133: ‘étant donné notre mise en place (rituelle)’), and do not deal with the *yaθanā* in Y 31.22, a stanza which, together with Y 43.10, they regard as “incompréhensible”. They assume that the instrumental case is also attested

47 On the acc.pl. *daēuuō* for **daēuuū* postulated for the Sasanian Archetype, see HOFFMANN 1970b, pp. 194–197 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, pp. 281–284].

48 LOMMEL, *Yāšt*’s, p. 182, fn. 1, considers the same interpretation for YAv. *yaθna* in Yt 19.57, 60 and 62; see HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 293 with fn. 38 and PANAINO 1998, p. 73.

in YAv. *yaθna*, but they do not discuss the relevant passages on the grounds that their authors had a poor understanding of the OAv. original.⁴⁹

As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 93, however, the YAv. attestations do not support the interpretation of *yaθna* as an instrumental. Instead, the form is an adverb connecting a nominal complement. The pseudo-OAv. Y 12.4 is particularly clear:

Y 12.4 *vī zī anā sarəm mruiiē *yaθnā drəguuātā raxšaiiantā*

For I forswear community with him, the deceitful, destructive one.

Here **yaθnā* connects the demonstrative pronoun *anā* with the instrumentals *drəguuātā raxšaiiantā* ('with him, the deceitful, destructive one'). The phrase occurs at the end of a longer list enumerating daevic and deceitful beings whose company the worshipper rejects. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 171, refer to this passage as an example of *yaθna* occurring in the vicinity of a verb of speech. However, from a semantic point of view a meaning of **yaθnā* as 'having taken one's ritual position', postulated by them, is improbable, because community with the deceitful one is always to be eschewed, not only in the ritual context. The meaning of *yaθna* 'having taken one's ritual position' is also improbable in Yt 13.152, where *yaθna* clearly functions as a connective⁵⁰:

Yt 13.152 *zaraθuštrəm vīspahe aṇhōuš astuuatō ahūmca ratūmca
paoirīmca tkaēšəm yazamaide ...
yō nā ištasca yesnīiasca vahmīiasca vaoce
yaθna kahmāiciṭ hātəm*

We worship Zarathustra, the lord and master of bodily life,
and (we worship) the primordial teaching, ...
the man who is called the venerated one, worthy of worship and praise
for everyone of those who exist⁵¹ ...

Moreover, although an enclitic affirmative particle *-na* is probably not attested in Vedic, there can be no doubt that such a particle did exist in Proto-Indo-European. Cognates in other IE languages include *-ne* attached to demonstrative pronouns in Greek dialects: nom.sg.m. *δ-νε* in Thessalian and Arcadian and *o-ne / (h)one/* 'this' and dat.sg. *to-ne / tō(i)ne/* in Cyprian Greek (only Pyla).⁵²

49 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 131; II, p. 171.

50 The passage is more fully quoted below, p. 93.

51 On the agent denoted by the dative case besides past perfect participles and gerundives in *-ia-, see DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 145, § 97, p. 396f., § 221; REICHELT, *Aw. Elementarbuch*, p. 241, § 461; NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 91. On the expression *kahmāiciṭ hātəm*, which also occurs in Y 35.8, see below, p. 92f.

52 A. HINTZE, *A Lexicon to the Cyprian Syllabic Inscriptions*, Hamburg 1993, p. 51; M. LEJEUNE, "Sens et emplois des démonstratifs *δνε, δνι, δνυ*", in: *Revue de Philologie* 17 (1943), pp. 120–130.

The particle is also found in the Latin personal pronouns *ego-ne*, *tū-ne* etc.⁵³ In Latin the particle *-ne* originally had affirmative meaning ('ja, wohl').⁵⁴ This affirmative **-ne* has been etymologically linked to the demonstrative stem **ne-/no-*.⁵⁵ There are instances in Latin where the particle *-ne* is attached to a relative pronoun, e.g. Plt. Trin. 360 *qui illic habitat ... quin (= isne qui) comedit, quod fuit quod non fuit*?⁵⁶ In Iranian, the particle is otherwise found after demonstrative (ManMP *'yn < *iyam + nǎ*, *h'n < *hāu + nǎ*) and interrogative pronouns (OAv. *kas-nā*).⁵⁷

On the basis of this comparative evidence, it is justified to posit an affirmative particle *-na* in Avestan. As argued by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 93f., the formation of **yaθānā* (< **iat na*) is parallel to that of the interrogative particle *ciθānā* Y 44.20 < **čit na* (*AirWb.* 586), both of which have a restituted pausal form instead of **yad-na*, **cid-na*. In Y 35.2 the syntactic function of the particle is that of a relative pronoun connecting a nominal complement:

Y 35.2 *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm ...*
mahī aibī.jarətārō
*naēnaēstārō *yaθānā vohunəm mahī*

The literal translation of the last line is: 'we are not revilers (of those things) which (are) good'.

53 Cf. MAYRHOFER, *KEWA*, II, p. 120.

54 LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.*, II, p. 461; ERNOUT/MEILLET, p. 433f.

55 P. PERSSON, "Über den demonstrativen Pronominalstamm *no- ne-* und Verwandtes", in: *IF* 2 (1893), pp. 199–260; G. PINEAULT, "Négation et comparaison en védique", in: *BSL* 80 (1985), p. 118.

56 LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.*, II, p. 461.

57 A. MEILLET, "Notes iraniennes: Persan *īn* et *ān*", in: *MSL* 22 (1921), pp. 223–225; G. KLINGENSCHMITT, "Die mittelpersischen Pronomina *'yn* und *h'n*, mp. *īn* und *ān*", in: *MSS* 30 (1972), pp. 93–109, esp. 106.

Y 35.3

tat at +varəmaidī¹ ahurā² mazdā²
ašā srīrā
hiiat³ ī mainimadicā⁴ vaocōimācā⁵ +varəzimācā⁶
yā hātəm +šīiaoθənanəm⁷ vahištā xiiāt⁸
ubōihiiā ahubiiā⁹ ∴

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 <i>vairimaidī</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1
 <i>vairīmaide</i> K5
 <i>vairīmaidī</i> G J2
 <i>vairi. maidī</i> S1; L2, S2, O2 B2; K11 Lb2,
 H1 J6 L13 J7
 <i>vairi. maēdī</i> J3
 <i>varəmaidī</i> Mf2 Jp1; C1
 <i>vairə. maidī</i> L1</p> <p>2 <i>ahura. mazdā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1; Mf2;
 L2, S2, O2 B2; C1 K11, J6 L13 J7
 <i>ahuramazdā</i> G (in "Additions and Cor-
 rections") J3; Bb1; H1; [M25]
 <i>ahurā. mazdā</i> G K5 (corr. to <i>ahura.</i>
 <i>mazdā</i>); Jp1 K4
 <i>ahurahmazdā</i> L1
 <i>ahurō. mazdā</i> L3</p> <p>3 <i>hiiat</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6
 <i>yiiat</i> J2, S1
 <i>hīt</i> J3</p> <p>4 <i>mainimadicā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1 J3; L2;
 H1
 <i>maēnimadicā</i> K5
 <i>mainimadaēcā</i> J2; L3
 <i>maēnimadicā</i> K4
 <i>īmainimahēcā</i> L1
 <i>maiñiiēmadicā</i> C1
 <i>maine.madicā</i> K11, J6 L13</p> | <p>5 <i>vaocōmācā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; Mf2
 <i>vaocōimācā</i> G K5, S1 J3; Jp1
 <i>vaocōimācā</i> J2
 <i>vaocō. mācā</i> C1
 <i>vaocōi. mācā</i> J6</p> <p>6 <i>varəzimācā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2; Jp1 K4; L2,
 L1 B2 L3; H1 J6 J7
 <i>varəzəmācā</i> K5
 <i>vərazmācā</i> J3 P11
 <i>vārazimācā</i> Mf2
 <i>vərazimācā</i> G S2; Lb2, L13
 <i>vərazaimācā</i> C1
 <i>varəzi. mācā</i> J6
 <i>varəzēmācā</i> [M25]</p> <p>7 <i>šīiaoθənanəm</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2; Jp1; L2,
 L1; H1 J6
 <i>šīiaoθənanəm</i> G K5, S1; Mf2 K4
 <i>šīiaoθənañəm</i> C1
 <i>šīiaoθnanəm</i> J3
 <i>šīiaoθənanəm</i> L3; K11, L13 J7, P6;
 [M 25]</p> <p>8 <i>xiiāt</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1
 <i>xiiāt</i> S1 J3; H1 J6 L13
 <i>hiiāt</i> Mf2</p> <p>9 <i>ahubiiā</i> G C1, J6
 <i>ahubiiō</i> K4</p> |
|--|--|

O Wise Lord¹, because of beauteous truth⁴
we have certainly² chosen³ this:
that we may think, speak and perform⁵ those⁶
existing actions which may be best
for both existences⁷.

1 *ahurā mazdā* 'O Wise Lord'

In the YH the name of Ahura Mazdā occurs sixteen times in the vocative. There are eleven attestations of the word sequence *mazdā ahurā* (Y 36.1, 36.5, 36.6, 39.4, 40.1², 40.3, 40.4, 41.2, 41.4, 41.5) and five of *ahurā mazdā* (Y 35.3, 35.9,

38.1, 39.4 and 41.5).⁵⁸ In the latter passages, the manuscripts offer, besides *ahurā. mazdā*, variant readings *ahura. mazdā* and *ahuramazdā*. GELDNER, in his edition of the Avesta, always writes the expected Old Avestan form *ahurā mazdā*, but revises this decision in his “Additions and Corrections”, where he prefers the reading *ahuramazdā* in the five YH passages.⁵⁹ The reading *ahura* is also adopted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 290, 293 n. 10 (*ahura.mazdā*) and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 215 (*ahuramazdā*).

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 131, consider the short-vocalic spelling *ahura* to be a phenomenon “propre au YH”. Because it is found in the majority of the significant mss., they recommend that the form *ahuramazdā* should be edited in order to reflect the manuscript situation clearly. The latter is as follows:

	<i>ahurā. mazdā</i>	<i>ahura. mazdā</i>	<i>ahuramazdā</i>
Y 35.3	K5 (corr. to <i>ahura. mazdā</i>); Jp1 K4	Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1; Mf2; L2, S2, O2 B2; C1 K11, J6 L13 J7	J3; Bb1; H1; [M25]
Y 35.9	Pt4 Mf4; Jp1 K4	Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; L2, L1 L3; C1, J6 L13 J7	Bb1; H1; [M25]
Y 38.1	Jp1 K4	Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2; L2, L1 L3; C1, J6 L13	Pt4; K11, H1 J7
Y 39.4	Jp1 K4	Pt4 Mf4 (<i>mazdā</i>) Mf1, K5 J2 (<i>mazda</i>), J3; Mf2; L2 L3; C1 (<i>mazdā</i>), H1 J6 L13 J7; [M25]	S1; H1 (in the repetition)
Y 41.5	Mf2 Jp1 K4	Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; L1 P1 L3; K11	S1 J3

This table shows that of the three variant forms the reading *ahuramazdā* is in fact the one with the weakest attestation and preferred in the Indian mss., which are particularly prone to the influence of the vulgate pronunciation. By contrast, the expected OAv. form *ahurā mazdā* occurs in the best mss., particularly those of the Persian *Vendidad Sade*. The extent of spelling uncertainty is indicated by the readings of the very important *Pahlavi Yasna* codex Pt4, which has *ahurā. mazdā* in Y 35.9, *ahura. mazdā* in Y 35.3, 39.4 and 41.5 and *ahuramazdā* in 38.1. Moreover, contrary to the KELLENS/PIRART claim, the short-vocalic spelling *ahura* is not a peculiarity of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* alone, but is also found in the *Gathas*, where the word sequence *ahurā mazdā* is attested twice:

58 KELLENS 1984, p. 135f., suggests that the word order of the name is governed by the rhythm of the phrase.

59 GELDNER's *Additions and Corrections* are found in vol. III at the very end after p. 139, addendum to vol. I, p. 129, Y 35.3, 9 etc.

	<i>ahurā. mazdā</i>	<i>ahura. mazdā</i>	<i>ahuramazdā</i>
Y 28.9	Pt4, J2; Mf2 K4; K37	Mf1, S1 J3; L2; H1 J7	K5 (<i>ahuramazda</i>); J6 L13
Y 33.6	K5 J2, J3; Jp1K4	Pt4; L2, L1 L3; K11, H1 J6 L13 J7	S1; S2

That the ms. situation in the *Gathas* is similar to that in the YH emerges from the same spelling uncertainty in Pt4, which offers *ahurā. mazdā* in Y 28.9 but *ahura. mazdā* in Y 33.6. Furthermore, as in the YH, the mss. of the Persian *Vendidad Sade* have mainly *ahurā. mazdā*, while *ahuramazdā* is confined to the Indian mss. In spite of the similar ms. situation, GELDNER, BARTHOLOMAE and KELLEN/PIRART write the Gathic vocatives as *ahurā mazdā*, but those of the YH as *ahura. mazdā* or *ahuramazdā*. There is, however, clearly no manuscript support for editing the vocative *ahurā mazdā* in the *Gathas* differently from that in the YH.

The spelling *ahura* instead of the expected OAv. *ahurā* is convincingly explained by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 96, fn. 35, as due to influence of the vulgate pronunciation. The YAv. vocative being *ahura mazdā*, the long word final vowel of the original OAv. form *ahurā mazdā* was either preserved or restored only in the second half of the name. For this reason, and on the basis of the ms. readings, it is justified to edit the vocative as *ahurā mazdā* in both the *Gathas* and the YH.

2 *at* ‘certainly, precisely’

The particle *at*, attested virtually only in Old Avestan, is found in both the *Gathas* and the YH (*AirWb.* 67–69). However, its syntactic distribution in the two texts is different insofar as in the *Gathas* it usually introduces a sentence or clause while in the YH it occupies the second position. NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 94–95, argues that this should not be interpreted as indicating a difference between the language of the *Gathas* and that of the YH, because *at* also occurs second in a few Gathic passages, most prominently in the recurrent formula of Y 43.5 etc. *spəntəm at θβā mazdā mānghi ahurā* ‘bounteous indeed I think that you are, O Wise Lord’. The usage indicates that the syntactic function of *at* at the beginning of a sentence is different from that in second position.

Since *at* is barely found in Younger Avestan, where it was replaced by *āat* as a particle introducing a sentence, NARTEN further suggests that sentence initial Gathic *at* could be an archaism that has survived only in metrical poetry. By contrast, she proposes that in second position it was used especially in the liturgical language of the *Yasna Haptanbhāiti* as a stylistic device for emphasizing the preceding word. Thus, she ascribes the different syntactic positions of the particle in the *Gathas*, on the one hand, and the YH, on the other, to the different literary genre of the two texts, rather than to different idioms. The particle occurs in two possible positions (first or second) because the YH and the *Gathas* represent distinct literary types. In principle, both positions are possible in any variety of OAv. text, and the meaning of the particle differs according

to whether it is the first or second word. But the YH makes frequent use of it for emphasis, whereas the *Gathas* only occasionally employ it in this way. The sandhi form **ad-* is attested in Y 35.4, see below, p. 75f.

3 **varəmaidī* ‘we have chosen’

Following the reading of the manuscript J2, GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 129, edits this as *vairīmaidī*. Such a form is also considered to be correct by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 143 (*vairīmaidī*), who interprets it as ‘we would decide’. However, such an optative mood is unexpected in the context of this stanza because the right choice is the prerequisite for the worshippers performing good thoughts, words and deeds and being in the presence of the ritual fire. More satisfactory semantically therefore is the injunctive form **varəmaidī* ‘we have chosen’, transmitted by Mf2, Jp1 and C1 and edited by both NARTEN and KELLEN/PIRART.⁶⁰ As suggested by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 96, fn. 34, here and in Y 32.2, where the same form occurs, the aorist injunctive has the function of a resultative statement (“resultative Konstatierung”). The form *vairīmaidī*, which is found in some mss., is a corruption that occurred under the influence of the following optative *mainimadicā* ‘we may think’.

4 *ašā srīrā* ‘by beauteous truth’

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 235, 1646, interprets *ašā srīrā* as a vocative syntactically coordinated with the preceding *ahurā mazdā*: ‘O Ahura Mazda⁶¹ (und) o schönes Aša’ (WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 66). HUMBACH also considers it to be a vocative but interprets the expression as an otherwise unattested compound *ašā.srīrā* having an instrumental as its first term and functioning as an epithet of Ahura Mazda: ‘O Wise Ahura beautiful through truth’.⁶² This interpretation, however, is improbable because there is no parallel for Ahura Mazda bearing the attribute *srīrā*-. It is more likely that the adjective qualifies *aša*-. Although Y 35.2 is then the only instance of such a combination, it is supported by the superlative *sraēšta*- ‘most beautiful’, which also characterizes *aša*- in other passages, e.g. in Y 37.4.⁶³ Also unconvincing is SCHWYZER’s interpretation of *ašā srīrā* as an adnominal instrumental in comitative function ‘O Ahura Mazda together with beautiful Aša!’ because in all other such occurrences of a vocative with instrumental the persons invoked have some logical relationship to the content of the entire sentence. As pointed out by NARTEN, this is not the case in Y 35.2.⁶⁴

60 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 38; KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 133.

61 With regard to BARTHOLOMAE’s spelling *ahura.mazdā*, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 96, fn. 35, rightly states that the shortening of the final vowel of *ahurā* in the text of the YH is due to influence of the vulgate pronunciation, see above, p. 70f.

62 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 143, II, p. 116.

63 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1632; KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 37; KELLEN, *Zoroastre*, p. 47. The translation of *aša- srīrā*- as ‘beauteous truth’ is that of WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 233.

64 SCHWYZER 1929a, p. 222; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 95.

Of the three interpretations considered so far, only BARTHOLOMAE's is possible, although one would expect *ašā srīrā* to be linked to *ahurā mazdā* by an enclitic *-ca* 'and'. It is therefore more probable that *ašā srīrā* represents the instrumental case. Moreover, exclusion of the adnominal function of the instrumental here for the reasons given above implies that the expression characterizes one or more of the verbs in this stanza. This is proposed by LOMMEL, *Religion*, p. 159, who connects *ašā srīrā* instrumentally with the following three verbs: 'we may think, speak and act by beautiful truth'. This interpretation requires the assumption that *ašā srīrā* is syntactically anticipated since it stands outside the subordinate clause beginning with *hiiat* 'that'. However, such anticipation is unnecessary if, as argued by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 95–96, *ašā srīrā* is taken as an instrumental characterizing the main clause verb **varəmaidī*: 'we have chosen by means of beautiful truth'. This analysis, which is also adopted by KELLENS/PIRART,⁶⁵ constitutes a more convincing solution both semantically and syntactically. Alternatively, the instrumental could have causal function here: 'we have chosen because of beautiful truth'.

5 *mainimadicā vaocōimācā *varəzimācā* 'we may think, speak and act'

Here the optative marker *-ī-* in *mainimadicā* and **varəzimācā* is shortened due to the enclitic *-cā*. The latter is also responsible both for the preservation of the final short *-i* of the personal ending in *mainimadicā* and for the lack of epenthesis in the personal ending.⁶⁶ Without the enclitic particle the forms would be **mainīmaidī* and **varəzīmā*.

6 *ī ... yā ... vahištā* 'these ... which (are) best'

As observed by NARTEN, the object of the three verbs *mainimadicā vaocōimācā *varəzimācā* is not **šiiəoθəna-* 'action' but the correlative *ī ... yā ... vahištā* 'these ... which (are) best'. She supports her interpretation with reference to the similar construction in Y 39.4 *ī ... yā vohū*. In both passages the expression is governed by the verbs *man* 'to think', *vac* 'to speak', *varz* 'to perform', but in Y 35.3 the agent is 'we', whereas in Y 39.4 it is Ahura Mazda. Moreover, in the latter passage the triad of verbs is enlarged by *dā* 'to create'.⁶⁷

7 *ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'for both existences'

That the expression 'both existences' denotes that of the spirit and the body, is suggested by LOMMEL, *Religion*, pp. 93ff., 144, and defended in detail by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 290–295. As shown by GNOLI 1963a, pp. 180–193, and SHAKED 1971, the distinction between spiritual (*mēnōg*) and physical or material (*gētīg*) life is also fundamental to the Zoroastrian theology of the Pahlavi literature.

65 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 133, translate: 'nous choisissons ceci avec la belle Harmonie'.

66 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 96, fn. 36 with references.

67 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 96f. fn. 39, 264 with fn. 47.

Y 35.4

*gauuōi*¹ + *ad-āiś*^{1a}
*tāiś śīiaoḍanāiś*² *yāiś vahištāiś*
*fraēšiiāmahi*³
rāmācā vāstrāmācā dazdiiāi
*surunuuatascā*⁴ *asurunuuatascā*⁵
*xšaiiantascā*⁶ *axšaiiantascā*⁷ ∴

- 1 Cf. Y 71.25, Vr 22.1, Vd 11.6
gauuōi G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; C1, J6 J7
gauue L2, L1 O2 L3 Bb1
gauui S2
gauua L13
1a *adāiś* C1
adāiś G J6
2 *śīiaoḍanāiś* G Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3; Jp1 K4;
C1 K11, H1
śīiaoḍnāiś J6 L13 J7
3 *fraēšiiāmahi* G Mf4 (ś) Mf1, J3; P1; C1
fraēšiiāmahi K5 J2
fraēšiiāmahi Mf2 Jp1 K4
fraēšiiāmahi J6 (e sec.m. superscr.)
3a *vāstrāmācā* G, all mss except:
vāštrām.cā J6
4 *surunuuatascā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, S1;
Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1; H1

- srunuuatascā* J2, J3; Dh1
srunuuataecā C1 (s added below c)
surunauuatascā J6
5 *asurunuuatascā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; Mf2 Jp1
K4; L1; H1
asrunuuatascā K5 J2, J3; Dh1; C1
asunuuatascā S1
asurunauuatascā J6
6 *xšaiiantascā* G Mf4, K5 J2; Jp1; L1; C1
(xš), J6 (xš) J7
xšaiiantascā S1
xšiiiantascā J3
7 *axšaiiantascā* G Pt4; Jp1; L1; C1 (xš), H1
J6 (xš) J7
axšaiiantacā Mf4
axšiiiantascā K5, J3
axšaiiantascā S1
J2 defective

For the benefit of the cow¹ by (doing) these²,
(namely) these best actions,
we urge
those who listen and those who do not,
those who rule and those who do not
to provide peace and pasture.

1 *gauuōi* ‘for the cow’

The question whether Av. *gauu-* refers literally to the animal or metaphorically to some abstract notion is discussed in detail by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 97–104, and answered convincingly in favour of the former. After surveying the five attestations of *gauu-* in the *YH*, she identifies three of its semantic components: first, the cow is the object of human care (Y 35.4, 35.7, 37.2); second, it is a divine creation (Y 37.1, 39.1); and, third, its soul is the object of human veneration (Y 39.1). While the first two aspects are also found in the *Gathas*, the third is not. Conversely, in the *YH* there is no reference to the idea that the cow is oppressed or subject to human violence, while the *Gathas* provide ample evidence

for that, most explicitly in the “Lament of the Cow” of Y 29. These differences between the *Gathas* and the YH, however, are rightly attributed by NARTEN to their different literary genre rather than to divergent religious ideas. Moreover, the admonition to provide ‘peace and pasture’ for the cow Y 35.4, may be considered as the positive counterpart to violence (*aēšma-*) to which the cow is exposed according to the *Gathas*.

As to the metaphorical interpretations which have been proposed, NARTEN discusses those of G. CAMERON according to whom *gauu-* is a metaphor for ‘god’s flock’, W.P. SCHMID, who sees in *gauu-* a symbol for the poetry, and finally H.-P. SCHMIDT and ST. INSLER, who interpret *gauu-* as a metaphor, or allegorical figure, for the ‘good vision’ (*vaŋ^hī- daēnā-*). The main argument against such understandings of *gauu-* in the Older Avesta is that nowhere in its context is there any instance of a clearly metaphorical usage, such as for example, that of *vāstra-* ‘pasture’ in the expression ‘on the pasture of truth and good thought’ (Y 33.3). Rather, *gauu-* always occurs together with other pastoral terms (NARTEN, YH, pp. 98–100). Such use is consistent with that of the Younger Avesta, which similarly exhibits no trace of any metaphors associated with *gauu-* (pp. 100–103). This suggests that there is no Avestan tradition that *gauu-* denotes anything other than the animal itself.

Having thus excluded the possibility of a metaphorical meaning for *gauu-* in the Avesta, NARTEN interprets the exalted position accorded the cow in the *Gathas* as indicating that in Zarathustra’s time caring for the cow was no longer practised in the way it had been practised before. However, by incorporating ‘caring for the cow’ into his theological programme, Zarathustra urged people not only to adhere to his teachings but also to lead their practical daily lives in a peaceful way. This agrees with the worshippers’ request at the end of the YH for ‘non-violent herdsmen’, see Y 40.3 no. 4 *aidiūš vāstriiōng*. The high esteem in which the cow was held had a long pedigree which, as suggested by Vedic parallels, went back to the common Indo-Iranian period. In Aryan religious and mythological thought, the cow represented an important symbol laden with positive meaning.⁶⁸ It is likely that this was still the case in Zarathustra’s time.

2 ⁺*ad-āiš* ‘indeed herewith’

The transmitted form *adāiš*, which is also attested in Y 48.1, is analysed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 320, as an instr.pl. of a root noun *ādā-*, the meaning of which he posits as ‘requital, repayment’. On the other hand, NARTEN, YH, pp. 267–270, shows that the noun *ādā-* means ‘offering’. Moreover, HUMBACH 1957a, p. 83, fn. 7 and *Gathas*, II, p. 76, points out that *adāiš* could only be the instr. pl. of a thematic stem *ada-*, which, however, is not otherwise attested. By

68 For example, the metaphor of milch cows, mother cows and choice kine representing the waters in Y 38.5 where, however, the word *gauu-* is not used but other terms for ‘cow’, see Y 38.5 nos. 2–4.

contrast, an instr.pl. *āiš* of the pronominal stem *a-* ‘this’ is well documented. NARTEN adduces Y 33.1 *yezī āiš* and accordingly interprets Y 48.1 *yezi ad-āiš* and Y 35.4 *ad-āiš* as instrumental plurals preceded by the sandhi form of the emphasizing particle *aṭ*.⁶⁹ The same sandhi is attested in the YAv. adverb *aḍāt* ‘thereupon’ instead of **aṭ āṭ*.⁷⁰ The particle **ad-* emphasizes the preceding word *gauuōi*. Its pausal form *aṭ* occurs in Y 35.3, see above, p. 71f.

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 200, accept the analysis of *adāiš* in both Y 48.1 and 35.4 as **ád + āiš*, the instr.plur. of the demonstrative pronoun *a-* ‘this’. However, they do not translate the same form in Y 35.4 – on the grounds that an accumulation of instrumentals *āiš tāiš śīiaoḍanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* with two demonstrative pronouns following one another is “inexplicable”. Moreover, they object that there is no OAv. evidence for any adverbial use of inflected forms of the demonstrative pronoun. Finally, in OAv. the Ezafe *tāiš ... yāiš* is not “une hypothèse légitime”. Because of this “accumulation de bizarreries”, they refrain from translating not only *adāiš* but also any of the words in Y 35.4 preceding *fraēšiiāmahi*.⁷¹

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 104, fn. 70, however, adduces instances in the *YH* where *āiš* could have a slight adverbial function. Moreover, apart from passages which attest emerging Ezafe in OAv. (e.g. Y 32.15a),⁷² there is no need to assume it here because *tāiš śīiaoḍanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* could be interpreted as consisting of correlative pronouns. The nominal expression *tāiš śīiaoḍanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* clarifies *āiš*, which refers back to the entire expression in

Y 35.3 *hiiaṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā +varəzimācā*
yā hātəm +śīiaoḍananəm vahištā xiiāṭ
ubōibiiā ahubiiā

that we may think, speak and perform those
 existing actions which may be best
 for both existences.

Y 35.3–4 thus constitute one unit. The two verses urge people to make the right choice, and on that basis to think, speak and perform the best actions. Y 35.4 specifies in what the best actions consist: to provide peace and pasture for the cow. Those addressed include all religious groups (‘those who listen and those who do not’) and all social classes (‘those who rule and those who do not’).⁷³

69 NARTEN *apud* KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 209 and *YH*, p. 104; cf. also HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 117. INSLER, *Gāthās*, p. 285, emends Y 48.1 *yezī adāiš* to *yezī ād āiš*. Such an alteration, however, is unnecessary because, as rightly commented by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 104, *aṭ* could shift to non-initial position in the *Gāthās* as well, see above, p. 71f.

70 KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 209. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb*. 59f., interprets *aḍāt* as a derivative from *aḍa*.

71 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 131f., I, p. 133.

72 Cf. also KUIPER 1987, p. 64f.

73 The suggestion of KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 132, that these four objects of *fraēšiiāmahi* ‘we urge’ could refer to gods is implausible because Y 35.3–4 is about caring for the cow on the part of *human* beings.

Y 35.5

+*huxšaθrō.təmāi*¹ +*bā* +*aṭ*² *xšaθrəm*^{2a}
*ahmat̥ hīiat̥*³ *aibī*⁴
*dadəmahicā*⁵ *cīšmahicā*⁶ +*hūuqnmahicā*⁷
*hīiat̥*⁸ *mazdāi ahurāi*
ašāicā vahištāi ∴

+*huxšaθrō.təmāi* ... °*tā*° (= Y 35.5) ... *vahištāi* (*si bār*)^{8a} ∴

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Cf. Vr 8.2, Vd 10.8, 18.43, A 3.6. Most mss. abbreviate the paragraph. Y 35.5 is to be recited three times. <i>huxšaθrōtəmāi</i> G (š) Mf4, K5 J2; Jp1; C1
 <i>huxšaθrōtimāi</i> S1
 <i>huxšaθrō. tēmāi</i> J3; H1 J6 (š) L13 J7</p> <p>2 <i>bāat̥</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; P6; [F2]
 <i>bā. aṭ</i> K5 J2, J3
 <i>bāṭ</i> G S1; K4 (a superscr.); C1 K11</p> <p>2a <i>xšaθrəm</i> G
 <i>huxšaθrəm</i> C1</p> <p>3 <i>hīiat̥</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1
 <i>yīiat̥</i> S1</p> <p>4 <i>aibī</i> G
 <i>aeibīdaðimahicā</i> C1 (see no. 5)
 The P.V. divides after <i>aibī</i>, and similarly the P.V. to A 3.6 in F2; S1 and J3 divide after the word following</p> | <p>5 <i>dadəmahicā</i> G Pt4 Mf4; [F2]
 <i>dədəmahecā</i> K5
 <i>dadəmahecā</i> J2, J3
 <i>dadimahicā</i> S1
 <i>daðimahicā</i> C1 K11</p> <p>6 <i>cīšmahicā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 (š), S1; [F2]
 <i>cīšmahecā</i> K5 J2
 <i>cīšmahecā</i> J3
 <i>cīš. mahicā</i> C1</p> <p>7 <i>hūuqnmahicā</i> G Pt4
 <i>hūuqnmahicā</i> Mf4 (<i>n</i> struck out), S1; K11; [F2]
 <i>hūuqnmahicā</i> K5, J3
 <i>hūuqnmahicā</i> J2
 <i>hūuqnmahicā</i> C1</p> <p>8 <i>hīiat̥</i> G Mf4, K5; C1
 <i>yīiat̥</i> J2, S1</p> <p>8a Y 35.5 is to be recited three times, cf. Vd 10.7–8</p> |
|---|--|

As far as we are concerned¹,
 we offer, assign and impart²
 the rule to the one whose rule is indeed the very³ best,
 namely the Wise Lord,
 and to the best Truth.

As far as we are concerned ... °to° (= Y 35.5) ... and to the best Truth. (Three times).

1 *ahmat̥ hīiat̥ aibī* ‘as far as we are concerned’

The theme of this stanza is the transfer of power (*xšaθra-*) to both Ahura Mazda and best Truth. The expression *ahmat̥ hīiat̥ aibī* occurs twice in the YH (Y 35.5 and 40.1). KELLENS/PIRART, following BAUNACK, p. 349, interpret *aibī* as a post-position of *ahmat̥*, and *hīiat̥* as a conjunction and thus render it ‘pour autant que cela nous concerne’.⁷⁴ By contrast, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1820, followed by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 118, considers *hīiat̥* to be a relative pronoun referring

74 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 133, II, pp. 37, 202.

to *xšaθrəm*. The expression *xšaθrəm ahmat̥ hīiaṭ aibī* would therefore stand for *xšaθrəm hīiaṭ ahmat̥ aibī* ‘the power which (is) with us’. According to HUMBACH, in Y 35.5 the worshippers “delegate their own power” to Ahura Mazdā.

Such an interpretation, however, is at variance with the many Gathic passages where the singer complains about his lack of power. Moreover, in Y 35.4 ‘those who do not rule’ are also addressed and urged to lead a life in conformity to Zarathustra’s teachings. Furthermore, as argued by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 271–272, *ahmat̥ hīiaṭ aibī* is an idiomatic phrase used as a parenthesis. The fact that the expression consists of three words occurring in a fixed sequence suggests that *aibī* ‘towards’ is a postposition governing the preceding *hīiaṭ* ‘which’, an acc. sg. ntr. of the relative pronoun. The first word, *ahmat̥*, functions as a separative ablative ‘from us, from our point of view’. The expression literally means ‘from us towards which’, therefore ‘as far as we are concerned’.

NARTEN interprets this collocation as an idiomatic expression of modesty (“Bescheidenheitsausdruck”, p. 108, fn. 89) which places the human worshipful activity of conferring power in relation to the much greater deity. An alternative interpretation of the phrase would be that it sets the worshippers apart from people neither present nor involved in the ritual during which this text is recited. Since all ‘those who listen and those who do not, those who rule and those who do not’, i.e. virtually everybody, are urged to provide peace and pasture for the cow (Y 35.4), they should also confer all rule upon Ahura Mazdā, because he has been recognized by the worshippers to be the best ruler. However, since probably not all of them attribute all rule to Ahura Mazdā, the worshippers emphasize here that at least those who are present (*ahmat̥ hīiaṭ aibī* ‘as far as we are concerned’) transfer all such power to him. In Y 40.1, at the end of the *Yasna Haptan̄hāiti*, the same phrase emphasizes that a good prize (*mīžda-*) is reserved only for those who have conferred all power upon Ahura Mazdā (see Y 40.1 no. 3 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī*).

- 2 *xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā *hūuqnmahicā*
‘we offer, assign and impart the rule’

The expression *xšaθrəm ... dā* ‘to confer rule’ has an exact equivalent in Vedic *kṣatráṃ dhā* and is an ancient Indo-Iranian formula denoting the transfer of power to a king. In addition, Ahura Mazdā’s epithet *huxšaθrō.təma-* ‘of best rule’ corresponds to Vedic *sukṣatrá-* ‘of good rule’ which particularly characterizes the deity ‘king Varuṇa’.⁷⁵ The Vedic parallels indicate that Y 35.5 con-

75 B. SCHLERATH, *Das Königtum in Rig- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 127ff. HUMBACH (“Das Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet”, in: MSS 11 [1957], pp. 67–84, here p. 70), and Gāthās², II, p. 117, draws attention to the parallels between Y 35.5 *huxšaθrō.təmaī ... xšaθrəm ... dadəmahī ... hīiaṭ mazdāi aburāi* and the formula in the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer *dazdā ... xšaθrəmcā aburāi.ā* ‘and the rule is committed to the Lord’. The entire stanza Y 35.5 is quoted in A 3.6, see below, p. 81.

tains a number of words deriving from the Indo-Iranian terminology of royal consecration.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 109, demonstrates that the formula *dadəmahicā cīsmahicā* may be optionally enlarged by the inclusion of a third verb. The latter is *auuaēdaiiamahī* in Y 41.1, *yazamaidē* in Y 39.4 and *huuṇmahī*^o in Y 35.5 (see Y 41.1 no. 1 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* ‘we dedicate’). The verb *hū* ‘to set in motion, impel’, of which *huuṇmahī*^o is 1pl.ind.pres., also has *xšaθrəm* ‘rule’ as its object in its second OAv. attestation, Y 31.15⁷⁶:

Y 31.15 *pərəsā auuaṭ yā mainiš yā drəguuāitē xšaθrəm hunāitī*

I enquire about the punishment (for the evildoer), who imparts power to the deceitful one.

As noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 110, the syntactic construction of OAv. *hūnā*- with both an abstract noun (*xšaθrəm*) as the direct object in the accusative and the recipient denoting the indirect object in the dative case (*drəguuāitē*)⁷⁷ has a parallel in the syntax of the Ved. equivalent *sū* ‘to set in motion, impel’, which says of Savitar:

RV4.54.2 *devébhyo hí prathamám yajñīyebhyo ’mṛtatváṃ suvási bhāgám uttamám /*

For first you impart immortality as the principal inheritance to the gods worthy of worship.

In this passage the accusative *aṁṛtatváṃ* ‘immortality’ takes the place of *xšaθrəm* in the OAv. attestations. The syntactic parallel suggests that the construction of the verb as found in both OAv. and the RV is old and probably inherited. In both branches the verb *hū/sū* denotes the transfer of an abstract quality (‘rule’ in Av., ‘immortality’ in Ved.) to another person, whether human or divine.

Although it might be mere chance that the verb has the same object in both OAv. passages, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 110, suggests that, in the same way that *xšaθrəm dā/kṣatrām dhā* goes back to an Ilr. formula of power transfer, so also might Av. *xšaθrəm ... hunā*-. This is suggested by Vedic phraseological parallels. In particular, the name of the Vedic royal consecration, *rājasūya*-, contains the same root Ved. *sū*, Av. *hū* ‘to set in motion, impel’. Moreover, in Vedic prose, forms of this root (e.g. active *suvati* and the middle *suvate*) occur in the context of royal consecration (*rājasūya*-) where they have the technical meaning ‘to provide someone with special power, to empower, to consecrate’. The syntactic construction of the verb in Vedic prose, however, differs insofar as the person to whom the power is transferred is its direct object. GONDA convincingly ex-

76 Y 31.15 is quoted in full below, p. 297.

77 KELLENS, *Zoroastre*, p. 54f., suggests that *drəguuānt*- could here refer to the “souverain de la mauvaise filière”.

plains this syntactic change by a semantic development, according to which the Rigvedic meaning of *sū* ‘to set in motion power or powerful influence’ develops into ‘to consecrate a person’ in Vedic prose.⁷⁸ This is an innovation due to the technical meaning acquired by the verb in the context of royal consecration and power transfer. Such a special sense could have arisen precisely when the object was an abstract noun meaning ‘rule, authority’: literally ‘to set authority (acc.) in motion to someone (dat.)’, i.e. ‘to confer authority upon someone’ → ‘to empower someone (acc.) to something (dat.)’.

The form *hūuṇmahī*^o appears instead of the expected **hu-n-mahi* (< **su-nH-masi*) and has the same phonetic structure as Y 38.5 *friiṇmahī* instead of the anticipated **frinmahī* (< **pri-n-H-masi*). In their respective paradigms, both words occur adjacent to singular forms with suffix *-nā-*, e.g. *hunāiti*, *°frināmi*. In YAv., *frī* ‘to please’ gives rise to a 1pl. *frināmahī* (Yt 12.3 and 5, Vd 20.5). According to K. HOFFMANN, the two verbs *hūuṇmahī*^o and *friiṇmahī* represent phonetic variants of the expected forms. The spellings *hūuṇmahī*^o, *friiṇmahī* stand for **hūuṇmahī*, **friiṇmahī*. The latter would have been the spelling in the Sasanian archetype, where the letter *q̇*, which was confused with *q* in the later manuscript tradition, represented the sound *q̇*, the vocalic variant of a uvular nasal. He argues that the forms **hūuṇmahī*, **friiṇmahī* (written **hūuṇmahī*, **friiṇmahī*) resulted from the slow-chanting, liturgical recitation of the OAv. texts and go back to **hūnmahī*, **friṇmahī*, where the vowels *u*, *i* were nasalized by the following *-nm-*.⁷⁹

3 **bā + at* ‘indeed the very’

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 129, edits a form *bāt*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 912 with n. 3, rightly prefers the reading **bā + at* of the mss. K5, J2 and J3 and is followed by all subsequent editors. The emphasizing particle *bā* is otherwise attested only in YAv., where it always occupies the second position. Such is also the case in Y 35.5 and the particle *at*, which also usually comes second, is pushed back to the third place.⁸⁰ The function of the two emphasizing particles could be either that one reinforces the other or, more likely, that together they give extra strong weight to **huxšaθrō.tamāi* ‘to the one of best rule’. This is suggested by the passage’s quotation in A 3.6, where *bā* is replaced by enclitic *°cit* in the Younger Avestan version:

78 GONDA 1947, pp. 153–155 [= id., *Sel. Studies*, II, pp. 282–284]. On the Vedic forms and syntax of *sū*, see GOTŌ 1991, pp. 692–697, esp. p. 692, fn. 94.

79 HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, I, p. 70; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, pp. 66, 217, HOFFMANN/NARTEN, p. 75. On slow chanting and the orthoepic revision, see below, p. 84f. For a different explanation of the forms, see Y 38.4 no. 4 *friiṇmahī*, p. 242f.

80 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 108, fn. 86.

A 3.6 +huxšaθrō.təməiciṭ aṭ xšaθrəm cīšiiāṭ
 yaṭ ahurāi mazdāi
 (= Y 35.5) +huxšaθrō.təməi +bā +aṭ xšaθrəm
 ahmaṭ hiiāṭ aibī
 dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuṇmahicā
 hiiāṭ mazdāi ahurāi
 ašāicā vahištāi

One may assign the rule to the one whose rule is indeed the very best,
 namely to the Wise Lord.
 As far as we are concerned,
 we offer, assign and impart
 the rule to the one whose rule is indeed the very best,
 namely the Wise Lord,
 and to the best Truth.

As convincingly argued by SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996, p. 186 with fn. 30, Av. *bā* belongs etymologically with the particles Chor. *f'*, Sogd. *-β(y)*. Like Av. *bā*, but unlike Sogd. *-β(y)*, Chor. *f'* has precedence over encl. pronouns. The encl. particle is also found in Bactrian *-βa*, which takes the second position after the sentence-initial particle *-δt/-δo/-δ-* in the expression *ειμιδβα βαγε* 'these gods', see SIMS-WILLIAMS/CRIBB 1995–1996, p. 86f.

Y 35.6

yaṭā āt¹ utā nā vā² nāirī vā³
 vaēdā haiḍīm⁴
 aṭā⁵ haṭ vohū^{5a}
 *taṭ. āṭ-āḍ-ū⁶ vərəziiōtūcā⁷ īt ahmāi⁸
 fracā⁹ vātōiiōtū¹⁰ īt aēibiiō^{10a}
 yōi īt¹¹ aṭā vərəziiān¹²
 yaṭā īt astī ∴

- 1 āt Pt4 Mf4, K5 (*a* struck out and
 yazamaide del.); K4; L2, S2, B2; H1
 J7; [M25]
 āt G Mf1, J2, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L1 O2 L3;
 C1 K11, J6
 2 nā.vā G Mf4, K5; C1
 nāvā S1; L1 Bb1; H1 J6 L13 J7
 3 nāirī. vā G Mf4, K5
 nāirī. vā Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 nāirīvā S1; Bb1; J6
 nāirā. vā C1
 nāirivā H1 L13 J7
 4 haiḍīm G Mf4, K5; C1
 haiḍī S2; H1 J6 (*m* added sec.m.) L13
 5 aṭā G Mf4; C1
 aṭāt J2
 5a vohū G K5
 vohū Mf4; C1, J6
 6 āṭāḍū G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, J3; Mf2 K4;
 L2, S2; K11, H1 L13 J7
 ā.ā.ā.ḍū K5; J6
 āṭāḍū S1
 āḍāḍū Jp1; L3
 yāṭāḍū L1
 yāḍāḍū B2
 āṭāḍū C1
 7 vərəziiō.tūcā Mf1; C1 K11, H1 J7

- vərəziiōtūcā G Mf4, J2, S1; Mf2 Jp1
 vərəziiōi.tūcā K5, J3; J6 (*i* after *ō* sec.m.)
 8 ahmāi G Pt4 Mf4, S1; C1
 ahmāt K5 (*m*) J2, J3
 9 fracā G Pt4 Mf4, K5, S1; Jp1; C1, H1 J6
 L13
 fracā Mf1, J2, J3; Mf2
 10 vātōiiō.tū Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, J3; K11, H1
 J6 L13 J7
 vātōiiō J2 (in marg.)
 vātōiiōcā L2 K10
 vātōiiōtū G S1
 vātōiiāōtū Jp1 K4
 vātōiiōi.tū C1
 The P.V. divides after the following īt,
 S1 J3 P11 after vərəziiōtūcā and īt
 10a aēibiiō G K5; C1
 aēibii Mf4
 aēibiiō J6
 11 yōi. īt G Mf4, K5; J6
 yōiīt C1
 yṭ H1
 yaṭ J7
 12 vərəziiān G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; C1, J6 J7
 vərəzaiiān S1
 vərəziiān S2; L13
 vərəzaiiān B2; H1

Just as now a man or a woman
 knows what is real,
 so (do they know) what is really good.
 Therefore let them now also¹ put it into practice
 and let them make it known to those
 who shall practise it in the way
 that it really is.

1 **taṭ.ēd-ād-ū* ‘therefore now ... also’

The problematic word of this verse, *ēdādū*, is interpreted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 321, as the instr.sg. of a feminine noun *ādū*- ‘zeal’, which he also finds in the YAv. adjective *ādū.fraḍana*- ‘increasing zeal’ (*AirWb.* 322), attested in Y 65.1 (= Yt 5.1, 13.4). However, he obtains the meaning ‘zeal’ by deriving *ādū*- from a root **dav*- ‘to press, urge’ (*AirWb.* 688), which has been shown to be non-existent.⁸¹

EMMERICK 1966, pp. 1–7, equates *ēdādū* with Buddhist Sogdian **δwk* ‘corn, grain’ and translates Y 35.6 *ēdādū vərəziiōtūcā* ‘he should work (the field) with grain’. This explanation is accepted by HUMBACH who, in contrast to EMMERICK, interprets ‘seed corn’ as a simile: ‘let him apply it [i.e. the true formula] for Him (as) a good seed grain’.⁸² EMMERICK’s explanation, however, does not take the context of Y 35.6 sufficiently into account. As pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 112, the line *vərəziiōtūcā īt ahmāi* ‘let them practise it for themselves’⁸³ is syntactically parallel to the following *fracā vātōiiōtū īt aēibiiō yōi* ... ‘and let them make it known to those who ...’ The object of the verb *varz* ‘to act, do, perform, practise’ is not ‘the field’ added to the translation by EMMERICK, but the pronoun *īt* which is repeated four times in the stanza and refers back to ‘what is good’ (*vohū*), mentioned at the beginning of the verse.⁸⁴ There is no suggestion in the context that this particular stanza is about agriculture and working in the fields.

NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 111–114 analyses the form *taṭ.ēdādū* transmitted by the manuscripts as **taṭē ād ū** ‘therefore now ... also’ (‘daher ... nun auch’). The fact that the enclitic particle *u* ‘and, also’, well attested in Vedic and other Indo-European languages, is not otherwise found in Avestan is seen by her as the reason why it was not recognized by the orthoepic redactors of the Younger

81 KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 328; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 111 with fn. 100.

82 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144, II, p. 118.

83 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 118, who translates the line as ‘let him apply it for Him’, argues against NARTEN’s interpretation of *ahmāi* as reflexive that one would expect the *middle* voice of the verb. However, the reflexive use of *ahmāi* is, as pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 117, fn. 120, well attested in the *Gāthas*. Moreover, there are also instances of reflexive *ahmāi* ‘for himself’ with an active verb. Apart from the expression *ahmāi stōi* ‘to belong to oneself’, e.g. in Y 50.2 *yā hīm ahmāi vāstrauuaitīm stōi usiiāt* ‘who wishes that she [i.e. the cow], being provided with pasture, belonged to himself’, reflexive *ahmāi* is constructed with an active present participle in Y 46.19 *yā mōi ašāt haiḍīm hacā varəšaitī zaraḍuštrāi hīat vasnā fərəšōtəmām ahmāi mīzdam hanəntē parāhūm* ‘The one who on the basis of truth, will bring about what is most wonderful at will for me, Zarathustra, who deserves for himself higher life as a prize’. KELLENS/PIRART interpret Y 35.6 *ahmāi* as reflexive ‘for himself’ (*TVA*, II, p. 245), but translate ‘pour l’autre’ (*TVA*, I, p. 133).

84 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 116f. In the expression *yaḍā īt astī* at the end of this stanza, *īt* could be either an emphasizing particle or an anaphoric pronoun referring to *vohū*, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 117, fn. 123.

Avestan period.⁸⁵ Instead, they considered *u* as part of the preceding *ād*, the sandhi form of the particle *āt*, thus creating the transmitted form *ādū*. NARTEN argues that the restored reading **tatā ād ū** is parallel to the preceding *yaθā āt utā* ‘as now also’. The particle *āt* here takes the second position in the sentence, as it does in nearly all other instances in the YH.⁸⁶

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 133, accept NARTEN’s analysis of *ādū* as containing the particle *u* ‘and, also’ but interpret the preceding letters as the particle *ad* rather than *ād*. They analyse *tat. ād ādū* as **tād + ād + u* and explain *ādā-* as “une graphie particulière, aberrante, mais d’un type répertorié” for short initial *a-* followed by either *-uu-* or a syllable containing *-ū*; *tat* would be the accusative object governed by the verbs *varz* and *frā-vat*. KELLENS/PIRART reject NARTEN’s restitution of **tatā* ‘therefore’ on the grounds that an adverbial derivation with the suffix **-tas* “est rarissime en iranien”. However, as argued by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 113, adverbs in **-tas* are indeed attested in Avestan (YAv. *x^aatō* ‘by himself’, *aiβitō* ‘around’). Moreover, the positing of an OAv. adverb **tatā* is supported by an exact equivalent in Vedic *tātas* ‘therefore; then’.⁸⁷ A further instance of an adverb in **-tas* may be found in Y 29.6 if, as suggested by INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 152, the transmitted *at. ā* is emended to **atā* ‘thereupon’, equalling Ved. *ātas* ‘from here; then’.

While KELLENS/PIRART offer no explanation as to how the sequence *°ādā-* came about, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 113f., identifies the form *°ādādū* as the model for three other similar forms in the *Gāthās*.⁸⁸ The sequence *ādā-* instead of a short *a-* in the Gathic instances being unjustified, NARTEN explains the *-ā* in *tat. ād ādū* as the final vowel of a restored *tatā*, the regular OAv. form of PrIr. **tatah* (= Ved. *tātas*). Moreover, she observes that two out of the three Gathic words with *ādā-* (*ādānū* instead of *anū* in Y 32.16 and 47.2, *ādānuā* instead of *anuā* in Y 29.7) have long *ā-* instead of *a-* and ascribes such vowel lengthening to the priestly practice of singing musical figures in liturgical chanting, a habit which could lead to unconscious changes in a syllable’s quantity and quality. Similarly, the final vowel of the form *tatā* in Y 35.6 was musically dilated and recited with an additional *-ā*, thus producing the form *tatā²*.

When the sacred texts were recited during the Old Avestan period, musical dilatation of vowels due to slow chanting must have been common. Further changes were introduced later when the texts were transmitted by Younger

85 On the orthoepic redaction see below, p. 84f.

86 On the particle *āt* see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 258f.

87 The Bactrian *ταδο* ‘so, thus, then, and’ hesitantly adduced by MAYRHOFER, *EWAIa*, I, p. 617 (but retracted I, p. 811) is a different formation, which is explained by SIMSWILLIAMS, *Bactrian Documents*, p. 225, as consisting of the conjunction *τα* ‘then’ and the enclitic particle *-do* from **uti* ‘thus’ (*ibid.*, p. 190).

88 Contrast HUMBACH, *Gāthās²*, II, p. 118, who considers the influence to be the other way, with the form of the YH being modelled on the Gathic instances. He does not, however, discuss details of such alleged process.

Avestan priests. The first deliberate efforts at redaction were made when a “school text” of the Older Avesta was presumably established in the sixth century B.C. in what KARL HOFFMANN calls the “orthoepic diasceuasis” or “orthoepic revision”.⁸⁹ At that time, redactors of the Younger Avestan period restored and normalized Old Avestan forms which they considered to be correct in order to prevent further changes to the language of the sacred texts. Regarding Y 35.6 ⁺*taṭ.əḍ-ād-ū*, NARTEN argues that the diasceuasts failed to recognize the correct word division. When restoring word boundaries, they split the form *tatə*³ (originating from *tatə* due to slow liturgical chanting) in such a way that they singled out the common pronoun *taṭ* and attributed *-əḍ-* to the following *-ād-ū*. The latter had remained equally misunderstood by them as a result of the rarity of the particle *u* ‘and, also’. By contrast, they did recognize the particle *aṭ* in the preceding expression *yaθā aṭ utā* and restored it from a postulated sandhi form ⁺*ad utā*.⁹⁰ Thus there originated the form *taṭ.əḍādū* which was subsequently faithfully transmitted over the centuries.

89 HOFFMANN/NARTEN, pp. 87–91 with references; HOFFMANN 1988, p. 51 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, p. 868].

90 Another instance of a sandhi form ⁺*ad-* is found in Y 35.4, see above, p. 75ff.

Y 35.7

*ahurahiiā zī¹ aṭ vā² mazdā³
yasnəm⁴ vahnəm⁴
vahištəm^{4a} aməhmaidī⁵
gəušcā vāstrəm⁶
taṭ aṭ vā⁷ vərəziiāmahī⁸
fracā⁹ vātəiiāmahī¹⁰
yā.tā¹¹ isāmaidē¹² ∴*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 <i>ahurahiiā. zī</i> G Mf4, K5: J6
 <i>ahurahiiāzī</i> S1; L1; C1</p> <p>2 <i>vā</i> G Mf4 Mf1, J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1; C1, H1
 J6
 <i>vī</i> K5; K4</p> <p>3 <i>mazdā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3;
 Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1 O2 L3
 <i>mazdā</i> S2, Bb1; C1, H1 J6 L13 J7; [M
 25]</p> <p>4 P.V. divides after <i>yasnəm⁴</i>, but
 Mf4 after <i>vahnəm⁴</i>, S1 J3 after
 <i>aməhmaidī</i></p> <p>4a <i>vaheštəm</i> C1
 <i>vahištəm</i> G J6</p> <p>5 <i>aməhmaidī</i> G Pt4 Mf1
 <i>ahməhmaidī</i> Mf4
 <i>amīh.maidī</i> K5
 <i>ahmīh.maidī</i> J2
 <i>ahmē.maidī</i> S1
 <i>ahmī.maide</i> J3
 <i>aməhmāidī</i> Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>ahmā.maidī</i> L2 K10, Dh1, L3 Bb1; K11,
 J6 (ṇ) J7, P6
 <i>ahmēm.maidī</i> L1
 <i>ahməhmaidī</i> O2
 <i>aməmaidī</i> B2; H1 L13
 <i>aməhmaidī</i> C1</p> <p>6 <i>vāstrəm</i> G
 <i>vāstrēm</i> C1, J7</p> | <p><i>vāstrəm</i> J6</p> <p>7 <i>vā</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 (sec.m. superscr.), S1
 J3; Mf2; C1, J6 J7
 <i>vī</i> Mf1; Jp1
 <i>deest</i> J2; K4</p> <p>8 <i>vərəziiāmahī</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1
 J3; Mf2; C1, 6
 <i>vərəziiāmahē</i> Jp1 K4</p> <p>9 <i>fracā</i> G, so all mss. except:
 <i>fraca</i> Mf2</p> <p>10 <i>vā.tāiiāmahī</i> Mf4
 <i>vātəiiā.mahī</i> Mf1; Mf2; L2; H1 J6 L13
 <i>vātiiāmahī</i> K5 J2; L3; C1
 <i>vātəiiāmahī</i> G S1; Jp1
 <i>vātəiiā.mahē</i> K4
 <i>vātōiiāmahī</i> L1</p> <p>11 <i>yā.tā</i> G Mf4 (ý), K5; J6 (ý)
 <i>tī</i> Jp1 K4
 <i>yā. tē</i> C1
 <i>yātā</i> K11, H1</p> <p>12 <i>isāmaide</i> Pt4, J2; Mf2 K4; C1
 <i>asāmaidē</i> Mf4
 <i>isāmaidē</i> G Mf1, S1; Jp1
 <i>asāmaide</i> K5
 <i>ašā.maidē</i> J3; L2; Lb2, H1 L13 J7, J5
 <i>išā.maide</i> K10, O2 B2 L3 Bb1
 <i>išāmaidī</i> L1; K11
 <i>ašā.maide</i> J6
 <i>ašā.maidī</i> P6</p> |
|--|--|

For we recognized
that the worship and praise
of the Wise Lord alone
and pasture of the cow is best for you¹.
It is precisely this that we shall practise for you¹
and make (it) known
as much as we can.

1 *vā* ‘for you’

The meaning of Y 35.7 hinges on the interpretation of the enclitic pronoun ‘you’ (*vā*) which occurs twice in the stanza. According to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1312, it refers to Ahura Mazdā. An English version of his German translation reads as follows:

For we recognize
that the best (thing) is (to offer)
worship and praise to you,
(namely) to Ahura Mazdā,
and (to offer) fodder to the cow.
We want to put this into practice for you
and make (it) known (to others)
as much as we can.⁹¹

By contrast, NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 116–119, interprets *vā* as referring to those who are present during the ritual ceremony, but do not speak (“die anwesenden Zuhörer”, p. 118). They are addressed by those who recite the text (‘we’). This interpretation presupposes the presence of two groups of people: the congregation (‘you’), and those who speak (‘we’).⁹² NARTEN bases her interpretation on an analysis of the relationship between Y 35.6 and 35.7 and argues that in both stanzas human beings are addressed, namely those who are present during the ritual. While Y 35.6 makes a general statement, Y 35.7 is about its application to a particular situation.

Each of the two stanzas consists of two sections. Y 35.6 states that every person, man and woman alike, knows (*vaēdā*) what is right (*haiθīm*) and therefore also what is good (*vohū*) (section 1). From this knowledge two duties result: first that of putting into practice for oneself (*vərəziiōtūcā īt ahmāi*) what is good and, second, that of making it known to other people (*vātōiiōtū īt aēibiiō*) so that

91 ‘Denn euch, dem Ahura Mazdā, Verehrung und Preis (zu spenden) und Futter dem Vieh, halten wir für das Beste. Wir wollen es für euch betätigen und es (anderen) zum Verständnis bringen, so gut wir können’ (WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 67). By introducing the personal pronoun with a capital letter ‘You’, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144, also indicates that he interprets *vā*, like BARTHOLOMAE, as referring to the deity.

92 Like NARTEN, KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, consider the personal pronoun *vā* to refer to human beings, but interpret it as implying two verbal forms added by themselves ‘vous fassiez ... et donniez’. Like NARTEN’s, their translation suggests a distinction between the worshippers speaking of themselves as ‘we’, on the one hand, and another group of people addressed as ‘you’, on the other. According to KELLEN/PIRART, the stanza states that the worshippers (‘we’) have recognized that ‘the best ritual act’ (*vahištām*) entails ‘you’ making ‘consécration et précation’ (*yasnamcā vahmāmcā*) to Ahura Mazdā and giving pasture to the cow. The worshippers themselves (‘we’) bring it about on behalf of the others (‘you’) and set as much of an example as they can (‘nous l’accomplissons pour vous et nous vous en donnons l’exemple autant que nous le pouvons’).

they may do the same and thus bring about the manifestation of the Good that exists (*aṇā vərəziiān yaṇā īt astī*) (section 2).

In the following verse Y 35.7 the general imperative of Y 35.6 is applied to a particular situation. The worshippers now speak in the first person plural ('we') and articulate what they have recognized to be best (*vahištəm*) 'for you' (*vā*). This consists of two things: the 'worship and praise' (*yasnəmcā vahməmcā*) of Ahura Mazdā, on the one hand, and the 'pasture for the cow' (*gəušcā vāstrəm*), on the other (section 1). Moreover, the worshippers ('we') express their intention of putting this into practice (*vərəziiāmahī*) 'for you' (*vā*) and making it known (*fracā vātəiiāmahī*) as much as they can (section 2). In Y 35.7, the enclitic personal pronoun *vā* 'for you' occupies the position of and corresponds to the demonstrative pronouns *ahmāi* 'for oneself' and *aēibiiō* 'for them' in Y 35.6. The parallel structure of the two verses may be illustrated as follows:

Parallel structure of Y 35.6 and 7

	Y 35.6	Y 35.7
Section 1	<i>yaṇā aṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā</i> <i>vaēdā haiṇīm</i> <i>aṇā haṭ vohū</i> Just as now a man or a woman knows what is real, so (do they know) what is really good.	<i>ahurahiiā zī aṭ vā mazdā</i> <i>yasnəmcā vahməmcā</i> <i>vahištəm aməhmaidī</i> <i>gəušcā vāstrəm</i> For we recognized that the worship and praise of the Wise Lord alone and pasture of the cow is best for you.
Section 2	<i>*taṭ.əṇ-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā īt ahmāi</i> <i>fracā vātōiiōtū īt aēibiiō</i> <i>yōi īt aṇā vərəziiān</i> <i>yaṇā īt astī</i> Therefore let them now also put it into practice and let them make it known to those who shall practise it in the way that it really is.	<i>taṭ aṭ vā vərəziiāmahī</i> <i>fracā vātəiiāmahī</i> <i>yā.tə isāmaidē</i> It is precisely this that we shall practise for you and make (it) known as much as we can.
Agent	general: <i>utā nā vā nāirī vā</i> 'man or woman'	specific: 'we'
Verb of Sect.1	general perfect-present: <i>vaēdā</i> 'knows'	aorist of actuality: <i>aməhmaidī</i> 'we recognized'

	Y 35.6	Y 35.7
Verbs and pronouns of Sect. 2	imperative: <i>vəṛəziiōtūcā īt ahmāi</i> 'let them now also put it into practice' <i>fracā vātōiiōtū īt aēibiiō yōi ...</i> 'let them make it known to those who ...'	prospective subjunctive: <i>vā vərəziiāmahī</i> 'we shall practise for you' <i>fracā vātōiiāmahī</i> 'we shall make (it) known' <i>yā.tā isāmaidē</i> 'as much as we can'

Further support for NARTEN's interpretation that *vā* refers to human, rather than divine, beings derives from a comparison of Y 35.6 and 7 with the preceding verses Y 35.3–5. That which the speakers 'have recognized to be best for you' (*vā ... vahištəm aməhmaidī* Y 35.7) refers back to the expression in Y 35.3 where they ('we') state that they have made their choice (**varəmaidī*) in favour of the best of all possible actions (*hātəm +šiiəoθənanəm vahištā*). This implies that the speakers have already expressed a preference and know that what they have chosen will also be best for the others ('you'). The following stanza Y 35.4 explains in what those best actions consist: providing peace and pasture for the cow (*gauuōi ... rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi*). The speakers ('we') urge everybody ('those who listen and those who do not, those who rule and those who do not') to put this into practice:

Y 35.3	Y 35.4
<i>taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ahurā mazdā</i> <i>ašā srīrā</i> <i>hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā</i> <i>*varəzimācā</i> <i>yā hātəm +šiiəoθənanəm vahištā xiiāt</i> <i>ubōibiiā ahubiiā</i>	<i>gauuōi *ad-āiš</i> <i>tāiš šiiəoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš</i> <i>fraēšiiāmahī</i> <i>rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi</i> <i>surunuuatascā asurunuuatascā</i> <i>xšaiiantascā axšaiiantascā</i>
O Wise Lord, because of beautiful truth we have certainly chosen this: that we may think, speak and perform those existing actions which may be best for both existences.	For the benefit of the cow by (doing) these, (namely) these best actions, we urge those who listen and those who do not, those who rule and those who do not to provide peace and pasture.

Y 35.3 is about 'we' insofar as the speakers declare that they have made their choice, resulting in a commitment to those actions which are best 'for both existences', that is the material and the spiritual. The following stanza Y 35.4 is about 'you' insofar as the speakers state that they urge all other human beings to commit themselves to the best actions which here consist of providing peace and pasture for the cow.

The best of the actions ‘chosen’ (**varəmaidī*) by the speakers in Y 35.3 corresponds in Y 35.7 to that which ‘we recognized to be best for you’ (*vā ... vahištəm aməhmaidī*). This is again affirmed to be caring for the cow and, in addition, worship and praise of Ahura Mazdā. Thus, these verses suggest that the worshippers (‘we’) are those who have understood what is ideal and have committed themselves to it. They are convinced that what they have recognized is also best for other people. They are already on the right path and explicitly address other human beings, ‘those who listen and those who do not, those who rule and those who do not’ (Y 35.4) and ‘men and women’ (Y 35.6) and urge them to accept what they, the speakers, have acknowledged to be best. These other people are addressed as ‘you’.

Y 35.3 corresponds to Y 35.6 insofar as the statement in Y 35.3 according to which the worshippers have chosen ‘what is best’ is resumed in Y 35.6, where in a general way it is affirmed that everybody knows what is good. Because of this awareness, everybody should bring it about and also urge others to do the same. Moreover, a connection between Y 35.4 and 35.7 is established insofar as the theme of Y 35.4 is echoed in Y 35.7, where the worshippers state that they have recognized what is good and that they have made their choice, namely to praise Ahura Mazdā and care for the cow. The worshippers are now about to put that into practice on behalf of the others (presumably ‘both men and women’, and ‘those who listen/rule and those who do not’) and also desire to make it known as much as they are able.

In the intervening stanza Y 35.5, the speakers (‘we’) confer all power onto Ahura Mazdā and best Truth. However, the delimiting formula ‘as far as we are concerned’ (*ahmat hiiat aibi*) suggests that the act of power transfer applies only to themselves. This implies that the others, ‘you’, have not yet done so. Thus, the context of Y 35.3–7 suggests that ‘we’, the speakers, are different from ‘you’ in two respects. First, they (‘we’) have already made their choice in favour of best actions (Y 35.3), consisting of providing worship for Ahura Mazdā and ‘peace and pasture for the cow’ (Y 35.4, 35.7). Second, they have transferred all power to Ahura Mazdā and best Truth (Y 35.5). The others (‘you’) have yet to do this. Thus, Y 35.3–4 and Y 35.6–7 form two corresponding pairs of stanzas with a parallel structure. They are punctuated by three individual, that is to say free-standing stanzas Y 35.2, the introductory verse, Y 35.5, the transfer of power to Ahura Mazdā and best Truth, and Y 35.8, which has authoritative character and a universal application. In ritual performance, the first and last of these stanzas is to be recited twice, the central one, Y 35.5 three times.

Y 35.8

aṣahiiā āaṭ¹ sairī²
aṣahiiā³ vərəzānē⁴
kahmāicīṭ⁵ hātām
jījiṣām vahiṣtām ādā⁶
ubōibiiā⁶ ahubiiā

aṣahiiā ... °tā° (= Y 35.8) ... ahubiiā (du bār)⁷ °°

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>āaṭ</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2, L1 L3; C1
 <i>āaṭ</i> K4 (but the first <i>a</i> is a corr. of <i>ā</i> by erosion)
 <i>aṭ</i> K11, H1 J6 L13 J7, P6</p> <p>2 <i>sairī</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; S2, B2; C1 K11, H1 J6 L13; [M25]
 <i>sairī</i> K5
 <i>sairi</i> L2 K10, L1 O2 L3; P6; [J1]
 <i>sairē</i> Dh1
 <i>srai</i> J7</p> <p>3 <i>aṣahiiā</i> G, so all mss. except:
 <i>aṣahiiā āaṭ</i> J2</p> <p>4 <i>vərəzānē</i> G Pt4 Mf4, J2 (corr. from <i>vərəzinē</i>), J3; J6</p> | <p><i>vərəzāne</i> K5
 <i>vərəzānē</i> S1
 <i>vərəzaini</i> C1</p> <p>5 <i>kahmāicīṭ</i> G Mf4, K5 (m) J2, S1; C1, H1
 <i>kahmāicīṭ</i> J3
 <i>kahmāi.cīṭ</i> J6
 <i>kahmāicā</i> P6</p> <p>6 <i>ādā. ubōibiiā</i> G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1 L3; K11
 <i>ādā. bōibiiā</i> S2, P1; H1 L13 J7
 <i>ādāubōibiiā</i> C1 (a dot superscr. between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i>)
 <i>ādā. ubōi. biiā</i> J6
 <i>ādā. ubōibiiā</i> J5
 <i>ādāi. ubōibiiā</i> [M25]</p> <p>7 Y 35.8 is to be recited twice, cf. Vd 10.4</p> |
|---|---|

I now tell¹ every (human) being
 that in union with Truth,
 (and) in the community of Truth
 the desire to gain (one's living)² is best
 for both existences.

I now tell ... °to° (= Y 35.8) ... for both existences. (Twice).

1 *ādā* 'I say'

The form *ādā* was identified by K. HOFFMANN as a 1sg.perf.act. of the root *ad* 'to say, speak'.⁹³ Although it is usual for the first person plural 'we' to be employed in the YH, this is not the only instance of a verb form in the first person singular. Switching between the sg. and pl. also occurs in Y 38.5, where **āuuāocāmā* 'we invoke' is followed by *auuā* 'I want to facilitate', see Y 38.5 no. 9 *auuā*.

93 HOFFMANN 1968, p. 287, fn. 15 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, p. 226, fn. 15]. Earlier interpretations are discussed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 125f. Since from a formal point of view, *ādā* could also be 3sg.perf., HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144, translates 'he has declared', but without identifying the referent of 'he'.

It is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the identity of the “I”. The context, however, indicates that Y 35.8 not only addresses the worshippers present during the ceremony, as in the case of Y 35.7 (*vā*), but also has a universal application insofar as all human beings (*kahmāicīṭ hātām*) are told. For, as observed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 126 with fn. 163, the expression *kahmāicīṭ hātām* refers not only to those present during the ritual, but to each and every human being. The 1sg. verbal form therefore has special authoritative character.⁹⁴ The authority with which the ‘I’ speaks has parallels in the *Gathas*, in particular in Y 45.3:

Y 45.3 *aṭ frauuaxšiiā aṇhāuš ahiiā pouruuīm*
yā mōi vīduuā mazdā vaocaṭ ahurō
yōi im vā nōiṭ iṭā maṭrām varəšəntī
yaṭā im mānāicā vaocacā
aēibiiō aṇhāuš auuōi aṇhaṭ apāməm

I shall proclaim the principle of this life,
 which the knowing one, the Wise Lord, has told me:
 those of you who do not put into practice these lines here
 as I shall think and speak them,
 to those “woe” will be the conclusion of life.

Authoritative character is also implied by the second YH occurrence of a verbal form in the 1st person sg. in Y 38.5, and when combined with the universal claim suggests that the “I” of both Y 38.5 and 35.8 is the same as the “I” of the *Gathas*, i.e. possibly Zarathustra.⁹⁵

The expression *kahmāicīṭ hātām* ‘to every (human) being’, which in Y 35.8 denotes the indirect object to whom the message is directed, also occurs in the

94 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 126.

95 KELLENS in KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, pp. 17–20, suggests that the “I” (“le récitant”) of the *Gathas* cannot be Zarathustra. His main arguments are, first, that the “I” switches to “he” as soon as Zarathustra’s name is mentioned and second, that in Y 28.6 *dāidī ... zaraṭuštrāi ... ahmaibiiācā* the name of Zarathustra is co-ordinated with a 1pl. personal pronoun ‘us’. KELLENS’ first argument is invalidated by Rigvedic parallels for the switching between “I” and “he”, both referring to the same person (HINTZE 2002, p. 35f.). Moreover, a parallel for the expression in Y 28.6 is found in Y 68.12, where the “I”, identified as the priest (*zaotar-*), is co-ordinated with “we”, namely the Mazdayasians (HINTZE 2002, pp. 48–50). KELLENS 2004, p. 843f., rejects the validity of Y 68.12 as a parallel on the grounds that in the latter passage the two groups “I” and “we” are linked with *-ca* and explicitly identified by appositions, while this is not the case in Y 28.6. Moreover, he argues that in contrast to Y 28.6, the fact that “I” in Y 68.12 is singled out from “us” is justified insofar as he is the *zaotar-*. However, against KELLENS’ latter argument it may in turn be objected that the “I” also identifies himself as *zaotar-* in the *Gathas* – in Y 33.6, though admittedly not in Y 28.6. Moreover, while it is *-cā ... -cā* in Y 68.12, the two datives *zaraṭuštrāi ... ahmaibiiācā* are also co-ordinated by *-cā* in Y 28.6. The expression in the latter verse could have been the model for the more explicit formula of Y 68.12, which would then provide a clue for the understanding of the Gathic verse during the YAv. period.

Fravardin Yašt. In Yt 13.152, Zarathustra is presented as the man who is to be respected and praised ‘by every (human) being’ (*kahmāiciṭ hātəm*):

Yt 13.152 *zaraθuštrəm vīspahe aṇhāuš astuuatō ahūmca ratūmca*
paoirīmca tkaēšəm yazamaide
hātəm huδāstəməm
hātəm huxšaθrōtəməm
hātəm raēuuastəməm ...
γō nā ištasca yesnīasca vahmīasca vaoce
γaθna kahmāiciṭ hātəm
ašāt haca yaṭ vahištāt

We worship Zarathustra, the lord and model of all bodily life,
 and (we worship) the primordial teaching,
 the most beneficent of those who exist,
 the one who rules best of those who exist,
 the richest of those who exist, ...
 the man who is called the venerated one, worthy of worship and praise
 for everyone of those who exist⁹⁶
 on the basis of Best Truth.

Yt 13.152 alludes to the YH insofar as it resumes the expression *kahmāiciṭ hātəm* of Y 35.8. Furthermore, some of Zarathustra’s epithets characterize Ahura Mazdā in the YH. They include *hudāstəma*- ‘most beneficent’, which in Y 41.2–4 is applied three times to Ahura Mazdā in the expression *hātəm hudāstəma* ‘O most beneficent of those who exist’, and *huxšaθrōtəma*- ‘of best rule’ in Y 35.5.⁹⁷ That Yt 13.152 was composed with a view to the YH also emerges from the wider context of this stanza. In particular, the mentioning of the earth, the sky and ‘(all) that is good in between (earth and sky)’ in Yt 13.153 loosely alludes to Y 37.1 and 38.1, while the entire stanza of Y 39.2 is quoted in Yt 13.154. Yt 13.153–154 thus recall the beginning (Y 37.1) and end (Y 39.2) of the *yazamaidē*-formulae in the YH, which praise Ahura Mazdā’s creations.

It is therefore justified to interpret Y 35.8 in the light of Yt 13.152. If the two passages are considered in conjunction, Yt 13.152 suggests that in the Younger Avestan period the ‘I’ in Y 35.8 was understood as representing Zarathustra who addresses his message to every human being. For that reason, he is said in Yt 13.152 to be praised and worshipped by everybody. On a more abstract level, Y 35.8 evokes the image of an up → down movement insofar as Ahura Mazdā imparts the message to Zarathustra and Zarathustra ‘to every (human) being’. By contrast, Yt 13.152 denotes a down → up movement because Zarathustra is said to be venerated ‘by every (human) being’. Yt 13.152 could thus be considered as an inversion of Y 35.8.

⁹⁶ On the function of *γaθna* as a connective, see above, p. 67.

⁹⁷ Textual relationship between Yt 13.152 and the YH is suggested by NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 90, YH, p. 286.

2 *jījīṣā* ‘the desire to gain’

In a detailed study of the form and semantics of Av. *jījīṣā*-, NARTEN argues in favour of a derivation of this noun from the desiderative stem *jījīṣa-* from the root *jī* ‘to win, conquer’, which corresponds to the Ved. desiderative present *jīgīṣa-* ‘to desire to obtain’. Since the latter is well attested, but Av. *jījīṣa-* only in isolated forms,⁹⁸ NARTEN examines the Vedic attestations of *jīgīṣa-* with a view to gaining some insight into the precise meaning of the Avestan noun. She identifies different uses of the desiderative in Vedic prose, on the one hand, and in the oldest Vedic texts, the *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas*, on the other. In Vedic prose both desiderative and other, non-desiderative forms of *jī* ‘to win, conquer’ have the semantic component of conquering or winning in battle or contest. By contrast, in the *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas* both the desiderative *jīgīṣa-* with its nominal derivatives *jīgīṣú-* ‘desiring to win’ and the instrumental *jīgīṣā* ‘with the desire to win’ are semantically detached from other forms of the verb insofar as they do not refer to winning in battle or contest. Rather, the ‘desire to win, obtain’ is about gaining one’s daily sustenance, especially food and prosperity.⁹⁹

Likewise, NARTEN contends that the Avestan desiderative *jījīṣa-* does not occur in a situation of contest or battle. Y 35.8 *jījīṣā*- refers to a human (*kahmāiciṭ hātā*, see above, p. 92f.) wish or desire of a general nature, one qualified as ‘best’ (*vahištā*) ‘for both existences’ (*ubōibiiā ahubiiā*) if it is pursued ‘in union with Truth, in community with Truth’. NARTEN convincingly concludes that ‘the desire to gain’ (*jījīṣā*-) in Y 35.8 refers – just like its equivalent in the *Rigveda* – either to objects necessary for daily life (i.e. one’s living) or to the successful conclusion of an undertaking.¹⁰⁰ In the light of this analysis, Y 35.8 states that each person (*kahmāiciṭ hātā*) should pursue their breadwinning ‘in union with truth’ and ‘in community with truth’. In this way people will do what is best ‘for both existences’, i.e. their physical and spiritual life. At the end of the YH, everlasting ‘fellowship’ (*haxəman*- Y 40.2) and ‘union’ (*sar*- Y 41.6) with Ahura Mazdā and with Truth are identified as the ‘prize’ (*mīžda*-) desired by the worshippers (see Y 40.2 no. 2 and 41.6 no. 1, below, pp. 293 and 321–323).

98 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 120; HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 378.

99 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 121–123. NARTEN’s results are accepted by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 119 and, with a slight modification, by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 134.

100 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 124.

Y 35.9

imā¹ āt² uxδā vacā³
ahurā³ mazdā³
ašəm +manaiiā⁴ vahehiiā⁵
frauuaocāmā⁶
δβəm aṭ aēšəm
paitiiāstārəmcā^{6a} fradaxštārəmcā⁷
dadəmaidē⁸ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>imā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1; J6
 <i>imā</i> Mf1; C1</p> <p>2 <i>āt</i> Pt4 Mf4; L2, O2 (<i>a</i> struck out); J7;
 [M25]
 <i>āt</i> G Mf1, K5, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1 L3;
 C1, H1 J6
 deest J2
 <i>aṭ</i> L13 O1</p> <p>3 <i>ahurā. mazdā</i> G Pt4 Mf4; Jp1 K4
 <i>ahura. mazdā</i> Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; L2, L1
 L3; C1, J6 L13 J7
 <i>ahura. mazdā</i> Mf2
 <i>ahuramazdā</i> G (in “Additions and Cor-
 rections”) Bb1; H1; [M25]</p> <p>4 <i>maniiā</i> G Pt4 Mf4; L2, Dh1, O2 L3; J6
 (<i>ah</i> sec.m. superscr.); [J1]
 <i>mainiiā</i> Mf1, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; S2, L1 B2;
 C1 Lb2, H1 L13 J7; [M25]
 <i>manahiiā</i> K5 J2
 <i>manaiiā</i> S1; P6
 <i>mainaiiā</i> K11</p> <p>5 <i>vahehiiā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1; Dh1, L1
 O2 B2 L3; [J1]</p> | <p><i>vahiiā</i> K5 (<i>he</i> pr.m. superscr.), J3; Mf2
 Jp1 K4; Lb2
 <i>vahihiiā</i> L2, S2; C1 K11, H1, P6
 <i>vahəhiiā</i> J6 L13 J7
 <i>vōhiiā</i> [M25]</p> <p>6 <i>frauuaocāmā</i> G Pt4, K5, S1 J3; L2, L1
 L3; H1 J6 L13 J7
 <i>frauuoōcāmā</i> Mf4; C1
 <i>frāuuācāmā</i> J2
 <i>frāuuaoōcāmā</i> Mf2 Jp1 K4</p> <p>6a <i>paitiiāstārəmcā</i> G
 <i>paitiiā. stārə. cā</i> J6</p> <p>7 <i>fradaxštārəmcā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3; Jp1
 K4; C1, J6 (<i>.cā</i>)
 <i>fradaxštārəmcā</i> Mf2</p> <p>8 <i>dadəmaidē</i> G Pt4 Mf4, J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4;
 H1 J6 L13
 <i>dadəmaide</i> K5
 <i>dadmaidē</i> Mf1
 <i>dadimaidē</i> S1
 <i>daδəmaide</i> C1</p> |
|---|---|

These words now,
O Wise Lord,
we proclaim¹ as solemn utterances²,
with very good concentration³ on Truth.
We designate
you only as their
listener⁴ and teacher⁵.

1 *frauuaocāmā* ‘we proclaim’

From a formal point of view, the mood of the verbal form *frauuaocāmā*, a 1st pl.act. from the aorist stem *fra-uuaoca-* of the root *vac* ‘to speak’, could be either injunctive or subjunctive. However, because any formal distinction between the

1st dual and pl. of thematic stems has been lost, the mood intended here has to be decided on semantic grounds.

In Vedic, the majority of such forms function as subjunctives. There are only very few instances of athematic or thematic 1pl. aorist injunctives in non-prohibitive clauses. HOFFMANN, *Injunktiv*, p. 254, lists three certain athematic instances. Of thematic stems, there is only one attestation which is generally regarded as an injunctive. This is the form *tákṣāma* in the final stanza of RV 5.73:

RV 5.73.10 *imā bráhmāṇi vārdhanāśvibhyāṃ santu śámtamā
yá tákṣāma ráthāṃ ivāvocāma bṛhán námaḥ*

These verses shall be most auspicious refreshments for the two Áśvin,
(the verses) which we fashion like chariots. We have uttered a great veneration.

HOFFMANN notes that such injunctives have a general meaning and translates *tákṣāma* as 'we (use to) fashion'.¹⁰¹ Although interpreting it as a subjunctive ('we will fashion') is also possible, an injunctive is more plausible here because the form occurs at the very end of the hymn. It summarizes in a general way the activity which has just been performed. This interpretation is corroborated by the demonstrative pronoun forming part of the verb's object, *imā bráhmāṇi* 'these verses'. Both the Vedic demonstrative pronoun *ima-* and its Avestan cognate *ima-* have near-deictic function and refer to what is in immediate proximity to the speaker.¹⁰²

Like *imā* 'these' in RV 5.73.10, the pronoun *imā* in Y 35.9 refers to the preceding verses which have just been recited.¹⁰³ NARTEN interprets the form *frauuāocāmā* as a voluntative aorist subjunctive, a category well attested in Vedic and denoting willingness.¹⁰⁴ She argues that in Y 35.9 the subjunctive does not refer to the immediate future of the individual act of worship but has a general meaning in the sense of the recurrence of the ritual. This, however, is the function of the injunctive. It therefore seems justified with KELLENS/PIRART to interpret the form *frauuāocāmā* as an injunctive.¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, like Y 35.3 **varəmaidī* 'we

101 HOFFMANN, *Injunktiv*, p. 254: 'Diese Brahman-Sprüche sollen den Áśvins die heilsamsten Förderungen sein, die wir wie Wagen zu zimmern pflegen [or: 'zimmern werden' if subjunctive]. Eine große Huldigung haben wir gesprochen.' On the form *tákṣāma* and its paradigm, see NARTEN, *SigmAor.*, p. 123ff., esp. p. 125, where it is interpreted as an inj.aor. with resultative meaning.

102 On the various deictic functions of demonstrative pronouns, see Y 36.2 no. 1 *huuō*.

103 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 127f., fn. 173. HOFFMANN, *Injunktiv*, pp. 154, 226, 139 with fn. 63, remarks that the pronoun *ima-* can also mean 'such as, of this kind'. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 135, comment that *ima-* refers to what precedes, but *ta-* to what follows. In contrast to NARTEN, however, they think that the pronoun in Y 35.9 does not refer to all the verses recited since the beginning of the YH, but only to Y 35.7, "qui est adressé aux hommes comme un message de Mazdā".

104 HOFFMANN, *Injunktiv*, pp. 253–255. Also HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144, considers the form as a subjunctive, as emerges from his translation 'we wish to proclaim'.

105 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 135, II, pp. 70, 295.

have chosen', the aorist inj. could denote a resultative statement 'we have proclaimed', with *imā* referring to the preceding verses.¹⁰⁶

2 *uxδā vacā* 'words as solemn utterances'

Both *uxδa-* and *vacah-* are derived from the same verbal root *vac* 'to speak'. According to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 381, *uxδa-* functions as an adjective meaning 'revealed' ("verkündet, offenbart") in Y 35.9 as well as in a number of YAv. passages where it occurs in collocation with *vacah-* 'word'. He translates Y 35.9 *imā at uxδā vacā* as 'these revealed words' ("diese offenbarten Worte"). While the interpretation of *uxδa-* as an adjective is probably correct for the YAv passages listed by BARTHOLOMAE, the assumption that such a use of *uxδa-* pre-existed in the archaic language of the YH is rightly rejected by NARTEN on the grounds that formations with suffix *-tha-* were originally substantives.¹⁰⁷

HUMBACH considers *uxδa-* and *vacah-* as homonyms and interprets the Y 35.9 expression *uxδā vacā* as a hendiadys 'statements (and) words'.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, translate it as 'ces mots, ces paroles'. By contrast, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 127, interprets Y 35.9 *uxδa-* as having a predicative function, qualifying the verb. In her translation 'we want to proclaim these words as solemn utterances', the meaning of the phrase would be that by means of the right phraseology, words (*vacah-*) become solemn utterances (*uxδa-*). Based on THIEME's definition of the semantics of Av. *uxδa-* and its Vedic cognate *ukthā-* as denoting a 'solemn utterance', a 'formula', she points out that **uktha-* is a technical term of the Indo-Iranian priestly language.¹⁰⁹

Against NARTEN's syntactic interpretation KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 135, object that there are no other attestations of *frā-vac* constructed with a double accusative. Moreover, the notion of solemnity would already be expressed by the preverb *frā*. This objection is invalidated, however, by the existence of a double accusative governed by the uncompounded verb *vac* (*AirWb.* 1331), e.g. in Yt 13.90:

Yt 13.90 *yō paoiriiō stōiš astuuaiθiiā*
vācim framraot vīdōiium ahurō. tkaēšām
yō paoiriiō stōiš astuuaiθiiā
vīspām daēuuō. dātām vauuaca aiiesniiq amuahmiiq

¹⁰⁶ On this function of the aor. inj. see above, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ NARTEN, *YH*, p. 126f. On formations with the suffix *-tha-* see *AiGr.*, II.2, pp. 717–720, § 534.

¹⁰⁸ HUMBACH, *Gāthās?*, I, p. 144, II, p. 120. A hendiadys is a figure of speech in which a single complex idea is expressed by two words usually connected by 'and', e.g. 'nice and warm' for 'nicely warm', Verg. *Aen.* I, 258 *urbem et promissa Lauini moenia* 'the city and the promised walls of Lauinium', see LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.*, II, p. 782f.

¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, the meaning of *uxδa-* as an adjective is 'formulated', i.e. 'spoken in the form of an *uxδa-*' ("formuliert = in Gestalt eines *uxδa-* gesprochen"), NARTEN, *YH*, p. 126; P. THIEME, *Der Fremdling im Rgveda*, Leipzig 1938, p. 65.

(Zarathustra) who (was) the first of the bodily existence
to proclaim the word that rejects the demons, that has the teachings of the lord;
who (was) the first of the bodily existence
who declared all the creation of the demons unworthy of worship, unworthy of
prayer.

A double accusative is also found with a verb of speech in Y 21.4, where *mrū* occurs with the prepositions *paiti* and *ā*:

Y 21.4 *uštātāitiiaa vīspəm ašauuanəm*
həntəmca bauuaṇtəmca būšiiāntəmca
vahištəm vahištō paitiāmraoṭ

And in the *uštā*-stanza he, the best one, proclaims to every truthful person,
present, past and future,
what is best.

3 *ašəm* + *manaiiā* ‘with concentration on truth’

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 130, edits the form as *mainiiā*, which KELLENS/PIRART analyse as instr.sg. of a feminine noun *mainī-* ‘compréhension’ but translate as a final dative ‘pour une meilleure compréhension de l’Harmonie’ (*TVA*, I, p. 134). They also suggest that a dat.sg. of such a stem is attested in Y 43.9 *mainiiāi*.¹¹⁰ The latter, however, is more likely to be a verbal form ‘I want to have in mind’ (1sg.subj.pres.mid.), as proposed, for instance, by KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 120 and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 140.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 128f., prefers the reading **manaiiā* of the Sanskrit Yasna ms. S1, an instr.sg. of a feminine stem *manā-* (or *maniiā-*) ‘thinking of, concentrating on’. The reading is also adopted by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144. Moreover, like NARTEN, HUMBACH suggests that the verb *frauuacāmā* governs a double accusative, but differs from NARTEN as to the accusatives governed by the verb. According to HUMBACH, the two nouns *uxδā vacā*, which he considers as synonyms constituting the figure of a hendiadys (see above, p. 97), function as the direct object and *ašəm* ‘truth’ as a predicative accusative. His translation of the verse is as follows:

‘With a better devotion, O Wise Ahura, we wish to proclaim (as) truth these statements (and) words.’

In HUMBACH’s interpretation, the Av. hapax legomenon *manā-* has the same meaning as its Vedic equivalent *manā-* ‘devotion, zeal, eagerness’. According to NARTEN’s syntactic analysis of Y 35.9, however, *ašəm* cannot depend on the verb *frauuacāmā* because the latter already governs the double accusative *uxδā vacā* ‘we proclaim these words as solemn utterances’. NARTEN therefore

¹¹⁰ KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 281 (Y 46.9 erroneously for 43.9), III, p. 135 after PIRART 1986, p. 163f.

suggests that *manā-* has a verbal construction and governs the acc. *aṣəm*. Although formations in *-ā-* or *-iiā-* do not appear to belong to any of the nominal categories constructed with the accusative, such as agent nouns in *-tar-* and superlatives in *-išta-*, NARTEN's assumption is justified because the verb *man* frequently governs the acc. or gen. of *aṣa-* (*AirWb.* 1122), for instance in Y 31.19 *gūštā yā maṇtā aṣəm* 'listen (to the one) who concentrates on truth!'. In contrast to the Vedic cognate *manā-* 'religious zeal', the verbal construction in Y 35.9 indicates that the meaning of Av. *manā-* is still closer to that of the underlying verb *man* 'to think': 'thinking of truth, concentrating on truth'.¹¹¹

4 *paitiiāstārəm* 'listener'

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 840–841, explains both the agent noun *paitiiāstar-* (attested only in Y 35.9) and forms of *paitiiāsti-* (Y 53.3, Vr 15.2) as derivatives from the root *dā* with preverbs *paiti* and *ā*. The meaning of the agent noun would be 'who memorizes by repetition' ("der wiederholt, durch Wiederholung einschärft") and that of the *ti-* abstract 'memorization by repetition'. From these nouns he separates Younger Avestan forms of the stem *paiti.asti-*, *paitiiesti-* attested in N 22 (= 4), Vd 22.13, A 1.8 and Yt 15.1 and analyses them as **paiti-ā-st-i-*, from the root *stā* 'to step'. The latter would also underly the form *paiti.astō.vacab-* in FiO 3f. In N 22, the noun would have a technical sense and denote the silent 'standing by' during the recitation of the sacred texts, while the meaning in the other passages would be 'obedience' (*AirWb.* 827–828). However, as argued by HUMBACH 1957–1958b, pp. 216–217, it is more likely that the *ti-* abstracts *paitiiāsti-* and *paiti.asti-*, *paitiiesti-*, attributed by BARTHOLOMAE to two different nouns, are all from one stem *paiti.asti-*, the lengthening of the *-a-* in *paitiiāsti-* being secondary. Moreover, the agent noun *paitiiāstar-* should also belong to this group.

A major problem with these compounds is that of analysing the second part *-āsti-* and *-āstar-*. There is agreement that *paitiiāsti-*, *paiti.asti-* and *paitiiesti-* are formed with the suffix *-ti-*. BARTHOLOMAE's connection of *paiti.asti-*, *paitiiesti-* with the root *stā* 'to step' is accepted by INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 324, who also interprets both Y 53.3 *paitiiāsti-* and Y 35.9 *paitiiāstar-* as derivatives from the same root with two preverbs *paiti* and *ā*. The meaning of Y 53.3 *paitiiāsti-* would be 'firm foundation' and that of Y 35.9 *paitiiāstar-* 'founder' or 'supporter'. Semantically Y 53.3 *paitiiāsti-* would be "very close" to the root noun *paitištā-*,

111 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 128f. Although he considers her interpretation to be "monstrueux", KELLENS in *TVA*, III, p. 135, does allow it in view of the frequent expression *aṣəm man*, while PIRART postulates haplogy for **aṣəm aṣabiiā mainiiā**. HUMBACH's criticism, *Gāthās*², II, p. 120, no. 3, that NARTEN translates *aṣəm* as if it were a dative is unjustified because he mis-quotes her translation of Y 35.9, which in fact reads: 'Diese Worte wollen wir als feierliche Sprüche, o Weiser Herr, mit sehr gutem Denken an die Wahrheit verkünden.'

attested only in Yt 6.3 (*AirWb.* 837: 'Standort, Wohnort'). Against INSLEER's proposal NARTEN, *YH*, p. 130, objects that semantic identity between Y 53.3 *paitiiāsti-* and the root noun *paiti-štā-* is unlikely because action nouns in *-i-* from roots in *-ā-* form a distinct group. Moreover, while formations with suffix *-i-* from the root *dhā* 'to set, place' are very frequent in Vedic, they are much rarer from *dā* 'to give' or *sthā* 'to step'. There is a noun *prati-ṣṭhī-* (from *prati-ṣṭhā-*), but it means 'resistance'.¹¹² Finally, an accumulation of preverbs before formations with suffix *-i-* is found only occasionally. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 130, fn. 186, points out that in Vedic there is only one attestation of the preverbs *prati* and *ā* with the root *sthā*. It occurs in an obscure passage of the *Atharva Veda* (AVP Kh *pratyātiṣṭhantī-*).

According to INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 324, the form Y 35.9 *paitiiāstārām* is "syn-copated" from **paitiiāstātārām*, like the "common type" of *aməratāt-* for *aməratatāt-* 'immortality'. However, his adduced parallel of *aməratāt-* for *aməratatāt-* does not hold because the haplology in *aməratāt-* is due to certain phonetic conditions peculiar to stems formed with suffix *-tāt-* (the sequence of three dentals in the instr.sg. and nom/acc. dual *aməratatātā*).¹¹³ The assumption of such haplology in *paitiiāstārām* is *ad hoc* because INSLEER does not adduce parallels from other agent nouns. Furthermore, there is the problem of the meaning of a supposed Av. agent noun **stātar-*. While an uncompounded stem **stātar-* is not attested in that language, its equivalent is found in Vedic *sthātar-* and *sthātār-*. However, Ved. *sthātar-* has the specialized meaning 'charioteer' and is used as a title for Indra and other deities.¹¹⁴ The noun *sthātār-*, accented on the suffix, also has a distinctive function 'the unmoved, static' as it replaces forms of the root noun *sthā-* in the expression *stātúr jāgataḥ* 'das unbewegte Leben'.¹¹⁵ In view of all these problems, it appears that the idea of connecting *paitii-āstar-*, *paitiiāsti-* etc. with the root *stā* 'to step' must be abandoned.

Another possibility is to identify the underlying root as *ab* 'to throw'.¹¹⁶ The agent noun *paitii-āstar-* is accordingly analysed in a straightforward manner as **paiti-as-tar-* with secondary lengthening of *-as-* to *-ās-* after *-ii-*. Uncompounded *astar-* (= Ved. *ástar-*) 'shooter, archer' is attested with an object *iṣum* 'arrow' in FiO 7 (= KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §336). The noun *paitii-āstar-* would denote the activity of 'propelling', i.e. uttering, words. In Y 35.9, Ahura Mazdā would be addressed as the one who 'sends forth' the words which the wor-

112 WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER, *AiGr.* II.2, p. 299f., §187b; p. 24f., §10b.

113 NARTEN, *Am.Sp.*, p. 43, fn. 55; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 110, §79.4. Other examples of haplology in *tāt-*stems include *arštāt-* 'rectitude, justice' < **arštātāt-*, see BARTHOLOMAE, "Arica XIII", in: *IF* 11 (1900), p. 140, fn. 2.

114 TICHY, *Nomina agentis*, pp. 285, 344.

115 TICHY, *Nomina agentis*, pp. 32, 71 with reference to NARTEN 1972, p. 164f. [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, p. 193f.].

116 This solution is suggested by WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER, *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 674, further supported by HUMBACH, 1957–1958b, pp. 216–219 and accepted by KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, II, p. 265.

shippers are about to pronounce. According to HUMBACH 1957–1958b, p. 217f., the noun's meaning is close to that of the following *fradaxštārəm* 'teacher'. He translates the expression Y 35.9 *paitiiāstārəm* *fradaxštārəm* as 'Äußerer und Verkündiger'. Similarly, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, render the two nouns as synonyms 'lanceur et propulseur'. The *ti*-abstract *paitiiāsti*-, *paiti. āsti*-, *paitiiesti*- would accordingly mean 'proclamation, recitation' ('Verkündigung, Rezitation').

A third way of deriving *paitiiāstar*- from *dā* 'to give' with two preverbs *paiti* and *ā* was suggested by BAUNACK, p. 357, accepted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 840–841, with regard to *paitiiāstar*-, *paitiiāsti*- and favoured by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 129–133, who offers a detailed analysis of the problems involved in understanding its form and meaning. After discussing the various explanations put forward by different scholars, NARTEN concludes that the most likely solution is the one proposed by BAUNACK, with *paitiiāstar*- meaning 'receiver' ('Empfänger'). HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 120, abandons his earlier connection of the noun with the verb *ab* 'to throw' and accepts NARTEN's results, but interprets the meaning of the agent noun metaphorically: 'listener, hearer, examiner'.

According to this explanation, *paitiiāstar*- should be analysed as *paiti-ā-s-tar*- < IIr. **pati-ā-t^star*-. Although agent nouns formed from the zero grade of the root *dā* 'to give' (IE **deh₃*) are attested in Greek δοτήρ, Lat. *dātor* 'giver, donor' (both < IE **dh₃-tér*-), there is no evidence in Avestan for original zero grade agent nouns. For instance, the root *dā* 'to give; to set, place' forms an agent noun *dātar*- (= Ved. *dātar*-, *dātár*- 'giver' and *dhātár*-, *dhātár*- 'creator', < IE **déh₃-ter*-, **deh₃-tér*- and **d^héh₁-ter*-, *d^heh₁-tér*- respectively). NARTEN, *YH*, p. 129, therefore considers the hapax legomenon *paitiiāstar*- to be a new and artificial formation within the religious terminology and explains its zero grade as analogous to the *ti*-abstract *paitiiāsti*-, where it is regular. This appears to be the most plausible explanation, although it would be preferable to have either parallels for agent nouns in *-tar*- built besides abstracts in *-ti*-, or pairs that could have served as a model for the creation of *paitiiāstar*-.

The decision whether *paitiiāstar*- means 'emitter' (from *paiti-ab* 'to throw') or 'receiver' (from *paiti-ā-dā* 'to receive, accept') needs to be based on the contexts in which the nouns occur. It has been noted that in nearly all their attestations, *paitiiāstar*-, *paitiiāsti*- etc. are in the context of 'word' or 'thought'.¹¹⁷ In Y 35.9, *paitiiāstar*- is accompanied by the adnominal genitive *aēšqm* which refers back to *vacayhqm* 'words'. In Y 53.3, *paitiiāsti*- is found with a genitive in the expression *vanhōuš² *paitiiāstīm manayhō* 'paitiiāsti- of good thought'.¹¹⁸ Similarly in the Younger Avesta, the *ti*-abstracts *paitiiāsti*- etc. occur next to genitives denoting texts or words.

117 HUMBACH 1957–1958b, pp. 216–217; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 132f.

118 On this passage, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 131f.

In *Nirangestān* 22, the instrumental *paiti.asti* is in syntactic parallel to *sraoθra* ‘recitation’ and denotes some aspect of the declamation of the sacred texts. It is stated that a man ‘pleases the Ratus’ (*ratufriš*) both through the recital of the *Gathas* (**sraoθra ... gāθanəm*) and through *paiti.asti* of the *Yasna* and of the Manthra of the Cattle Breeder (*paiti.astica yasnahe aθa *fšūšō mąθrahe*). The text goes on to explain that a man ‘pleases the Ratus of all the *Gathas*’ when he recites the *Gathas* and ‘stands by’ at the celebration of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* (*yasnəm yazəntəm *paiti.hištāiti*). However, he ‘pleases’ only the Ratus of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* when he celebrates the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* but ‘stands by’ during the recitation of the *Gathas* (*yasnəm yazāiti gāθanəm *srāuuaiiamnanəm *paiti.hištāiti*).¹¹⁹ In this passage, *paiti.asti* denotes an activity taking place at the same time as that expressed by the verb **paiti.hištāiti*. As it contrasts with **sraoθra* ‘recitation’, *paiti.asti* probably describes something carried out while silently ‘standing by’ (**paiti.hištāiti*). It thus appears that in N 22 *paiti.asti*- refers to the silent following of another priest’s delivery.

In Vr 15.2, too, the noun occurs in a context concerned with the utterance of the sacred texts:

Vr 15.2 *sraoθasca iθā astū*
ahurahe mazdā yasnāi
səuuīštāhe aθaonō
yā nā ištō
yasnaheca haptañhātōiš
frauuākaēca paitiiāstaiaēca
*mazdātaiaēca *zrazdātaiaēca*
framərətāiaēca fraoxtaiaēca

And Attentiveness shall be here
 for the worship of Ahura Mazdā,
 the strongest, truthful one,
 who is worshipped by us,
 and for pronouncing and *paitiiāsti*-,
 for committing to the mind and for committing to the heart,
 for the recalling and uttering
 of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*.

In the *Visperad* and *Vendidad* ceremonies, Vr 15 is recited before Y 35, the beginning of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*. The three sets of pairs, *frauuāka*- and *paitiiāsti*-, *mazdāti*- and *zrazdāti*-, *framərəti*- and *fraoxti*-¹²⁰ describe priestly activities which occur during the recitation of the sacred texts. The third pair,

119 N 22 is fully quoted by HINTZE 2004a, p. 312f., where, however, *paitištāiti* and *paitištī* should be emended to **paiti.hištāiti*, as already suggested by WAAG, *Nirangistān*, p. 48, cf. KELLENs, *Verbe av.*, p. 192 and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 132, fn. 202.

120 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1161, 1703, 988, 975, wrongly identifies the last four words as infinitives, when they are in fact the dat.sg. of *-ti*- stems, see BENVENISTE, *Infinitifs*, I, 48f. and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 132, fn. 203.

framərəti- and *fraoxti-* refers to the dual aspect of recalling and repeating the texts aloud; the second pair, *mazdāti-* and *zrazdāti-*, describes the action of preserving them in the mind and heart. The first pair, *frauuāka-* and *paitiiāsti-* again refers to the recitation. The meaning of *frauuāka-* is clear. Denoting the audible recitation, here it could take the place of **sraoθra* ‘recitation’ in N 22. And as is the latter, *paitiiāsti-* in Vr 15.2 could also refer to the situation where a priest does not himself recite during the ritual but stands by silently and follows another’s delivery in his mind.

Another YAv. attestation of *paiti.asti-* is at the beginning of the hymn to Vāyu:

Yt 15.1 *təm vaēmciṭ yazamaide*
təm vaēmciṭ zbaiiamahi
ahmāica nmānāi
ahmāica nmānabe nmānō.patēe
ahmāica zaoθrō.barāi arədrāi
paiti.asti gəuṣ vacahiieheca
haθrauunataheca paiti hamərəθanəm
vahištəm yazatəm yazamaide

We worship Vayu,
 we invoke Vayu
 for this house
 and for the master of this house,
 and for this efficacious one bringing libations.
 With *paiti.asti* of milk and word,¹²¹
 and for the sake of immediate victory over the enemies
 we worship the best venerable one.

The context of this stanza suggests that here, too, *paiti.asti* refers to the situation of ritual worship. On the basis of his identification of the underlying root as *ab* ‘to throw’, HUMBACH 1957–1958b, p. 217, describes the meaning of *paiti.asti* in Yt 15.1 as ‘sending out’ (‘Aussendung’) and therefore as ‘offering’ milk and word in the ritual. The suggestion ‘offering’, however, is also consistent with the assumption of an underlying verb *paiti-ā-dā* in the active sense of ‘to present, offer’ rather than in that of the middle voice ‘to accept, receive’. Moreover, the latter middle meaning of *paiti-ā-dā* in the metaphorical sense of ‘to follow silently, listen’ could be present in the passage. Such worship of the deity recalls the characteristic *Yasht* refrain, in which the divine being is worshipped ‘with Haoma mixed with milk’ (*haoma yō gauua*), ‘with a skilful tongue, with the formula, word and action, with libations and with correctly formulated words’ (Yt 15.5). In the phrase *paiti.asti gəuṣ vacahiieheca*, *paiti.asti-* could therefore denote the ‘listening to’ or ‘following’ the recitation of the *Yasht* formula (Yt 15.5 etc.).

121 The form *vacahiieheca* looks like the genitive of an otherwise unattested thematic stem *vacahiia-*, cf. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 133.

In Vd 22.13, the instrumental *paitiēsti* occurs with a gen.sg. *vacō* (from the root noun *vac-* ‘word’) and denotes the attention Nairyōsaṇha gives to the word spoken to him by Ahura Mazdā in Vd 22.7:

Vd 22.7 *nairiia saṇha viiāxana*
para.āiḍi upa.vazaṇha
auui nmānəm airiāmāni

O eloquent Nairyōsaṇha,
 go away, draw near
 to the house of Aryaman!

In Vd 22.13, Nairyōsaṇha carries out Ahura Mazdā’s order:

Vd 22.13 *ahe vacō paitiēsti*
**para.āiḍi upa.vazata*
nairiō.saṇhō viiāxanō
auui nmānəm airiāmāni

With *paitiēsti* of his word
 eloquent Nairyōsaṇha
 went away,¹²² drew near
 to the house of Aryaman.

Since *paitiēsti* here denotes Nairyōsaṇha’s accepting Ahura Mazdā’s command and carrying it out, its only underlying root could be *paiti-ā-dā* ‘to accept’. Moreover, in this context the noun conveys not only the ‘accepting’ but also the carrying out of the injunctions.

The close connection between *paiti.asti-* and the ‘word’ (*vacah-*, *vac-*) is confirmed by the compound *paiti.astō.vacah-* attested in FiO 3f (= KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, § 155). Its Pahlavi translation *padīrišn gōwišn* indicates that *paiti.asti-* was understood as expressing the activity of ‘accepting, receiving’, which agrees with the middle sense of the verb *paiti-ā-dā*. This meaning is clearly present in Vd 22.13, a passage which excludes an underlying root *ab* ‘to throw’. In both N 22 (= 4) and in Vr 15.2, where *paiti.asti* occurs within a group of words describing ritual activity, it denotes a priestly action which takes place during the ritual. As it contrasts with *sraoṇra* ‘recitation’ in N 22 and with *frauuāka-* ‘pronouncing’ in Vr 15.2, it could therefore refer to the activity of a priest standing silently by while one of his colleagues recites the sacred texts. In Yt 15.1, it could denote the quiet following of both the ritual action (‘milk’) and the accompanying recitation (‘word’). While standing in silence, the priest is supposed to listen carefully to the recital and follow it in his own mind. This seems to be the activity denoted by *paiti.asti-* when it occurs in a ritual context. Outside such a setting, for example in Vd 22.13, the semantic component of ‘listening’ is clear, but the noun has,

122 **para.āiḍi* is an emendation by WESTERGAARD, accepted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 151, for the *para.āiḍi* of some mss. and edited by GELDNER, *Avesta*, III, p. 139. The latter form is due to perseveration from Vd 22.7.

in addition, the aspect of ‘accepting’ the message and putting it into practice, as Nairyō.sanha carries out Ahura Mazdā’s command.

In conclusion, identification of the underlying root as *paiti-ā-dā* appears to be the only solution which is both plausible from a formal (phonetic and morphological) point of view and semantically compatible with the attestations of *paitiiāstar-* and *paitiiāsti-* etc. The agent noun *paitiiāstar-* in Y 35.9 clearly refers to Ahura Mazdā, who is addressed by name at the beginning of the stanza and subsequently as *θβam* ‘you’, a pronoun with which the accusative *paitiiāstārəm* agrees. The worshippers appoint Ahura Mazdā as *paitiiāstar-* of the words which they have just pronounced. Bearing in mind the use of *paitiiāsti-* etc. in a ritual context, it seems that *paitiiāstar-* denotes the person who carries out the activity of *paitiiāsti-*, i.e. that of silently standing by and following the recitation in one’s mind. The close semantic link between the agent and action nouns thus matches their morphological relationship established by NARTEN, according to whom *paitiiāstar-* is a one-off artificial formation analogous to *paitiiāsti-* (see above, p. 101). Since ‘listen’ is a metaphorical transposition from ‘receive, accept’ (*paiti-ā-dā*),¹²³ it is justified to translate *paitiiāstar-* as ‘listener’ and *paitiiāsti-* etc. as ‘listening’.

5 *fradaxštārəm* ‘teacher’

Like *paitiiāstar-*, the agent noun *fradaxštar-* refers to Ahura Mazdā. However, in contrast to the hapax legomenon *paitiiāstar-*, *fradaxštar-* is also found in two Gathic passages (Y 31.17 and 51.3) as well as in the YAv. commentary on the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer (Y 19.13). BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 982, understands *fradaxštar-* as ‘teacher’ on the basis of its obvious derivation from the verb *daxš* ‘to teach’ with preverb *fra* (*AirWb.* 676). This suggestion is accepted by NARTEN and HUMBACH (the latter, however, with an interpretation of ‘teacher’ as ‘commentator’).¹²⁴ KELLENS/PIRART, by contrast, translate *fradaxštar-* as ‘propulseur’ on the basis of the meaning they posit for the verb *frā-daxš* ‘lancer à la fronde’.¹²⁵

The etymological origins of Av. *daxš*, to which NP *daxš* ‘business’ also belongs,¹²⁶ are not quite as obscure as appears from KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 253 and KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 108, n. 8, because its connection with the Vedic verb *dakṣ* ‘to be capable, able’ can probably be upheld.¹²⁷ The equation of Av. *daxš* and Ved. *dakṣ* implies that both verbs go back to an IE root with a non-palatal velar *k^(w)* or *g^(w)*. This root is different from that in Ved. *dákṣiṇa-* ‘right’, where the cluster *-kṣ-* must go back to *-k̥s-* (with a palatal velar) because of its Av. cognate *dašīna-* ‘right’.¹²⁸

123 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 120, who, however, also proposes the translation ‘examiner’.

124 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 40, 131 with fn. 193; HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 144, II, p. 120.

125 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, II, pp. 253, 269.

126 Cf. HORN, *Neupers. Etymologie*, p. 120.

127 MAYRHOFFER, *EWaiā*, I, p. 689f., NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 36, fn. 15, *YH*, p. 131 with fn. 193, who also connects *daxš* with Hittite *tekušš-* ‘to show’.

128 HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 69 with fn. 36.

Y 35.10

ašāatcā¹ hacā
vaṇhāušcā² mananḥō²
vaṇhāušcā xšaθrāt³
staotāiš⁴ θβāt⁵ ahurā^{5a} staotōibiiō^{5b} aibī⁶
uxδā θβāt^{6a} uxδōibiiō^{6b}
yasnā θβāt^{6c} yasnōibiiō ∴
yeñhē hātqm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide⁷ (du bār) ∴ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>ašā.atcā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1
 K4; C1
 <i>ašāatcā</i> G S1 J3; L2
 <i>ašāt.cā</i> Lb2, J7
 <i>ašāat.cā</i> H1
 <i>ašā.at.cā</i> J6
 <i>ašāt.hacā. hacā</i> [M25]</p> <p>2 <i>vaṇhāušcā mananḥō</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>cā</i> deest L2; C1
 <i>vaṇhāušcā mananḥō</i> deest J6</p> <p>3 <i>xšaθrāt</i> G (š) Mf4, K5, S1 J3; C1, J6
 <i>xšaθrā</i> J2</p> <p>4 <i>staotāiš</i> G Mf4, K5 (t del. before s) J2; J6
 <i>staotāišcā</i> J3 P11
 <i>staotāiš</i> C1</p> <p>5 <i>θβāt</i> G Mf4; C1, J6
 <i>θβā</i> K5 J2
 <i>θβā.āt</i> [M25]</p> <p>5a <i>ahurā</i> G J2; C1, J6</p> | <p><i>ahurōā</i> Mf4 (ō struck out)</p> <p>5b <i>staotōibiiō</i> G K5
 <i>staotōibiiō</i> Mf4; C1
 <i>staotōi. biiō</i> J2 (a superscr.)
 <i>staotōi. biiō</i> J6</p> <p>6 <i>aibī</i> G Mf4, J2, S1; C1, J6
 <i>aēibī</i> K5, J3</p> <p>6a <i>uxδā. θβāt</i> G Mf4; C1, J6
 <i>uxδā. θβā</i> K5 (t added pr.m.) J2
 <i>uxδāθβāt</i> S1</p> <p>6b <i>uxδōibiiō</i> G
 <i>uxδōi. biiō</i> J6</p> <p>6c <i>yasnā. θβāt</i> G Mf4; J6
 <i>yasnā. θβā</i> K5 (t added pr.m.) J2; P6
 <i>yasnāθβāt</i> S1; C1</p> <p>7 Y 4.26 (= Y 27.15)
 Pt4 reckons 9 strophes of 3 lines
 <i>yeñhē</i> G Mf4
 <i>yeñhe</i> K5 J2; C1</p> |
|---|---|

On account of truth,
 of good thought
 and of good rule,
 through these (verses), O Lord, praise¹ now² (follows on) from praise³,
 solemn utterance now² from solemn utterance,
 worship now² from worship.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

1 *staotāiš* ‘through these (verses) ... praise’

Elaborating on a suggestion by SCHWYZER 1929a, p. 265 [= id., *Kl. Schr.*, p. 346], NARTEN, *YH*, p. 133f., argues that *staotāiš* is a sandhi form for **staotā āiš**. The same sandhi is also found in Y 33.1 *yaθāiš* for *yaθā āiš*. She reasons that, since the latter is metrically disyllabic, the fusion, or synaloipha¹²⁹ of the words’ identical final and initial vowels belongs to the language of the text composer. While there are no textual variants for *staotāiš* in Y 35.10, *yaθā āiš* in Y 33.1 is the reading of all good manuscripts. This is interpreted by NARTEN as indicating that the orthoepic redactors of the Younger Avestan period correctly restored *yaθā āiš*, but left *staotāiš* unchanged.¹³⁰ The reason for the different treatment was that *yaθāiš* did not exist as a separate word and was therefore recognized as a contracted form. By contrast, *staotāiš* looked like a regular instr.pl. also attested elsewhere (Y 45.8, 49.12). Moreover, an instr.pl. was acceptable because in YAv. this case could function syntactically as the nom.pl. required by the context of Y 35.10. She further suggests that the demonstrative pronoun *āiš* (instr.pl.) may refer back either to Y 35.9 *vacā*, thus meaning ‘with these (words)’, or to the content of the entire stanza Y 35.9 and, like **ad-āiš* in Y 35.4, thus have a slightly adverbial function ‘in this way’.¹³¹

This analysis is accepted by HUMBACH¹³² but criticized by KUIPER 1987, p. 65f. and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 136. KUIPER questions NARTEN’s conclusion that the form *staotāiš* belongs to the language of the text composer. He objects that, in contrast to Y 33.1 *yaθā āiš*, which was restored in the vulgate text from *yaθāiš*, forms such as trisyllabic Y 31.14 *āitī* for **ā-aiti* were not so emended but exhibit “contraction where the metre shows that there was hiatus in Zarathustra’s poetry”. The fact that the Younger Avestan redactors did not separate the preverb *ā* in *āitī* is interpreted by KUIPER as indicating that their judgement is unreliable and therefore that *staotāiš* (from *staotā āiš*) was neither “sprachwirklich” nor belonged to the language of the text composer. However, all the instances adduced by him are forms where the hiatus between the vowels is due to a laryngeal, which was metrically still effective at the time these texts were composed. His examples are therefore different from those involving *staotāiš* and *yaθāiš*. Furthermore, NARTEN’s assumption of a synaloipha in the language of the composer is based on the disyllabic metrical value of *yaθāiš* from *yaθā āiš*. Such synaloipha was as “sprachwirklich” as the hiatus in Y 31.14

129 Synaloipha (from Greek συναλοιφή or συναλιφή) denotes the coalescing of two syllables into one at word boundaries. The fusion of the final vowel of one word and the initial one of the following word into a single syllable serves the purpose of avoiding a hiatus, see LAUSBERG, *Literary Rhetoric*, pp. 230f., § 493 and 431f., § 972.

130 On the orthoepic redaction see above, p. 84f.

131 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 136, fn. 215, 104, fn. 70.

132 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II; p. 121 and I, p. 145, where he edits *staotāiš* as *staotā-<ā>iš*.

āitī indicated by its trisyllabic metrical value and caused by a laryngeal. The forms adduced by KUIPER thus strengthen rather than weaken NARTEN's case.

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 136, reject the assumption of synaloipha in both Y 35.10 *staotāiš* from *staotā āiš* and Y 33.1 *yaθāiš* from *yaθā āiš* on the grounds that "la synalèphe est un phénomène inattesté en vieil-avestique, original ou transmis". This statement, however, appears to be too categorical because there is evidence in the manuscripts that at least in the course of transmission some words' final and initial identical vowels could merge. For instance, in Y 39.4, where GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 135, edits *θβā āiš*, the manuscripts J3 and K11 offer a reading *θβāiš*. The latter is also found in Y 13.5, where Y 39.4 is quoted.¹³³ Similarly, in Y 37.1, where GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 132, edits *iθā āt*, the reading of J3 is *iθāt* (but *iθā āt* in Y 5.1, which cites the verse). The phenomenon is also found in the Younger Avesta. For instance, Y 10.8 *frā ābiiō* is written *frābiiō* in numerous manuscripts, including the Persian Vd Sade ms. K4 and the Indian Vd Sade O2 and Yasna Sade J6, J7 and J5.¹³⁴

KELLENS/PIRART interpret Y 33.1 *yaθāiš* as metrically trisyllabic *yaθā āiš*, thus declaring the verse to have an extra syllable (*TVA*, I, p. 122). Moreover, they consider that in Y 35.10 the pronoun instr.pl. *āiš*, restored from *staotāiš*, would be "tout à fait artificiel". Instead, they regard *staotāiš* at face value as an instr.pl. (*TVA*, II, p. 316) and the following *uxδā* and *yasnā* as instr.sg. (*TVA*, II, pp. 225, 292). The three nouns would be syntactically parallel and the reason for *staota-* being in the plural is that this noun is a plurale tantum. The latter assumption, however, appears to be *ad hoc*. Although *staota-* does occur in the plural in its Av. attestations, there is evidence indicating that it could also be used in the singular. This is suggested by Vr 9.6, where the twice repeated demonstrative pronoun *aēša* (nom.sg.m.) refers back to *staota*^o:

Vr 9.6 *staotaca yasnāica vahmāica frasastaiiaēca*
yaṭ aēša ahurahe mazdā
yaṭ aēša aməšanəm spəntanəm

... and the praises for worship, veneration and exaltation:
 that of Ahura Mazdā,
 that of the Bounteous Immortals.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 135, notes that Vr 9.6 also provides evidence for the masculine gender of *staota-*, because the ambiguous nom.pl. *staota* is taken up by the repeated pronoun nom.sg.m. *aēša*.¹³⁵ The substantive belongs to the full grade masculines in *-ta-* discussed by WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER, *AiGr*, II.2, p. 587, §437a.

133 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 64, Y 13.5, n. 8.

134 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 50, Y 10.8, n. 13.

135 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 316, posit the gender of *staota-* as neuter, though it is masculine according to BARTHOLOMAE, *AiWb*. 1588.

Apart from the assumption of an unexplained combination of a plural with two singular forms in Y 35.10, KELLENS/PIRART's interpretation of *staotāiš*, *uxδā* and *yasnā* as instrumentals raises the problem that the sentence not only has no verb (see below, p. 110), but is also left without a subject. In their translation, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 134, add 'tout cela' as the subject and 'conforme' as the verb, but neither is found in the Avestan original. Moreover, if synaloipha in *yathāiš* is disallowed, the verse line in Y 33.1 has one syllable too many. It therefore appears more reasonable to admit synaloipha and follow the syntactic analysis proposed by NARTEN.

2 *θβāt ... θβāt ... θβāt* 'now ... now ... now'

The form *θβāt* is attested only in Y 35.10 where it occurs in each of three parallel phrases. Functioning as an adverb, it is, from a historical point of view, abl.sg. of the enclitic demonstrative pronoun *θβα-* 'the one' but with an oppositional, contrasting function. As argued by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 136, it belongs to a pronoun derived group of adverbial ablatives such as OAv./YAv. *āt*, Ved. *āt* 'then' and OAv. *yāt*, Ved. *yāt* 'since'.¹³⁶ A single acc.sg.ntr. *θbat* with an adverbial function is found in Y 44.3. As was pointed out by HOFFMANN, Y 44.3 *θbat* has a slightly adversative function 'but also'¹³⁷:

Y 44.3 *kē yā mā uxšiiēitī nərəfsaitī θbat*

Who causes the moon not only to wax but also to wane?

The Av. pronoun corresponds to Ved. *tva-* 'one, several'. In adverbial function, it occurs in Vedic in the acc.sg.ntr. *tvad ... tvad*, but not in the abl.sg. However, like YH *θβāt ... θβāt*, it is usually found several times in parallel clauses and has a slightly adversative meaning.¹³⁸ NARTEN, *YH*, p. 136f., further suggests that the three words, *staota-*, *uxδa-*, *yasna-* are not homonyms but denote different parts of the liturgical act of worship. Thus, *uxδa-* could imply stanzas such as Y 35.7–8 with a certain religious message, while *yasna-* could refer to those with *yazamaidē* in Y 37.1ff.

3 *staotōibiiō aibī* 'from praise'

KELLENS/PIRART interpret Y 35.10 *staotōibiiō* as abl.plur. (*TVA*, II, p. 316) but *uxδōibiiō* and *yasnōibiiō* as dat.pl. (*TVA*, II, pp. 225, 292). They regard the three nouns as denoting time: 'tantôt par des louanges, ô Maître, quand c'est le temps

136 On adverbial ablative pronouns, see *AiGr.*, III, p. 500, §244b; cf. also Y 36.6 no. 4 *yāt*.

137 HOFFMANN 1957, p. 87 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, p. 424].

138 CARDONA 1987 examines the use of *tva-* in Vedic and concludes that it has oppositional function. He briefly considers Y 44.3, which confirms this result, but overlooks the evidence of Y 35.10. On the etymology of this pronoun, see CARDONA 1987, p. 4f.; MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 683.

des louanges, tantôt par une parole quand c'est le temps des paroles, tantôt par une consécration quand c'est le temps des consécérations' (TVA, I, p. 134). However, the interpretation of these forms as temporal datives is problematic. The examples adduced under "le datif de temps" (TVA, II, p. 22f.) do not express a time but are *dativi commodi* governed by adjectives (e.g. Y 35.3 *vahištā xiiāt ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'may be best for both existences').¹³⁹ In any case, Y 35.10 is not listed. Temporal nouns do occur in the dative, which then denotes the extension of time, as in Y 40.2, 41.6 *vīspāi yauiē* 'for all time', Ved. *saṃvatsarāya* 'for a year'.¹⁴⁰ In Y 35.10, however, the nouns in question do not belong to this semantic group. Moreover, KELLENS/PIRART translate *staotōibiiō*, *uxδōibiiō* and *yasnōibiiō* as datives referring not to the extension of time ('for the time of praises etc.') but to a point in time ('quand c'est le temps des louanges etc.'). for which one would rather expect either a locative or a genitive. It therefore seems that the interpretation of these nouns as datives denoting a point in time is forced and at any rate syntactically unfounded.

NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 134–135, who discusses the various possibilities of translating the ambiguous forms *staotōibiiō*, *uxδōibiiō* and *yasnōibiiō*, considers them as abl.pl. Like BAUNACK, she interprets them as separative ablatives expressing repetition and continuity in the sense that each praise, solemn utterance and worship follows another: 'praises (follow on) from praises' etc.¹⁴¹

The stanza does not have a verb. Earlier interpreters, for instance BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 88, considered *aibī* as a preverb elliptic for *aibī ... dadāmaidē*, the verb in Y 35.9. However, in the latter, *dadāmaidē* does not have a preverb which could be repeated in stanza 10. Moreover, the verb *dā* warrants an accusative object, which is not present in Y 35.10. More likely, therefore, is the interpretation proposed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 135, that *aibī* functions not as a preverb but as an adnominal postposition governing the preceding abl. *staotōibiiō*.¹⁴² Although such a postposition usually occurs after an acc., it occasionally governs other cases, such as a loc. in Y 43.7 and an instr. in Y 51.9.

139 In TVA, I, p. 133, KELLENS/PIRART translate the dative as governed by the verbs *man*, *vac*, *varz*: 'penser, dire, et accomplir, pour les deux existences, les meilleurs des actes (rituels)'.

140 KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, II, p. 25f.; REICHELT, *Aw. Elementarbuch*, p. 244f.; DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 149.

141 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 135: 'Lobpreisungen (gehen aus) von Lobpreisungen, (entstehen) aufgrund von Lobpreisungen etc.'

142 That *aibī* is a postposition to an abl. is also considered possible by KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, III, p. 136, II, p. 37.

Yasna 36

Y 36.1

ahiiā 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀¹ *vərəzənā*²
*paouruiē*³ + *pairijasāmaidē*⁴ *mazdā*⁵ *ahurā*⁵
 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀⁶ *mainiū* *spāništā*⁷
*yā*⁸ *ā*⁹ *axtiš*⁹ *ahmāi*
yām *axtōiōi*¹⁰ *dāñhē*¹¹ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>āθrō</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1
 <i>ātrō</i> K4
 cf. Vd 11.4</p> <p>2 <i>vərəzənā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, J3, Jp1; J6
 <i>vərəzainā</i> Mf2; C1
 <i>vērāzənā</i> L1 B2</p> <p>3 <i>paouruiē</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; Jp1 K4; C1
 <i>paouriē</i> K5
 <i>paōiriiiō</i> J2, J3
 <i>paōiruiiē</i> S1
 <i>paōiruiiē</i> Mf2; L2
 <i>paōiriiiō</i> S2 (corr. to <i>paouruiiē</i>)
 <i>pōiruiiē</i> L1 O2 B2
 <i>paōiruiiē</i> C1
 <i>paōiruiiē</i> K11
 <i>paouruiiē</i> H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 <i>paōiruiiā</i> [M25]</p> <p>4 <i>pairijasāmaidē</i> Pt4
 <i>pairijasāmaidē</i> Mf4, S1
 <i>pairi.jasāmaidē</i> Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2,
 L1 L3; H1 L13 J7
 <i>pairi.jasāmaide</i> K5, J3
 <i>pairi.jasāmaide</i> J2
 <i>pairi.jasā.maide</i> C1
 <i>pairi.jasā.maide</i> J6
 <i>pairi.jasāmaidē</i> G P6</p> <p>5 <i>mazdāiahurā</i> Mf4
 <i>mazdā. ahurā</i> G K5 J2; C1
 <i>mazdā. ahurā</i> J3; Mf2</p> | <p>6 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 G Pt4 (erased sec.m.) Mf4, K5, all
 mss. except:
 <i>deest</i> J2</p> <p>7 <i>spāništā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2
 <i>spāništahiiā</i> J3; P11
 <i>spāñāštā</i> C1
 <i>spāñištā</i> J6</p> <p>8 <i>yā</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>yā</i> Lb2</p> <p>9 <i>ā. axtiš</i> G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2
 Jp1; H1 J6 L13
 <i>āxtiš</i> L2, L1 L3 Bb1; K11, J7, J5; [M25]
 <i>ā. axstiš</i> C1
 P.V. divides after <i>axtiš</i>, S1 J3 before <i>yā</i></p> <p>10 <i>axtōiōi</i> G Pt4 Mf1, J2, S1; Mf2; L2
 K10, Dh1, L1 B2; K11, H1 J6 (first <i>ō</i>
 superscr.) J7
 <i>axštōiōi</i> Mf4 (<i>š</i> struck out)
 <i>axtōiō</i> K5; L3; J5
 <i>axtō. yōi</i> J3; C1
 <i>axtōiōi</i> Jp1 K4
 <i>axtiiō</i> S2
 <i>axtiiōi</i> J6 (<i>ō</i> added sec.m.) L13</p> <p>11 <i>dāñhē</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4;
 L2, L1 L3; C1, H1 L13
 <i>dāñhē</i> Mf1, J2, S1; J5
 <i>dāñhe</i> J6
 <i>dāñhi</i> J7</p> |
|---|---|

Together with the community of this fire here,
 we approach you, O Wise Lord, at the beginning¹,
 (we approach) you together with your most bounteous spirit
 who indeed (is) harm² for the one
 whom you consign to harm².

1 *paouruiiē* ‘at the beginning’

Nearly all manuscripts transmit a form in *-iīē* here. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 876, reads *paouruiiē* with GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 131, and interprets it as a locative sg. of *paouruiia-* used as an adverb ‘at the beginning, first’. By contrast, HUMBACH 1957b, p. 368, fn. 1, considers Y 36.1 *paouruiiē* as a regular spelling for the unattested **paouruiiā*, an instr.sg. of the adjective agreeing with the preceding neuter noun in the expression *vərəzānā paouruiiē*. He argues that the form *paouruiiē* could also represent **paouruiiā* in several Gathic passages. Thus, it would function as an adjective agreeing with the nom.du. of a masculine noun in Y 30.3 and Y 45.1 (*mainiū paouruiiē* ‘the two primordial spirits’) and with the nom.sg. of a feminine noun in Y 44.19 (*maēniš paouruiiē* ‘the first punishment’). In all these instances, HUMBACH suggests that *paouruiiē* takes the normal syntactic position of an adjective and does duty for the morphologically expected form **paouruiiā*.

This explanation is followed by KELLENS 1986, pp. 221–223, 226, n. 8 and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 267. Accepting “l’hypothèse d’une convention graphique aberrante”, they see Y 36.1 *paouruiiē* as a spelling for an instr.sg.ntr. **paouruiiā* agreeing in gender, case and number with the preceding noun *vərəzānā*. The expression *vərəzānā paouruiiē* would thus mean ‘avec le clan fondamental’ (*TVA*, I, p. 134). BARTHOLOMAE’s view of an adverbially used loc.sg. is rejected as being etymologically unfounded (“n’est pas étymologiquement fondé” *TVA*, III, p. 137).

The assumption of a spelling *-iīē* for an original *-iīā* in the Older Avesta, however, is problematic because it is *ad hoc*, since *paouruiiē* is the only example.¹ While there are no parallels for *-iīē* < **-iīā* in OAv., *-iīē* develops from *-iīā* or *-iia* in YAv. in the word-final position after consonants. For instance, *-e* < **-iā* occurs in the YAv. nom.sg. *kaine* < **kan(i)ā* ‘girl’ and gen.sg. *yasnahe* < **iasnahā*, while *-ia* is retained in OAv. *yasnahiā* (Y 34.12).²

A sound change *-iīē* < **-iīā* being absent from the Older Avesta, the only way of deriving OAv. *paouruiiē* from **paouruiiā* is to posit the influence of the YAv. dialect on the language of the Older Avesta. However, as pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 139, the hypothesis of such an influence is *ad hoc* since *-iīā* is usually preserved in the Older Avesta. Such is the case, for instance, in the instr.sg.f. Y 33.12 *vanhuiiā*. Moreover, *-iia* is often restored even in the Younger Avesta, especially in inflectional endings such as the dat./abl. dual *zastaēibiia* ‘to/from the hands’. OAv. *paouruiia-*, YAv. *paoiriia-* also preserves

1 This also applies to KELLENS/PIRART’s claim (*TVA*, III, p. 137) that “il est clair que la finale *°-ē* apparaît partout ou *°-ā* semble requis”, because *paouruiiē* is the sole instance they cite (*TVA*, I, p. 69, §3.5.11.3).

2 See HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 85, §50b and d. Although DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 401, §20.1, excludes an OAv. sound change *-iīē* < **-iīā*, he does interpret Y 36.1 *paouruiiē* as instr.sg.ntr. representing IIr. **paruiā* (p. 423f., §21.2.3 with fn. 511).

-*iiā* in YAv, where the adjective forms an instr.sg. *paouriīā°* (Yt 11.18 *paouriīāca yasna upamaca* ‘and with the first and last worship’). NARTEN, *YH*, p. 139 with fn. 10, convincingly concludes that the interpretation of all the OAv. passages for which a sound change *-iiē < *-iiā* has been claimed, must start from a form *paouruiiē*. A nom./acc. dual ntr. is excluded by the syntactic contexts of the various passages, and therefore this form is loc.sg. in all its OAv. attestations. Going back to IIr. **parūiaj*, the loc.sg. *paouruiiē* exhibits the influence of the YAv. language insofar as the regular OAv. form would be **paouruiiōi*. Yet in this case the assumption of YAv. *-ē < IIr. *-ai* in the language of the Older Avesta does not constitute a problem because there are numerous other examples of the same phenomenon, e.g. Y 40.2 *ahuiiē < IIr. *ahūai*, dat.sg. of *ahu-* ‘life’, Y 51.22 *yesnē*, loc.sg. of *yasna-* ‘worship’.³

In his 1991 edition, HUMBACH abandons his earlier explanation and considers, like NARTEN, Y 36.1 *paouruiiē* as a loc.sg. used adverbially. He translates the first line of Y 36.1 as ‘primarily we attend Thee, O Wise Ahura’. Alternatively, he suggests that the adverb could refer to the initial period of being as it does in Y 30.3 *mainiiū +pauruiiē* ‘the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of one’s existence)’.⁴ However, in Y 36.1 the second interpretation is excluded because *paouruiiē* functions as an adverb to the verb *pairijasāmaidē* ‘we approach’. The latter locates the action in the present ritual situation of the worshippers. More convincing, therefore, is the interpretation of NARTEN, *YH*, p. 139, who, like BARTHOLOMAE, translates Y 36.1 *paouruiiē* adverbially ‘at the beginning’ (“am Anfang”). She interprets it as ushering in a new part of the liturgy of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* after the initial section of Y 35. Y 36 leads up to the YH’s central part which extends from Y 37.1 to 39.4 and consists of worship formulae characterized by the oft-repeated verb *yazamaidē* ‘we worship’.⁵ The key word in Y 36 is the four times repeated verb *pairijasāmaidē* ‘we approach’ (Y 36.1, 3, 4, 5), which also occurs in Y 39.5, marking the end of the *yazamaidē* formulae.

2 *axtiš* ‘harm’

M. SCHWARTZ connects the Av. noun *axti-* with an IE root **h₂eg* ‘to remove, set apart as *sacer*, taboo, treat as unclean, accursed, or sacred’ whose “sole verbal representative” he sees in the problematic form Y 48.10 *ajān*. He further considers that this root is continued in the Greek noun ἄγος ‘accursedness, sin, fault’ and in the Vedic *āgas-* ‘moral offence, sin requiring expiation’. The more basic meaning of *axti-* would then be ‘state of being removed, being off limits’ and is found in Y 36.1–2, which he translates as follows:

3 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN p. 67f., §35.1b; p. 119, §87; DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 337, §14.1.

4 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, pp. 48, 121 and I, p. 85f., §12.1.6.1 (on the various meanings of *pauruiia-*).

5 The central part consists of seventeen *yazamaidē*-formulae, see above, pp. 9–18 (Introduction, section 3.2).

Y 36.1 Through the communion (*vərəzānā*) of Your Fire
may we come close to you, Ahura Mazdā,
through Your Holiest Spirit;
You who are taboo (= off limits) for him
whom You have established as being taboo.

Y 36.2 May You, most contentedly inclined,
come close to us, O Fire.'

According to SCHWARTZ, the passage testifies to the Gathic concept that Ahura Mazdā rewards and punishes those who are good and bad respectively. Y 36.1–2 expresses this idea "in a more concentrated form" by stating that evildoers are excluded or banned from the presence of Ahura Mazdā, thus "contrasting the reciprocity of intimacy with the mutuality of exclusion (*axti-*)". This notion of exclusion from the vicinity of Ahura Mazdā is denoted by the noun *axti-* whose meaning SCHWARTZ posits as 'taboo, bane, impurity, sin, disease'.⁶

The etymological connection between the Greek ἄγος 'accursedness, sin, fault' and the Vedic *ágas-* ntr. 'transgression, fault' is by no means new. It has been the standard view for a long time and is found in the etymological dictionaries.⁷ However, it has been rendered unlikely by P. CHANTRAINE and O. MASSON.⁸ They argue instead in favour of a connection between ἄγος and the adj. ἅγιος 'sacred, holy' and assume secondary psilosis of the former, possibly as the result of an attempt to differentiate the two nouns because of their eventual opposed meanings. The view that ἄγος goes back to an earlier *hagos* is based on evidence for original aspiration preserved in the proper name Εὐδήγης attested in a fifth-century inscription from Styra in Euboea (IG XII 9.56, no. 118). Aspiration is also found in the Boiotian dialect of Corinna in the phrase ὥς ἔφ[α μάντις πε]ρ' ἁγείας 'thus spake the very revered seer'.⁹ To these must be added the form *hagos* in the Greek dialect of Pamphylia.¹⁰ Since the initial aspiration of these words goes back to an IE **Hǵ-*, it means that ἄγος and ἅγιος are cognates of Vedic *yaj-*, Av. *yaz-*, all of which derive from the IE root **Hǵag̃* 'to revere'.¹¹ This evidence adduced by CHANTRAINE/MASSON is compelling and their ar-

6 SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 493, 496.

7 For instance, POKORNY, *IEW*, p. 8, FRISK, *GEW*, I, p. 14 and MAYRHOFER, *KEWA*, I, p. 70, cf. the summary by SCHMITT, *Dichterspr.*, p. 24.

8 CHANTRAINE/MASSON 1954, pp. 85–107, esp. 85ff., 105ff., cf. also CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, p. 13b.

9 Corinna, fr. 5.86 D². CHANTRAINE/MASSON 1954 comment that the context renders the restitution almost certain.

10 The form is *háu(α)* and attested in the great inscription of Sillyon. C. BRIXHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*, Paris 1976, pp. 86 with fn. 4, 113, 179, cautiously suggests that *háu(α)* could go back to **háγυα*, i.e. **háγεα*. He interprets it as the Pamphylian dialect form of the acc. pl. of **háγος*, Attic ἄγος; cf. MAYRHOFER, *EWAla*, I, p. 159.

11 MAYRHOFER, *EWAla*, II, p. 393; *LIV*², p. 224f. On the meaning of this verb see below, pp. 156–162, Y 37.1 no. 2 *yazamaidē* 'we worship'.

gument more convincing than SCHWARTZ's attribution of the Greek aspirated forms of ἄγος to hypercorrection.¹² Greek ἄγος thus must be separated from both Av. *axti-* and Ved. *āgas-*. The etymology of the latter, however, remains obscure.¹³

KUIPER has convincingly equated Av. *axti-* with the Ved. noun *°akti-* attested in the compound *śīrṣakti-* 'headache' (AV).¹⁴ BAUNACK, p. 366 and KUIPER, *Glotta* 21 (1933), p. 284, further connect Av. *axti-*, which also underlies the proper name *axtiia-* (Yt 5.82),¹⁵ with the adj. *aka-* 'bad, evil' and Ved. *āka-* ntr. 'pain' whose cognates outside Indo-Iranian, however, are uncertain.¹⁶ The meaning of *axti-* is posited by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 51, as 'suffering, pain, illness'. In all YAv. passages except N 15, where he leaves it untranslated, he rightly renders the word as 'disease' ('Krankheit'). In Yt 10.50, *axti-* has the attribute *pouru.mahrka-* 'full of death' and occurs in syntactic parallel to *āhiti-* 'pollution'. Mithra's abode, which was fashioned by Ahura Mazdā, is described as a place

Yt 10.50 *yaθra nōiṭ xšapa nōiṭ tamā*
nōiṭ aotō vātō nōiṭ garəmō
nōiṭ axtiš pouru.mahrkō
nōiṭ āhitiš daēuuō.dātō

where (there is) neither night nor darkness,
 neither cold nor hot wind,
 neither disease full of death
 nor pollution produced by demons.

Most of the characteristics of Mithra's dwelling also apply to the kingdom of Yima, who describes it in the following way:

Vd 2.5 *nōiṭ mana xšaθre*
buaaṭ aotō vātō nōiṭ garəmō
nōiṭ axtiš nōiṭ mahrkō

In my kingdom
 there shall be neither cold nor hot wind,
 neither disease nor death.

12 SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 492, fn. 41.

13 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 159. HAMP in: *Glotta* 59 (1981), p. 158, connects Ved. *āgas-* 'transgression, fault' with the adj. *aghā-* 'bad' (MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 46).

14 F.B.J. KUIPER, "Indoiranica", in: *AcOr* 17 (1938), p. 22f. KUIPER's equation is beyond question and has been accepted by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 142–145, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 199 and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 121. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 51, offers no etymology for *axti-*.

15 Cf. also MAYRHOFER, *IPNB*, I.1, p. 28.

16 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 39, II, p. 639, *KEWA*, III, p. 341.

Axti- occurs in syntactic parallel both to *mahrka-* ‘death’ here and to *nasu-* ‘decomposition’ in Vd 6.43, while in Vd 7.57 it is found in a list of diseases besides *garənu-* ‘scabies’:

Vd 7.57 *aētaēšuuā daxmaēšuuā hām.bauuain̄ti*
axtišca garənušca tafnušca ...

In these burial grounds originate
 disease, scabies and fever ...

In the following Vd 7.59, *axti-* is a generic term for ‘disease’, referring back to the individual maladies listed in Vd 7.57:

Vd 7.59 *θrišum aētaēšqam axtiṇam jaṇaiiō *drəṇjaiiein̄ti*¹⁷

People aggravate one third of these diseases.

Finally, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 51, has restored an acc.sg. *axtīm* in place of the transmitted *axtəm* TD, *āxtəm* HJ in N 15¹⁸:

N 15 (= Herb.17) *yō auuaδa nōiṭ aiβiiāsti *ašaiia*
**arəduša *hauuaṭ.masayhəm *axtīm*

The one who does not study there because of listlessness¹⁹
 (deserves) *axti-* of the same amount²⁰ as that for an *arəduš-*offence.

The passage discusses good and bad reasons for not studying and states that a bad one is lack of enthusiasm, or listlessness (Av. *ašā-*). A person who fails to study because of this becomes guilty of a transgression which is equivalent to an *arəduš-*offence.

17 The emendation of **drəṇjaiiein̄ti* for transmitted *drəṇjaiti* follows KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 141, n. 9.

18 = N 17 in HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN, pp. 110–113 and KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 74–77.

19 The emendation **ašaiia* for transmitted *ašaone* was suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 256. It would be the instr.sg. of a root-noun *a-šā-* ‘listlessness’ attested only here. The emendation is virtually certain because it is well supported by the second occurrence of this noun towards the end of N 15. There the manuscript HJ transmits a form *ayaiiā*. It is likely that the sign *y*, which here occurs irregularly instead of *-ii-*, is a scribal error for *š* to which the Av. sign for *y* is very similar. Furthermore, the reading *ašaiiā* of the ms. TD virtually attests the restored form since confusion of the three signs for *š* is very common in the mss. Finally, the emendation is supported by the Pahlavi translation which renders this word as *ašādih* ‘joylessness’. BARTHOLOMAE’s correction is accepted by KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 239, but HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN, p. 110, restore **ašāiti* instead and are followed by KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 74, 75 with n. 184, 77 with n. 195.

20 Here the mss. transmit *hauuaitiayhəm* HJ and *hāuuaitiayhəm* TD, which were left unexplained by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1787. The emendation **hauuaṭ.masayhəm*, proposed by HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN, p. 110 and accepted by KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 74, 75, n. 185, is convincing because *s* could be misspelt as the *ii* found in the readings of the mss. The noun *hauuaṭ.masah-* is also attested in Y 10.13 (*AirWb.* 1785).

In Zoroastrian law the latter is a technical term for a blow deliberately inflicted on a person with a weapon but without producing visible injury, i.e. one which only causes pain. It contrasts with *x'ara-*, which denotes a similar assault, but which gives rise not only to pain but also to visible wounds (*AirWb.* 194).²¹ Vd 4.26 explains that the punishment for an *arəduš*-offence consists of fifteen lashes with a riding whip plus fifteen lashes with a leather cane. This corporal punishment is referred to in N 15 by the noun *axti-*. There it cannot mean 'disease'; in spite of the fact that it is rendered in the Pahlavi version as *xīndagīh* 'illness, sickness'. The additional gloss *dard* 'pain' provides a plausible alternative. Another possibility is to translate *axti-* in N 15 as 'harm'.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 51, posits the meaning 'pain' ('Schmerz') for *axti-* in Y 36.1, its only OAv. attestation, where the noun occurs twice in the form of the nom.sg. *axtiš* and the dat.sg. *axtōiiōi*. This translation is accepted by KELLENS/PIRART ('douleur') and HUMBACH ('pain[ful]'). However, it may be doubted whether this rendering of *axti-* is adequate. As pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 143f., Y 36.1 should be interpreted in the light of Y 43.5:

Y 43.5 *spəntəm at ǝβā mazdā mānghi ahurā*
hīiaǝ ǝβā aṇhəuš zaǝōi darəsəm paouruuīm
hīiaǝ dā šīiaoǝanā mīždauuǝn yācā uxδā
akēm akāi vaṇhīm ašīm vaṇhaouuē
ǝβā hunarā dāmōiš uruuaēsē apēmē

Bounteous indeed I think you are, O Wise Lord,
 when I see you as the primeval one in the begetting of life,
 when you made the actions provided with a prize, and also the words,
 a bad (prize) for the bad one, a good reward for the good one
 through your skill at the utmost turning point of creation.

A person is 'bad' (*aka-*) as a result of choosing what is bad. It is a consequence of their own choice, that they will receive their just deserts from the hands of Ahura Mazda. This is stated in the preceding verse Y 43.4. In this sense a passage like the following is also to be understood:

Y 32.12 *aēibīiō mazdā akā mraoǝ yōi mōrəndən uruuāxš.uxtī jīiōtūm*

the Wise Lord speaks bad (things) to those who have ruined the life of the cow
 with gleeful utterance.

As observed by NARTEN, Y 36.1 *yām axtōiiōi dāṇhē* 'whom you consign to *axti-*' is a periphrastic expression for the dative *akāi* 'for the bad one' in Y 43.5 quoted above. Ahura Mazda's condemnation of a person to a bad end applies only to those people who themselves have previously chosen evil. By contrast, those who have chosen what is good will be rewarded and united with those representing goodness. This is so because when he first created life Ahura Mazda

21 On *arəduš*- and other offences, see below, p. 125f. for more details.

linked words and actions to a 'prize' (*mīždauuṇ* Y 43.5). Thus the rule established by him at the beginning of creation was that words and actions merit inherent deserts. This system places human beings in a relationship with Ahura Mazdā, whether they want it or not. They cannot escape their just deserts because all human beings speak and act.²² As noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 145f., Y 36.1 is the only passage in the *Yasna Haptaṇhāiti* where a negative notion is mentioned, although it is presented as subject to divine justice. This interpretation is also supported by the Pahlavi translation of the same stanza, where *axti-*, albeit translated as *xīndagīh* 'illness', is glossed as *kū pad ātaxš anāgīh kunēd* 'that is, he harms by means of the Fire'. The latter probably refers to the judgement carried out by Ahura Mazdā.

Because of the contextual parallels and semantic closeness in the Older Avesta of *axti-* with *aka-* 'bad', which functions as an antonym of *vohu-* 'good', NARTEN's translation of *axti-* by 'Übel' appears more justified than 'pain', in spite of the criticism by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 137. Since both YAv. *axti-* 'disease, illness' and Ved. *śīrṣakti-* 'headache' (like French *mal du tête*, Italian *mal di testa*) denote a bodily evil, a word such as 'harm', which is more concrete than NARTEN's 'evil', may be an appropriate translation.

22 HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 157f.

Y 36.2

uruuāzištō^{1a} *huuō nā*¹
*yātāiiā*² *paitī.jamiiā*³
*ātarā*⁴ *mazdā*⁵ *ahurahiiā*
*uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziiā*⁶
*nāmištahiiā nəmaṇhā*⁷ *nā*⁷
*mazištāi*⁸ *yāṇhəm paitī.jamiiā*⁹ ∴

- 1a *uruuāzištō* G, all mss. except:
uruuā.zištō Mf4
- 1 *nā* Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; K4; L3
nā G S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2 K10, Dh1 S2, L1
O2 P1 Bb1; C1 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7
O1, J5; [J1]
The P.V. translates here, and also the
following *nā*, by *mard*
- 2 *yā. tā. iiā* Mf4
yā. tāiiā K5 J2, S1; Jp1; L2; J6 (y) L13 J7
yātāiiā G J3; L1; K11; [J1] and accord-
ing to P.V.
yātīiā Mf2
yā. tāiiā K4
yā. tāiiā C1
- 3 *paitī. jamiiā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3;
S2, L1; C1 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7
paitī. jamiiā K5; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, Dh1,
L3
paitī.jimiiā J2
- 4 *ātrā* Pt4; K4; L2, O2
ātarā G Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1; H1 L13
ātarā Mf4; C1, J6
ātrāš L1
ātarām L3; J7, J5; [M25]
- 5 *mazdā* G Pt4 Mf4, K5, J3; Mf2 Jp1; C1,
H1 J6
mazdā Mf1, J2; L13 O1, J5
- 6 *uruuāziiā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3;
Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1 L3; C1 K11
uruuāziiā L2, Bb1
uruuā. zīā S2; H1 J6 L13 J7
- 7 *nəmaṇhā. nā* G Pt4, S1 J3; Jp1; C1, J6
L13
nəmaṇhā. nā Mf4 (the first *ā* corr. to *ā*)
nəmaṇhānā K5 J2; L2, S2, L1 L3 Bb1;
K11, J7 O1; [M25]
nā deest P6
The translations divide after this word.
- 8 *mazištā* Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; L20; [M25]
mazištāi G Mf1 (the last *i* pr.m. super-
scr.), S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1; C1,
J6 L13
mazištā K11
cf. Y 58.7
- 9 *paitī. jamiiā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, S1 J3;
Mf2; L2, L1; C1, H1 J6 L13
paitī. jamiiā J2; Jp1 K4
paitījamiiā Dh1, L3

You there¹, the most joyful one,
may you come close² to us for the sake of the request³,
O fire of the Wise Lord!
May you come close² to us,
with the joy of the most joyful one,
with the veneration of the most venerating one⁴,
for the greatest of the appeals⁵.

1 *huuō* 'that one there'

The form *huuō*, a nom.sg.m. of the demonstrative pronoun, is found only in Old Avestan. As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 145f., it derives from IIr. **sa-ū* via

Proto-Iranian **hau* > **hou* > **hūō* by regular sound development.²³ While it is probably also continued in OP *hauv* 'that one' (NARTEN, *YH*, p. 145, fn. 41), both YAv. *hāu* and Ved. *asáu* 'that, yonder', which likewise function as nom. sg.m., are formed on the basis of the nom.sg.fem. IIr. **sāu*.

The pronoun IIr. **hau* belongs to a more complex system of IIr. demonstrative pronouns which fall into three groups defined by their different semantic functions.²⁴ Demonstratives which point to the immediate vicinity of the speaker ("ich-Deixis") are formed by the pronominal stems Av. *a-*, *i-*, *ima-* and Ved. nom.sg.m. *ayám*, *eśá*, *syá*.²⁵ Those which point to something in the far distance beyond the sphere of the speaker ("jener-Deixis") are the pronominal stems Av. *auna-*, Ved. nom.sg. *asáu*, etc.²⁶ Finally, the demonstrative pronoun *sa-/ta-* has a deictic value which is semantically indifferent or neutral with regard to either near or far deixis ("der-Deixis").²⁷ There appears to be a link between a pronoun's deictic slant and its vocalism, since near-deictic pronouns tend to contain the palatal vowel *i* or *e*, far-deictic ones the dark vowel *u*, and the semantically indifferent ones the vowel *a* (from IE **e*, **o*).

Within this three-fold system of deictic value, the OAv. demonstrative pronoun *hūō*, containing the vowel *-u*, must originally have had far-deictic function. However, in many OAv. passages, its neutral rather than far-deictic force is suggested by the context.²⁸ Moreover, the precise demonstrative slant of the pronoun *hūō* in Y 36.2 is significant for the interpretation of this passage because it identifies the sphere to which the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdā, belongs.

While the far-deictic pronoun Av. *hūō* may adopt the function of a simple demonstrative with indifferent deixis, the semantic opposition between far- and near-deictic pronouns is clear in some Vedic and Avestan passages, which suggest that such deictic force is inherited. In particular, in both Vedic and Avestan the near-deictic pronoun Ved. *ayám*, OAv. *aiiām*, YAv. *aēm* points towards what is on earth, whereas the far-deictic pronoun Ved. *asáu*, Av. *auna-*, employed to express remoteness in the sense of 'that there', signals out objects in the far distance, in particular the sky, sun, clouds, immortal gods, heavenly waters and everything related to what is above.²⁹ For example, in a hymn directed

23 For more examples of the sound change IIr. **-au* > Av. *-uūō*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 69, §36 jc.; DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 365f.

24 The following summary is based on WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 509–510. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994 identifies a triple system of deixis in Sogdian with *y-/m-* 'hic', *š-/t-* 'iste', and *x-/w-* 'ille'.

25 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 168f., §120.C.; WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 511–528, §§248–250.

26 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 167f., §120.B.; WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 528–536, §§251–253.

27 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, pp. 165–167, §120.A.; WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 536–545, §§254–255.

28 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 244f.

29 DELBRÜCK, *Ai.Syntax*, p. 209, §136.

to all the gods, Trita, who is imprisoned in a deep well (*kūpa-*, RV 1.105.17), implores them:

RV 1.105.5 *amī yé devā sthāna triṣv ā rocané diváh |*
kád va ṛtām kád ánṛtaṃ kvà pratnā va áhutir vittám me asyá rodasī ||

You gods there who are in the three light-realms of the sky! What is right in your eyes, what not right? Where (is) my previous offering to you? Do recognize me for this, O Heaven and Earth!

The far-deictic pronoun *amī* (nom.pl.m.) ‘you there!’ refers to the gods who thereby and by the following locative expression are placed explicitly in heaven. Such a use of the demonstrative corresponds to that of *hūuō* in its second attestation in the *Yasna Haptaṇhāiti*, Y 40.2 (= Y 41.6):

Y 40.1 *hīiaṭ mīždām *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā*
daēnābīiō mazdā ahurā
 Y 40.2. *abīiā hūuō nē dāidī*

The prize which you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:
 You there, give us from this (prize)!

The demonstrative pronoun *abīiā* ‘from this’³⁰ refers back to *mīžda-* ‘prize, reward’ mentioned in the preceding stanza Y 40.1 (= Y 41.5), where Ahura Mazdā is twice invoked in the vocative. The far-deictic demonstrative *hūuō* ‘you there!’, denoting Ahura Mazdā, places the deity at a distance. Thus here, like in RV 1.105.5, the far-deictic pronoun is used to address a deity, who is explicitly located in heaven in the Vedic hymn.

Furthermore, another inherited feature of both passages is the construction of the far-deictic demonstrative pronoun with a verbal form in the second person. As observed by NARTEN, such a construction could continue an inherited IIr. stylistic figure used to address or invoke beings who are not in close proximity of the speaker: ‘you there!’. Both characteristics, the use of *hūuō* in vocative function to address a heavenly being at a remote distance combined with the verbal form in the second person, are also found in Y 36.2³¹:

Y 36.2 *uruuāzištō hūuō nā*
yātāiā paitī.jamīiā
ātarə mazdā ahurabīiā

You there, the most joyful one,
 may you come close to us for the sake of the request,
 O fire of the Wise Lord!

30 On different interpretations of *abīiā*, see below, Y 40.2 no. 1 *abīiā* ‘from this (prize)’ and Y 41.5 no. 2 *hīiaṭ mīždām ...* ‘the prize which ...’

31 DELBRÜCK, *Alt.Syntax*, p. 210; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 146.

The use of *hūuō* with the optative in Y 36.2 corresponds to both it and *asáu* with the imperative in Y 40.2 (= 41.5) and the RV respectively. Furthermore, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 146f., observes that both attestations of *hūuō* occur at crucial points during the YH ceremony. In Y 36.2, the heavenly fire of Ahura Mazdā is addressed using a formula of emphatic repetition and invited to come close to the ritual precinct. The stanza thus introduces the consecration of the ritual fire, which in Y 36.3 is identified with Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire. At the end of the YH, Y 40.2 mentions the request for the 'prize', which is explicitly equated with eternal communion with Ahura Mazdā and Truth. The importance of such a supplication also emerges from the fact that it is repeated in Y 41.6, the concluding verse of the YH.

NARTEN suggests in addition that because of their significance these two attestations of *hūuō* in the YH could have been the inspiration for the substitution in the *Gathas* of the expected nom.sg.m. *hō* of neutral deixis by *hūuō*. Such a replacement would have been a deliberate act carried out by learned priests of the Younger Avestan period in the course of the orthoepic redaction with the aim of consolidating a fixed "school text" of the Older Avesta.³² The substitution would have been felt necessary because in the prediasceuastic recitation of the *Gathas*, the nom.sg.m. of the neutral deictic pronoun was pronounced in its Younger Avestan sound shape *hō* instead of the expected OAv. *hō* (< IIr. **sa-s*). The latter form is attested in pseudo-OAv. texts. NARTEN argues that, since in the Younger Avestan dialect the nom.sg.m. of the far-deictic pronoun was *hāu* (< IIr. **sā-ū*, originally fem.), characterized by a long diphthong, it was felt that the form **hūō*, which had developed in Younger Avestan from the short diphthong masculine form **hau* (< IIr. **sa-ū*), was not a far-deictic pronoun at all but one with neutral deixis and thus the Old Avestan equivalent of YAv. *hō*. This explanation involves the assumption that in the YAv period the priests were not aware of the far-deictic value of *hūuō* in the two YH attestations. Instead, they had established a formal correspondence, regardless of meaning, and assumed that OAv. **hūō* equals YAv. *hō*. The confusion was caused by the YAv. sound change of **hau* > **hūō*, which blurred the connection and semantic equivalence between YAv. *hāu* (originally nom.sg.f.) and OAv. **hūō*. Thus, in the Older Avesta *hō*, the pronoun of neutral deixis, was replaced by **hūō*, spelt *hūuō* in the Sasanian archetype. It must, however, also be noted that it is fairly widespread for the far-deictic pronoun to take over the functions of the one with neutral deixis.³³

The following table summarizes the forms and processes of remodelling affecting the nom.sg.m. of the demonstrative pronouns both with neutral deixis (IIr. **sa-*, *ta-*) and with far-deictic meaning (IIr. **saū*):

32 On the orthoepic redaction see above, p. 84f., Y 35.6 no. 1 **taṭ.āḍ-ād-ū*.

33 See WACKERNAGEL/(DEBRUNNER), *AltGr.*, III, p. 533, § 252a.

The nom.sg.m. of the demonstrative pronouns with neutral and far deixis

	Neutral deixis 'this'	Far deixis 'that one there'
OAv.	<i>huuō</i> < * <i>h_uō</i> ← <i>hō</i> < * <i>hā</i> < IIr. * <i>sa-s</i> ³⁴	<i>huuō</i> < * <i>h_uō</i> < * <i>ho_u</i> < * <i>ha_u</i> < IIr. < * <i>sa-_u</i> ³⁵
YAv.	<i>hō</i> < IIr. * <i>sa-s</i> <i>hā</i> < IIr. * <i>sa</i>	<i>hāu</i> < IIr. * <i>sā-_u</i> (nom.sg.fem.)
OP.	<i>ha-ya</i> 'he, who' < IIr. * <i>sa-_ia</i> ³⁶	<i>hauv</i> < * <i>ha_u</i> < IIr. * <i>sa-_u</i> ³⁷
Ved.	<i>sáh</i> < IIr. * <i>sa-s</i> <i>sá</i> < IIr. * <i>sa</i>	<i>asáu</i> ← IIr. * <i>sā-_u</i> (nom.sg.fem.)
IIr.	* <i>sa-s</i>	* <i>sa-_u</i>

2 *paitī.jamiiā* 'may you come close'

The stanza Y 36.2 consists of two sentences exhibiting a syntactically and lexically parallel structure.³⁸ The first sentence is:

Y 36.2 *uruuāzištō huuō nā*
yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā
ātarā mazdā ahurahiiā

The second one consists of the following lines:

uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziiā
nāmīštahiiā nōmanhā nā
mazištāi yānhām paitī.jamiiā

Each of the two sentences has the same verb (*paitī.jamiiā* 'may you come close'), the same object (*nā* 'to us') and a final dative complementing the verb *paitī.jamiiā*. This dative is *yātāiiā* 'for the *yāta-*' in the first sentence, and *mazištāi yānhām* 'for the greatest of the *yāh-*' in the second. It is obvious that *yāta-* corresponds to *yāh-*. Since in the second one *yāh-* is governed by a superlative, the relationship between the two sentences is characterized not only by lexical and syntactic parallelism but also by intensification, the second request being presented more emphatically than the first. However, the parallel structure also exhibits variation. The fire's act of coming close, desired by the worshippers and expressed by the verb *paitī.jamiiā*, is

34 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 146–147.

35 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 145f.

36 KENT in: *Language* 20 (1944), pp. 1–6; R1SCH in: *Asiatische Studien* 1–4 (1954), p. 151f.; HOFFMANN 1958, p. 17 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, p. 74], 1956, p. 83 with fn. 5 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, p. 407 with fn. 5]. STRUNK 1967 sees the reason for the creation of a new OP pronoun *haya* in the desire, also found in other languages, to avoid monosyllabic words with short vowels. The new pronoun *haya* originated in the rare but possible syntactic collocation of the demonstrative and relative pronouns.

37 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 145, fn. 41.

38 What follows in this note is based on NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 147–149, 151.

characterized as ‘most joyful’ (*urruāzištō*) in the first sentence while in the second the idea is denoted by the sociative instrumental plus possessive genitive ‘may you come close with the joy of the most joyful one!’ (*urruāzištahiā urruāziā ... paitī. jamiiā*). The latter is, furthermore, reinforced by the only expression not found in the first sentence, i.e. a second instrumental with dependent possessive genitive *naṃištahiā nāmaṇhā* ‘with the veneration of the most venerating one’.

3 *yātāiiā* ‘for the sake of the request’

The form *yātāiiā* was identified as the dat.sg. of the noun *yāta-* by I. SCHEFTELOWITZ, “Antwort auf Herrn Prof. Bartholomae’s vorstehenden Artikel”, in: ZDMG 59 (1905), p. 782. Previously, it had remained unrecognized by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1284, who lists it as an unexplained hapax legomenon. This is the only instance in the Older Avesta where the ending of an *a*-stem dative sg. is spelt *-āiiā* instead of *-āi.ā* (e.g. *ahurāi.ā* = Ved. *ásurāya*). The termination **-āiā* is an Indo-Iranian dialectal innovation of regular *-āi* (e.g. *ahurāi*), which is itself the only thematic dat.sg. ending in the Younger Avesta.³⁹

Since in the context of Y 36.2 *yātāiiā* is syntactically parallel to *mazištāi yāñham*, HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 18, fn. 17, considers *yāta-* to be a synonym of *yāh-*. Linking Av. *yāta-* with Ved. (AV) *yātá-* ‘walk’ (‘Gang’), he translates it as ‘Opferumzug’ or ‘Bittgang’. The same correspondence between *yātāiiā* and *mazištāi yāñham* is also emphasized by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 151f. with fn. 57, who translates both nouns as ‘request’ (‘Bitte’).

HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 121, has given up his earlier view of both *yāta-* and *yāh-* as ‘Bittgang’ and proposes an interpretation different from NARTEN’s. Still considering *yāta-* and *yāh-* as quasi-synonyms, he argues that *yāta-* means ‘share’ while *yāh-* denotes, in addition, the ‘distribution of shares, sharing (of good things)’. He considers both nouns to be ritual terms and semantically close to *maga-*, which he renders as ‘offering’ (*Gāthās*², II, p. 48). That the OAv. words mean ‘share’ is “made certain” by the use of *yāta-* in two Younger Avestan passages (A 3.11, Vd 19.29) and is probably also the case in N 42 and FiO 4f. HUMBACH further supports this semantic definition with reference to MP *jādag* ‘share, portion’, and adduces Sogd. *y’tk* ‘meat’ in the sense of ‘sacrificial share’. Moreover, the YAv. adj. *yāskərət-*, as well as its superlative *yāskərətəma-*, both usually considered to be formed from the root *kar* ‘to do, make’ and translated as ‘(most) fulfilling requests’, would mean ‘(most) dividing into shares’. They would, like the compound *nasūm.kərət-* ‘cutting corpses’, contain the root *kart* ‘to cut’.

The four YAv. instances of *yāta-* adduced by HUMBACH are listed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1283, under two different headings: ¹*yāta-*, attested in A 3.11, Vd 19.29 and FiO 4f, means ‘share’, as postulated by HUMBACH for all Av. occurrences, and ²*yāta-*, attested in N 42 (= 24) and FiO 4f, denotes a type of

39 HOFFMANN 1975, p. 391 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, p. 650]; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 118.

injury. The distinction between two different but homonymous nouns *yāta-* is already found in the *Farhang-i ōīm* 4f (= KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §§ 254–255) where the Av. expression *yātəm gaēdānəm*, present in A 3.11 and Vd 19.29, is translated as *bahr ī gēhānān* ‘the portion of property’. The expression *yātəm āstriieite*, encountered in N 42, by contrast, is transcribed as *yād āstrēd* ‘he commits a *yād*-offence’. The expression occurs in a passage about the various offences committed if one omits words while reciting the *Gathas*:

N 42 (= 24) *aḍa bitiiā aḍa θritiiā*
aḍa vīspəm ā ahmāt yaṭ hē hañjasāiti
*yaḍa caḍrušum yā gāḍā vācim asrāuuaiiō *hiiāt*
arəduš hē śiiāoḍanəm
*θrišūm tarō *x̌araiia*
naēməm tarō bāzujataiia
*vīspəm tarō *yārə.drañehīm*
yātəm āstriieiti

Thus also the second and third time,
 thus also until as much accumulates
 as if he had not recited⁴⁰ the *Gathas* for a quarter of a year⁴¹:
 (then) his deed (is) an *arəduš*-offence;
 (if as much accumulates as if he had not recited the *Gathas*) for a third of a year,
 (his deed is) a *x̌ara*-offence⁴²,
 (if) for half a year (it is) a *bāzujata*-offence⁴³;
 (if) for the duration of an entire year⁴⁴,
 he commits a *yāta*-offence.

These terms for various offences form part of the Zoroastrian legal language and are defined in Vd 4.17–43, N 42 and *FiO* 25b (= KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §§ 699–704).⁴⁵ Six offences are listed in order of increasing gravity: *āgrift*, *ōirišt*,

40 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 52, edit the form *hiiāt* of the mss. In the context of this sentence, however, a 3sg.opt. *hiiāt* of *ab* ‘to be’ is more plausible. The spelling *hiiāt* instead of *hiiāt* is also found in N 44 (= 26) and the construction of a participle with an opt. in N 12 (= Hērb.14) **aframaramnō x̌iiāt*.

41 BARTHOLOMAE’s, *AirWb.* 1287, emendation of a nom./acc. **yārə* for *yā* found in the mss. is accepted by KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, pp. 52, 53 with fn. 109. However, as recognized by HUMBACH in: KZ 77 (1971), p. 110f., the transmitted form *yā* is to be preferred because it is the – syntactically expected – gen.sg. of the heteroclitic noun *yār-* ‘year’, cf. also HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 153 and SCHINDLER, “L’apophonie des thèmes i.-e. en –r/n”, in: BSL 70 (1975), p. 5. Conversely, in *Gs Kronasser*, p. 194, SCHINDLER argues that *yā* is the correct form of the gen.sg. (< **iāH-an-s*) and that *yārə* is due to influence of the following *gāḍā*.

42 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1867, here emends **x̌araiia* which he interprets as a loc.sg. used as an instr.sg.

43 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 956.

44 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1287, emends *yārə.drañehīm* which he identifies as the acc.sg. of a noun *yārə.drañahiia-* ‘duration of a year’.

45 A similar distinction is found in Vedic, where *āpa-gur* denotes the stage before physical attack, *nī-han* the striking with a weapon and *lohitam kṛ* the striking of a bleeding

arduš, *xwar*, *bāzā-zanišnīh* and *yād*. All concern physical attack and possible injury resulting therefrom. The mildest one, *āgrift* (*glpt*, Av. *āgərəpta-*), is committed by taking a weapon in one's hand with the intention of attacking an innocent person (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §699, Vd 4.18–21). The second, **wylšt* (*ōirīšt*, from Av. *auuaoirīšta-* 'turning towards, turning a weapon against someone', *AirWb.* 168f.) denotes the offence of brandishing it against an innocent person (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §700, Vd 4.21–25). The third, *'ldwš* (*arduš*, from Av. *arəduš-*) entails another person with a weapon without causing any visible injury (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §701, Vd 4.26–29). The fourth, *hwl* (*xwar*, Av. *xāra-*), refers to hitting someone with a weapon and causing visible injury (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §702, Vd 4.30–39 discussing two different types of *xāra-*). The fifth, *b'c'y znšnyh* (*bāzā-zanišnīh*, also written *b'c'y mhytwn-šnyh*), is the Pahlavi translation of Av. *bāzujata-*. This involves hitting and injuring someone's arm (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §703 with fn. 2, N 42). The sixth offence, *y't lwbšn* (*yād rawišn*, Av. *yāta-*), is that of hitting and injuring someone's leg (KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §704, N 42).

Thus, the fifth denotes an injury inflicted on the arm and impeding someone's ability to use it, while the sixth is done to the leg and prevents its owner from moving. The Av. expression *yātəm āstriieiti* in N 42 literally means 'he commits an offence against someone's ability to move' (by hitting his leg with a weapon). As convincingly argued by KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §704, the Pahlavi explanation of *yād* as *rawišn* 'going, motion' suggests that the Avestan legal term *yāta-* is a derivative from the root *yā* 'to move, travel'. The attestation of *yāta-* in N 42 therefore has to be eliminated from HUMBACH's list of YAv. passages where *yāta-* is supposed to mean 'share, portion'.

In A 3.11 and Vd 19.29, the noun occurs in the expression *yātəm gaēḍanəm* which is also quoted in *FiO* 4f. Not only the context of *yāta-* in A 3.11 and Vd 19.29 but also its Pahlavi translation *bahr* suggest that the meaning here is 'portion, share':

A 3.11 *miiazdauuā ratuš amiazdauuanəm ratunaēm*
yātəm gaēḍanəm frapərənaoiti aṇtarə mazdaiiasnāiš

The Ratu making a food-offering declares the layman not making such an offering to be a debtor amongst the Mazdā-worshippers in relation of a share of possessions.⁴⁶

Vd 19.29 *paḍəm zruuō.dātanəm jasaiti*
yasca druuaite yasca aṣaone
cinuuat.pərətūm mazdaḍātəm
baodasca uruuanəmcā
yātəm gaēḍanəm paiti.jaiḍiieinti
dātəm astuuaiṇti aṇhuuō

wound, see SCHAEFER, *Intensivum*, p. 177 with fn. 320; H. OERTEL in: ZII 8 (1931), p. 287 and HINTZE 2005.

46 The translation of the second line of this passage follows GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 246. On the verb *frapərənaoiti* cf. also KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, pp. 114, 118, fn. 3 with references.

It [i.e. the soul] comes to the paths created by time,
 – those for the deceitful and for the truthful one –,
 the Mazdā-created account-keeper's Bridge.⁴⁷
 They ask perception and the soul
 about⁴⁸ the proportion of possessions
 given during physical life.

In both passages, *yāta-* denotes a 'share' or 'proportion' of the material possessions requested by an authority, in A 3.11 by the Ratu, in Vd 19.29 by the judges who interrogate the soul. It therefore appears that in the expression *yātəm gaēṭanəm*, the noun *yāta-* has the technical meaning of the 'share of possessions' owed to and demanded by a higher power. The word's origin from the root *yā* 'to ask for' could account for the semantic component of "requested by an authority".

The context of *yāta-* in Y 36.2, however, is different. Apart from not being characterized by the genitive *gaēṭanəm*, the noun cannot refer to something 'requested' by an authority in the same way that it does in A 3.11 and Vd 19.29 because in Y 36.2 it is not the authority but the *worshippers* who make the request here to the deity. It is more likely that the dative *yātāiiā* denotes that for the sake of which the heavenly fire is asked to draw near:

Y 36.2 *uruuāzištō huuō nā*
yātāiiā paiti.jamiiā
ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā

You there, the most joyful one,
 may you come close to us for the sake of the request,
 O fire of the Wise Lord!

In Y 36.2, *yāta-* could have a more general meaning in the sense defined by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 152, fn. 60, as *nomen rei actae* 'request' referring to that which is sought. The noun *yāb-*, with which *yāta-* is syntactically parallel, literally denotes the performance of the action expressed by the verb ("Vollzug des Verbalbegriffs"), i.e. 'request' in the sense of uttering what is sought, 'supplication' (see below, p. 128ff.). The distinction between the two nouns is that *yāta-* denotes the content of the request while *yāb-* refers to the act of making it.

4 *namištahiiā namanhā* 'with the veneration of the most venerating one'

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 148, points out that the expression *namištahiiā namanhā* 'with the veneration of the most venerating one' addresses the fire (*ātar-*) not as the recipient of worship but as the one who offers it. BAUNACK, p. 365 and HUMBACH

47 On the translation of *cinuuat.pərətū-* as 'account-keeper's Bridge', see below, p. 198, fn. 5.

48 The compound *paiti-jad* is attested only here in Avestan (BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 487), but is also found in Khotanese *pajād-* 'to ask for' < **pati-jadya-*, see EMMERICK, *SGS*, p. 64f., KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, pp. 121, 122, n. 1.

1956b, p. 77, propose that this could be seen as evidence for the ancient Indo-Iranian idea that the fire assumes the role of a high priest, as indicated by its Vedic epithets *hótar-* and *puróhita-*. NARTEN modifies this suggestions and interprets the Avestan epithet *nəmišta-* ‘most venerating’ as relating to the concept that the heavenly fire of Ahura Mazdā represents the personification of the deity and is therefore the most perfect and pure of all fires. At the same time, it is also the heavenly prototype of the earthly ritual fire. Because of the ritually enacted merger of the two fires and because the heavenly fire is the most perfect and pure of all, the latter can be addressed as providing the most perfect veneration (*nəmišta-*) of the deity.⁴⁹ The fire of Ahura Mazdā, being his embodiment, has the best ability to worship. This means that through the process of Ahura Mazdā’s heavenly fire coming down and merging with the ritual fire, the latter assumes the characteristics of its heavenly counterpart. The ritual fire thus becomes the token by which the community of worshippers identify themselves as those belonging to ‘this fire’ (Y 36.1 *ahiiā ... āθrō vərəzānā*).

5 *mazištāi yāñhəm* ‘for the greatest of the appeals’

Following GELDNER 1889, p. 24, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1291, posits the meaning of *yāh-* as ‘crisis, decision, turning point’ (‘Krise, Entscheidung, Wendepunkt’). In an eschatological sense, the noun would then refer to the Universal Judgement at the end of time. This meaning is also postulated by other scholars, for instance by SCHAEDEER, according to whom *yāh-* denotes the ‘going’ to the fire-ordeal in the Universal Judgement.⁵⁰ Whereas BARTHOLOMAE provides no morphological analysis, BAUNACK, p. 362, who translates the word as ‘dangerous enterprise’ (‘kriegerisches, gefährliches Unternehmen’), correctly identifies *yāh-* as a formation with the suffix *-ah-* from a root *yā*. Since in the *Gathas* the noun is metrically disyllabic, the root from which it is derived must end in an original laryngeal (< **yaH-ah-*). Two homonymous roots *yā* are usually posited in Avestan: *yā* ‘to travel’ (*AirWb.* 1282) and *yā* ‘to ask for, request, entreat, implore’.⁵¹

Following this morphological analysis, some scholars interpret *yāh-* as a sporting term, either of horse racing, or, in a metonymic transposition, of the verbal ‘contest’.⁵² SCHMIDT is one who considers *yāh-* to be a term of the sporting language, but interprets it metaphorically. In the same way that *uruuaēsa-*

49 On the long root vocalism of the hapax legomenon *nəmišta-* see below, p. 138, fn. 78.

50 H.-H. SCHAEDEER, “Ein indogermanischer Liedtypus in den *Gathas*”, in: ZDMG 94 (1940), p. 403, fn. 2: ‘der Gang zum Feuerordal, in dem Gott die künftige Entscheidung vollziehen wird’.

51 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1288, posits the latter root as *yās*. Its form was identified as *yā* ‘to ask for’ by A. MEILLET in: BSL 24 (1924), p. 117, and equated with Ved. *yā*, cf. W.P. SCHMID, “Vedisch *ímabe* und Verwandtes”, in: IF 62 (1955–1956), p. 219ff.; KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 292.

52 F.B.J. KUIPER, “Four Word Studies”, in: IJ 15 (1973), p. 186, fn. 8.; “The Ancient Aryan Verbal Contest”, in: IJ 4 (1960), pp. 250, 256f.

could denote the eschatological ‘turning point’, so *yāh-* could have developed the meaning ‘decision’ from ‘walk, decisive walk’.⁵³ SCHMIDT’s suggestion is close to BARTHOLOMAE’s ‘crisis, decision, turning point’, although it was reached on different premises.

Against this INSLER, *Gāthās*, p. 163, rightly objects that Ved. *yā* does not mean ‘to go’ but ‘to travel, race’. He suggests that Av. *yāh-* has its origins in legal rather than sporting language and posits a third IIr. root *yā* ‘to repay, revenge’, which would also be continued in the Greek ζῆμίᾱ ‘penalty, amends’. He combines *yāh-* with Ved. *yātár-* ‘revenger, repayer’ and interprets it as ‘reckoning’ (1970, p. 188, fn. 1) or ‘retribution’. The word would then refer “to the time when the truthful and the deceitful shall receive their fair share” in the final judgement (INSLER, *Gāthās*, p. 164). NARTEN, *YH*, p. 150f., however, rightly objects that the meaning ‘retribution’ only fits the context of two (Y 30.2, 49.9) out of the four Old Avestan attestations. In Y 46.14, INSLER emends transmitted *yāhī*, which is usually interpreted as a loc.sg. of *yāh-*, to **yā* **ahī* and then translates it as ‘with whom thou art allied’ (*Gāthās*, p. 84f. with fn. 13). However, he discusses neither the attestation of *yāh-* in Y 36.2 nor those in the Younger Avesta.

All these explanations are based on the assumption that *yāh-* is an eschatological term. Another possibility, proposed by HUMBACH and HOFFMANN, is that of interpreting it as a ritual rather than an eschatological term. As argued by HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 18, fn. 17, ritual meaning is suggested by the YAv. passage Yt 11.3:

Yt 11.3 *mąθrō spəntō mainiiəuuīm drujəm nižbairištō*
ahunō vairiio vacəm vərəθrajaštəmō
aršuxdō vāxš yāhi vərəθrajaštəmō

The bounteous formula (is) the best remover of spiritual deceit.

The Ahuna Vairya prayer (is) the most victorious amongst the words.

The rightly formulated word (is) the most victorious during the appeal.

If one assumes that the underlying root is *yā* ‘to travel’, the noun would denote physical movement (‘going’) which occurs during the ritual.⁵⁴ HOFFMANN’s translation of *yāh-* as ‘Bittgang’, implying both physical movement (‘going’) and a request, allows the possibility of starting either from *yā* ‘to travel’ or from *yā* ‘to ask for, request’.⁵⁵

53 H.-P. SCHMIDT, “Die Komposition von Yasna 49”, in: *Fs Kuiper*, p. 178. On the metaphorical use of IIr. vocabulary of the chariot race see below, p. 315 Y 41.4 no. 1 *zaēmācā* ‘may we obtain’.

54 HUMBACH translates it as ‘Opferumzug’ (1952 [1957], p. 18, fn. 17) or ‘Umgang’ (*Gathas*, II, p. 19f.).

55 K. HOFFMANN, “Notizen zu Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik II, 2”, in: MSS 8 (1956), p. 5 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, p. 387] (‘Bittgang’), likewise HUMBACH 1956a, p. 81; 1956b, p. 77, *Gathas*, I, pp. 84, 133, 144. HOFFMANN compares Ved. *avayā-* ‘expiation’ (‘Abbitte’), which equals YAv. *auua-iiā-* (KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 225f.).

The ritual interpretation of *yāh-* is argued for by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 149–155, on the basis of the context of Y 36.2. After a survey of previous interpretations, she concludes that *yāh-* is a derivative from the verb *yā* ‘to ask for, request’ with the suffix *-ah-*, and defines its meaning as ‘request’ (‘Bitte’). In a literal sense, *yāh-* denotes the correct and effective articulation of requests (“das richtige [wirksame] Formulieren bzw. Vortragen von Bitten”, p. 154). Eschatological connotation is not present in Y 36, where the noun is embedded in a situation of ritual and liturgy. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 152, suggests two alternative interpretations for Y 36.2 *mazištāi yāñhām* ‘for the greatest of the appeals’. The expression could refer to the request to the heavenly fire to come down and be present in the ritual fire, a merger which is supposed to take place between Y 36.2 and 3 and which constitutes the highpoint of the ritual. Alternatively, in a metonymic transposition from ‘appeal’ to the ‘ceremony’ in which the request is presented, *yāh-* could be a technical term for the entire ceremony of the YH with all of its praises and supplications. In either case, the important, indeed ground-breaking result of NARTEN’s analysis is that in Y 36.2 *yāh-* refers to the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, denoting either in a narrower sense the appeal presented to the heavenly fire to come down and merge with its ritual counterpart, or in a wider sense the entire ceremony of the YH.

This interpretation of the instance of *yāh-* in Y 36.2 has implications for that of the three Gathic occurrences of this noun. NARTEN goes one step further and argues that not only in Y 36.2 but also in two of the three Gathic attestations could *yāh-* refer to the YH. In Y 30.2, the expression ‘before the great appeal’ (*parā mazē yāñhō*), which used to be interpreted in an eschatological sense, could anticipate the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* if the traditional arrangement of the YH (Y 35–41) after the *Ahunavaitī Gatha* (Y 28–34) is original. This interpretation is further supported by the occurrence in Y 30.1c of *uruuāzi-* ‘joy’, because the latter characterizes the heavenly fire in Y 36.2.⁵⁶ In Y 49.9 *yāhī* could also refer to the ritual of the YH, while in Y 46.14 NARTEN thinks of a princely audience in which requests are presented to a ruler. However, even here ritual interpretation is plausible because the stanza occurs in a context containing several ritual technical terms, such as *xšnu* ‘to gratify’ (Y 46.13) and *maga-* ‘gift-exchange’ (Y 46.14). The theme of both Y 46 and Y 51, which have a parallel structure, is the question of who is willing to be Zarathustra’s ‘ally’ (*urunaḍa-*), i.e. to enter into a relationship of mutual obligation and be his ‘patron’⁵⁷:

56 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 152, 147, fn. 48. HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 19f., also compares Y 36.2 with Y 17.11 and Yt 13.85, where the fire is addressed as *uruuāzišta-* ‘most joyful’, cf. *Gāthās*², II, p. 47. A different analysis of Y 30.1 *uruuāzā* is proposed by KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 313, who consider it to be a verbal form.

57 HINTZE 2004b, esp. pp. 35–40. On the agreement underlying the triangular relationship between priest, patron and deity, see HINTZE, *Lohn*, pp. 240–244.

Y 46.14 *zaraḍuštrā kastē ašauuā uruuāθō*
mazōi magāi kē vā fərasrūidiiāi vaštī
aṭ huuō kauuā vištāspō yāhī

O Zarathustra, who is your truthful ally
 for the great gift-exchange? Or who wishes to be renowned?
 This one here, Kavi Vishtaspa, (wishes to be renowned) at the appeal!

As noted by HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 18, Y 46.14 *mazōi magāi* can be compared to Y 30.2 *parā mazē yāñhō* and Y 36.2 *mazištāi yāñhām*. This suggests that *maga-* and *yāh-* belong to the same semantic field, in which *maga-*, denoting the ritually enacted gift-exchange, is the more general term while *yāh-* refers more precisely to the human entreaties directed to the deity.

Human beings hope to get the ‘best prize’ (*vahišta- mīžda-*) in response to their appeal:

Y 49.9 *nōiṭ ərəš.vacā sarēm didas drəguuātā*
hiiaṭ daēnā vahištē yujān mīždē
ašā yuxtā yāhī dējāmāspā

The one whose words are right does not teach communion with the deceitful one,
 for in the appeal(-ceremony) those who are yoked together with truth
 have yoked their beliefs (in the race) for the best prize, O Jamaspa.⁵⁸

The nature of the ‘best prize’ is stated explicitly and in detail at the end of the YH. It (*mīžda-*) is meant to benefit both the spiritual and the material life and consists of everlasting communion with both the Wise Lord and Truth (Y 40.2, 41.6). Furthermore, the ‘prize’ includes fellowship with truthful and truth-desiring men as well as with non-violent herdsmen. As a result, the worshippers hope to enjoy a peaceful life in a stable and secure community (Y 40.3).⁵⁹ The *mīžda-* is given by Ahura Mazdā to the worshippers in exchange for the ‘offerings’ (*ādā-* Y 40.1) presented by them in the ceremony of the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti*.

As far as the YH is concerned, NARTEN’s interpretation of *yāh-* is fully accepted by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 138. In the *Gathas*, however, they suggest that *yāh-* has a different meaning and denotes some kind of test of Zarathustra’s followers (“une sorte d’épreuve pour les fidèles”). But this hypothesis is insufficiently supported by the reference to PIRART’s understanding of the function of the particle *aṭ* in Y 46.14 (see KELLENS 1987a, p. 247). Contrary to what KELLENS/PIRART state, the parallel structure of Y 46 and 51 suggests that *aṭ huuō kauuā vištāspō yāhī* ‘this one here, Kavi Vishtaspa at the appeal’ in Y 46.14c is the answer to the question of the identity of Zarathustra’s ally in Y 46.14a.⁶⁰

58 The rendering of the last two lines of this stanza follows the analysis of NARTEN, *YH*, p. 153.

59 See Y 41.5 no. 2 *hiiaṭ mīždəm* ... ‘the prize which ...’

60 See above, p. 130f. On HUMBACH’s interpretation, *Gāthās*², II, p. 121, according to which both *yāh-* and *yāta-* mean ‘share, portion’, see above, p. 124ff.

Y 36.3

*ātarš¹ vōi² mazdā³ ahurahiiā ahī³
 mainiiuš⁴ vōi ahiiā spāništō^{4a} ahī⁵
 hiiat⁶ vā tōi⁷ nāmanəm vāzištəm
 ātarə⁸ mazdā^{8a} ahurahiiā
 tā θβā⁹ pairijasāmaide¹⁰ ∴*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>ātarš</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, S1; J6
 <i>ātarəš</i> J3
 <i>ātrš</i> C1</p> <p>2 <i>vōi</i> G Mf4 (corr. from <i>vō</i>) Mf1, K5 J2;
 C1, J6
 <i>vō</i> Mf2 Jp1 K4 (in these three the first
 time only)</p> <p>3 At this point S1 J3 break off, the P.V.
 after the following <i>vōi</i></p> <p>4 <i>mainiiuš</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2 L17, J3; Mf2
 Jp1; L2, Dh1, L1 O2 B2 L3 Bb1; H1
 J6 (<i>ā</i> sec.m. superscr.) L13 J7, P6; [J1]
 <i>mainiiūš</i> K5; K4; S2; C1 K11, L20
 <i>mainiuš</i> S1</p> <p>4a <i>spāništō</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>spānāištō</i> Mf4 (the second <i>ā</i> struck out)
 <i>spāništō</i> J6</p> <p>5 <i>ahī</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J6
 deest H1; [M25]</p> <p>6 <i>hiiat</i> G Mf4; K5 J2; C1, J6
 <i>yiiat</i> K5, S1</p> | <p>7 <i>vā. tōi</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; C1
 <i>vātōi</i> Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, S2,
 Bb1; H1 J6 J7
 <i>vātō</i> L1 L3; K11</p> <p>8 <i>ātarə</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; Jp1; J6
 <i>ātrə</i> L2
 <i>ātarəm</i> S2; C1 K11, L13 J7, L20; [M25]</p> <p>8a <i>mazdā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; J6
 <i>mazdā</i> C1</p> <p>9 <i>tā. θβā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J6
 <i>tāθβā</i> S2, L1 Bb1; H1 L13, P6</p> <p>10 <i>pairijasāmaide</i> Pt4
 <i>pairijasāmaide</i> G Mf4, S1 J3; K11
 <i>pairi. jasāmaide</i> Mf1; Mf2; L2, L1 L3;
 H1 L13 J7
 <i>pairi. jasāmaide</i> K5 J2; Jp1
 <i>pairi. jasmaide</i> K4
 <i>pairi. jasā. maiði</i> C1
 <i>pairi. jasā. maide</i> J6
 <i>pairi. jasāmaide</i> L20</p> |
|---|--|

You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord¹.
You are truly his most bounteous spirit¹.
We approach you,
O fire of the Wise Lord,
(while uttering) what is indeed the most invigorating² of your names.

- 1 *ātarš vōi mazdā³ ahurahiiā ahī mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī*
‘You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord. You are truly his most
bounteous spirit’

One of the merits of JOHANNA NARTEN’s monograph on the YH is that she has highlighted the ritual and doctrinal importance of Y 36. The two affirmations ‘You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord. You are truly his most bounteous spirit’ are addressed to the ritual fire in the presence of the worshippers. She argues that these two lines constitute the formula for the consecration of that fire.⁶¹

61 What follows is a summary of NARTEN’s interpretation, *YH*, pp. 155–156.

Y 36.3 needs to be interpreted in the context of the entire chapter of Y 36. In Y 36.1, the worshippers approach and address (*pairijasāmaidē*) both Ahura Mazdā and his most bounteous spirit. The speech to the deity is presented by the worshippers in the presence of the ritual fire (*ahiiā ... āθrō vərəzēnā*) and the latter establishes a link between the people and the deity. In Y 36.2, the worshippers invoke Ahura Mazdā's own divine and heavenly fire. It subsequently emerges from Y 36.6 that the heavenly fire is regarded as Ahura Mazdā's visible form consisting of light. The latter is implored to come down from its heavenly abode and occupy the ritual fire.

After the address to Ahura Mazdā's bounteous spirit in Y 36.1 and the emphatically presented request to his heavenly fire in Y 36.2, i.e. to descend from its heavenly abode and be present with the worshippers in the ritual fire, the latter is explicitly identified in Y 36.3 with both the deity's heavenly fire and with his most bounteous spirit. The request presented in stanza 2 has thus been fulfilled. Moreover, it is implied that a transformation of the ritual fire has taken place between Y 36.2 and 3 insofar as from now on it is perceived as identical with both Ahura Mazdā's divine fire and with his most bounteous spirit. Both the fire and the spirit are qualities of the deity, substituting for him and worshipped like himself.

From Y 36.3 on, the ritual fire has changed into both the fire and the spirit of Ahura Mazdā. This implies that from the moment of transformation, he himself is present within that fire. Everything happening in the ritual from then on thus takes place in Ahura Mazdā's physical presence. The conversion and consecration of the ritual fire represent both the ritual highpoint and the prerequisite for the praises and prayers starting in Y 37 and constituting the main part of the YH. Furthermore, as noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 26, fn. 1, the consecration formula in Y 36.3 is the foundation for the pivotal role played by the fire in Mazdayasnian religious practice and ritual down through the centuries.

2 *nāmanəm vāzištəm* 'the most invigorating of names'

The superlative adjective *vāzišta-* occurs six times in the Avesta as an attribute of the ritual fire's name (Y 36.3), the ritual fire itself (*ātar-*, Y 17.11, Vd 19.40) and the guest of Ahura Mazdā (*asti-*, Y 31.22, 70.4, 13.2).⁶² Deriving it from the root *vaz* 'to travel, move', BARTHOLOMAE, following OLDENBERG, considers *vāzišta-* to be the exact equivalent of Ved. *vāhiṣṭha-* 'moving, travelling best'.⁶³

62 The meaning of *asti-*, incorrectly posited by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 213, as 'companion, comrade', is 'guest' – like that of its Vedic cognate *ātithi-*, see HUMBACH 1952 [1957], pp. 24–27.

63 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1417f.; H. OLDENBERG, "Vedische Untersuchungen", in: ZDMG 50 (1896), pp. 423, 432f. The adjective *vāhiṣṭha-*, attested only in the Rgveda, is used of the chariot (*rātha-*) of the gods approaching the sacrifice, of the hymn (*stóma-*) and of the river Sindhu which serves as the vehicle of the Aśvin, cf. INSLER's 1996 analysis of the distribution of *vāhiṣṭha-* and *vāhiṣṭha-* (pp. 175–178). The irregular long root vowel

The Avestan noun thus means ‘conveying best, most beneficial, most useful’ (‘der am besten vorwärts bringt, der förderlichste, nützlichste’). KELLENS/PIRART, who accept this explanation, accordingly translate the adjective as ‘le plus convoyeur’.⁶⁴ BARTHOLOMAE’s semantic definition, however, is rightly criticized by INSLEER 1996, p. 170f., because the root *vaz* does not otherwise have the connotations postulated by BARTHOLOMAE. Furthermore, as pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 157, the meaning ‘conveying best’ is unsatisfactory with regard to the passages where *vāzišta-* functions as an epithet of *asti-* ‘guest’.

Any analysis of *vāzišta-* has to account for the irregular long root vowel. KELLENS/PIRART offer a phonetic explanation suggesting that adjectives such as *vāzišta-*, *ṇamišta-*, *spāniiāh-* and *rāniiō.skərāiti-* have a lengthened grade because of the open root vowel. However, this argument is weakened by the existence of numerous counter-examples of OAv. superlatives with an open root vowel and regular full grade, e.g. *mairišta-* ‘remembering best’, *mazišta-* ‘greatest’, *razišta-* ‘straightest’.

INSLEER, too, considers Av. *vāzišta-* to be an exact equivalent of Ved. *vāhiṣṭha-*, but posits the meaning of the Av. superlative as ‘most honoured’ and that of the Vedic one as ‘honouring best’, thereby assuming a shift of transitivity from passive to active.⁶⁵ The meaning is derived by connecting *vāzišta-* with the adjective Y 44.7 *uzəma-* which INSLEER interprets with BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 413, as ‘respectful’ (‘ehrerbietig’). The adjective had been linked by GELDNER 1889, p. 21, to the hapax legomenon Y 46.9 *uzəmōhī*, for which a verb *aoz* ‘to respect’ (‘achten’, *AirWb.* 43) was posited, an alleged cognate of Ved. *oh* ‘to proclaim, praise’. However, as rightly pointed out by HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 55, there is probably no Av. verb *aoz* ‘to respect’, and at any rate such an identification has to be abandoned because the Vedic verb *oh* belongs with OAv. *aogādā* ‘he speaks’, YAv. *aoxta*, Grk. εὔχτο ‘he prayed’, εὔχομαι ‘I say, boast’ and goes back to an IE root $^{*}(h_1)eg^{(w)h}$.⁶⁶ INSLEER leaves Y 46.9 *uzəmōhī* out of the discussion,⁶⁷

of *vāhiṣṭha-* is attributed by WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER, *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 456, §276d, to a contamination of *vāhiṣṭha-* and *vāhas-*, cf. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 157, who (*ibid.*, fn. 85) mentions an alternative view, proposed by NEISSER, that *vāhiṣṭha-* belongs with *vāghāt-* ‘singer, priest’ and is unconnected with *vāzišta-*. For earlier suggestions see also INSLEER 1996, p. 180 with fn. 17.

64 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 138, II, p. 303.

65 INSLEER 1996, p. 177 with fn. 12. However, JAMISON, *āya-Formations*, p. 31ff., to whom INSLEER refers in support of his assumption of a shift of transitivity, discusses no such instances but rather verbs of consumption, giving, enjoyment, perception and ruling which take either the genitive or the accusative.

66 MAYRHOFER, *EWaia*, I, p. 283; *LIV*², p. 253.

67 INSLEER 1996, p. 174, fn. 8, omits the discussion of Y 46.9 *uzəmōhī* because it has evaded a convincing explanation. In *Gāthās*, p. 270, he interprets the form as a locative infinitive ‘to respect’ from a stem *uzəmah-*, allegedly a variant of *uzəma-*, but KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, p. 490, rightly objects that there is no suffix $^{*}-mas-$. KÜMMEL’s own suggestion that OAv. *uzəmōhī* could be a 1pl.ind.pres.act. of INSLEER’s root *vāh* ‘to respect, acknowledge’, i. problematic not only because of the active voice, as admitted by KÜMMEL, but also be-

and, while retaining the meaning ‘respect’, states that his argument is based solely on context, without recourse to etymology (p. 172f.).

INSLER 1996, pp. 174, 184, solves the problem of the long root vocalism of the Av. and Ved. superlatives by postulating a new long-vowel root Iran. *vāz/ūz* and Ved. *vāh/ūh* ‘to respect, honour; be respected, honoured’, which already being in decline in Indo-Iranian would have been replaced by the semantically close verb *nam*. Forms of this long-vowel root would be continued in Av. *vāzišta-*, *°vāzah-*, *uzama-* (believed to represent **ūzma-*), as well as in the Middle Iranian continuants of **api-vāzaka-* and Ossetic *(i)wāzæg* ‘guest’.⁶⁸ In Vedic the root would be found in the nouns *vāhiṣṭha-*, *vāhas-*, the infinitive *vāhe* (attested once in RV 7.24.5) and the verbal forms *ūhyāte*, *ūhiṣe* and *ūhé* (*ápy-ūhe*). Of such verbal forms, however, *ūhyāte* is probably an intensive from *vah* ‘to drive, convey’,⁶⁹ and this leaves the hapax legomenon *ūhiṣe* (RV 8.5.3) and the four times attested stative *ūhé* as the only possible verbal representatives of this root.⁷⁰ However, it is hard to decide whether the root underlying these remaining verbal forms is the well-attested *oh* ‘to proclaim, praise’, denoting a verbal act, or the semantically similar *vāh/ūh* ‘to respect, honour’, denoting an inner attitude.

Leaving aside a discussion of the other Av. forms adduced by INSLER, as far as Av. *vāzišta-* is concerned, it is difficult to see why such a general attribute ‘most respected’ should specifically characterize the ‘guest’ of Ahura Mazdā in contrast to the ‘guest’ in the ‘House of Deceit’. The same applies to the adjective’s function as an epithet of the ritual fire. While Y 36.3 ‘we approach you with what is the most honoured of your names’ would make reasonable sense, this is not the case when *ātar- vāzišta-* contrasts with four other fires in Y 17.11 (see below, p. 141). Since two of them, namely *ātar- uruuāzišta-* ‘most joyful fire’ and *ātar- spāništa-* ‘most bounteous fire’, also bear names consisting of a superlative, it is puzzling why the fire *vāzišta-* should be more ‘respected’ than the others. Moreover, the epithet *daēum.jan-* ‘slaying the demon’ of *ātar- vāzišta-* in Vd 19.40 suggests that this fire was perceived as possessing the strength and

cause the ending of the 1pl. is usually *-mahī*, e.g. OAv. *usāmahī* ‘we wish’, *vātāiiāmahī* ‘we want to make known’. Within a word, *u-Umlaut* of *-a-* is confined to the position before a syllable containing *-u*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 65 (§33.f.d). Y 46.9 *uzamōhī* could therefore be an error for **uzamōhū*, a loc.pl. of a stem in *-man-* or *-an-* denoting the circumstances like the loc.sg. *yāhī* ‘in the appeal(-ceremony)’ in Y 46.14, 49.9 quoted above, p. 131.

68 On the Middle Iranian and Ossetic cognates, see below, p. 136.

69 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, p. 537; KÜMMEL in *LIV*², p. 663, n. 3 and *Perfekt*, p. 490 with references.

70 INSLER’s root is accepted by DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 301 and, with reservation, by KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, pp. 488–490 and in *LIV*², p. 663, where he reconstructs it as IE **yeHǵʰ* on the basis of one Vedic perfect (or stative) form *ūhé* (usually connected with *oh* ‘to proclaim, praise’) and with reference to the alleged Av. nominal cognates.

vigour to overcome evil, see below, p. 141. This is also borne out by its name 'victorious' (*wahrām*) in the Pahlavi texts.⁷¹ From a semantic point of view, therefore, the interpretation of *ātar- vāzišta-* as 'most respected fire' does not emerge from those contexts in which it is found.

A third proposal, which goes back to JUSTI and is argued for by NARTEN, is to connect Av. *vāzišta-* as 'most energetic, vigorous' with Ved. *vāja-* 'strength, vitality, contest, prize at stake'.⁷² SCHWARTZ, who posits the meaning of Av. *vāzišta-* as 'nourished most excellently (by hospitality)', also refers both to Middle Iranian **api-wāza-ka-* 'guest' preserved in Choresmian *bw'zk* /bəwāzək/ and Sogdian ('*ywp'zk* /ēwpāzē/ < **ēpwāzē* and to Ossetic (*i*)wāzæg 'guest' (from **(wi)-wāzaka-*).⁷³

NARTEN considers three explanations for the long root vowel of *vāzišta-*. One possibility is that the original **vazišta-* was remodelled to *vāzišta-* under the influence of the Proto-Iranian verbal noun **yāza-*, Ved. *vāja-* (< IE **yoǵo-*). Alternatively, *vāzišta-* could be a superlative formation with either an IE lengthened *-ē-* or a rare *o*-grade. A fourth option, not considered so far, is to attribute the long root vowel in *vāzišta-* to the influence of the causative present **vāzaiia-* = Ved. *vājāya-* 'to incite, arouse'.

The Vedic transitive verb *vājāyati* goes back to an IE causative present **yoǵ-éje-* 'to impart vigour or activity, to enliven'. The latter is also continued, for instance, both in Latin *uegeō* 'to arouse, quicken, stir up (waters), fan (fire)' and in those Germanic languages which involve semantic specialization in the sense of 'to arouse (from sleep), wake up' as in Goth. *us-wakjan*, OE *weccan*, OHG *wecchan*, German *wecken*. Conversely, the older meaning is continued in the Germanic adjective **wakra-* 'vigorous, awake' (Old Norse *vakr*, OE *wacor*, OHG *wackar*, *wahhar*, German *wacker*). Moreover, as demonstrated by WATKINS, the causative-transitive *vājāya-* is to be distinguished from the intransitive *vājāyānt-* 'striving for a prize', which is the participle of

71 For instance in one of the two glosses to the Pahlavi translation of Y 36.3, the expression *mainiiuš vōi* in the Av. original is translated as *ud pad mēnōgih āgāh ast* '(the fire) has knowledge of the *mēnōg*' and glossed as **ī-š ast ka-š pad wahrāmih be nišīnēnd* 'it possesses it when it is established as a *wahrām* fire'. This is followed by the Av. text *abiiā spāništō abī hūiaṭ vā tōi nāmanam vāzištām* 'you are his most bounteous (spirit) which is indeed the *vāzišta-* of your names', and this is translated as *abzōnīg ast *xwēš tā ka *ō tō nām ciyōn wāzišt* 'bountiful is its own when it corresponds to your name of *wāzišt*'. On the Pahlavi translation of Y 36.3 see below, p. 140f.; on the *Wahrām* fire, see BOYCE, *HZ*, II, pp. 222–225; WILLIAMS, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, II, p. 156.

72 JUSTI, *Handbuch*, p. 273; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 158. It is unclear why KELLENs/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 138, consider the well-attested Vedic noun *vāja-* as "un mot sanscrit isolé". On the word itself and its derivatives and cognates, see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, p. 540f.; HINTZE, *Lohn*, pp. 62f., 67f., 85–119, 133–140.

73 SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 486 and 1990, p. 201f. A different etymology is proposed by ABAEV 1958–1989, IV, p. 61, who connects Ossetic (*i*)wāzæg 'guest' with Ved. *vah-* 'to travel, move'.

a denominative present derived from the action noun *vāja-* ‘strength, vitality, contest, prize’. The long root vowel of the denominative present *vājáyā-* comes from the underlying noun, while that of the causative *vājáyā-* derives from regular *o*-vocalism. In Vedic, the transitive-causative verb is used of churning up waters (RV 9.68.4) and of spurring on both deities, such as Indra (8.93.7) and Agni (8.43.24) and racehorses (10.68.2) or the wind (as Agni’s racehorse in RV 4.7.11).⁷⁴

In addition, the compound *úpa-vājáyati* ‘to fan, kindle, inflame’ (literally: ‘make vigorous’) is used for lighting the fire.⁷⁵ In Avestan, too, forms of *vaz* relate to the fire, in particular the YAv. compound *ātrə.vazana-* ‘apparatus for fanning the (sacred) fire, bellows’, the basic meaning of which is probably ‘that which makes the fire vigorous’.⁷⁶ An Av. noun *vaza-* forms the first part of the adjective *vazārət-* ‘coming with strength’ attested in a list of five compounds with *-ārət-* characterizing the Fravashis in Yt 13.23.⁷⁷ The use of Ved. *vaj*, Av. *vaz* in connection with the fire appears to go further back to Proto-Indo-European since it is also found in Latin:

Ennius, Annals 487 *cum magno strepitu uolcanum uentus uegebat*

With great noise the wind made the fire vigorous.

In a study of “Old Iranian superlatives in *-išta-*”, TUCKER 1998 demonstrates that the formation is comprised of two groups. Those in the first group, represented by Av. *mazišta-* ‘greatest’, have “Caland” adjectives as the positive term. Examples include OAv. *aojišta-* ‘strongest’ besides *ugra-* ‘strong’ and *sraēšta-* ‘finest’ besides *srīra-*, etc. (TUCKER 1998, p. 107). In INSLEER’s analysis, discussed above, p. 134f., *vāzišta-* belongs to the *mazišta-*-type of superlatives and forms part of a “Suffixverband” besides a positive *uzəma-* (i.e. **ūzəma-*) ‘respectful’ and the s-stem *vāzah-*, RV *vāhas-*, see TUCKER 1998, p. 108, fn. 10. This group also includes long-vocalic superlatives such as Y 36.2 *nāmišta-* ‘most venerating’

74 WATKINS 1973, pp. 198–201 [= id., *Selected Writings*, II, pp. 490–493] with a survey of the Vedic attestations; JAMISON, *-āya-Formations*, p. 89.

75 WACKERNAGEL in: KZ 43 (1910), p. 292f. [= id., *Kl. Schr.*, p. 277f.]; HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 25.

76 The noun *ātrə.vazana-* is attested in Vd 14.7 and FiO 7 [= KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO*, §363]. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 319, derives its second term from Av. *vaz*, Ved. *vah* ‘to travel, move’, but HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 25, connects it with Ved. *vāja-* and posits its basic meaning as ‘reviving the fire’ (‘Feuerantreiber’). On earlier interpretations of this word see CANTERA, *Studien*, p. 59f.

77 KELLEN, *Noms-racines*, pp. 127–130, analyses the adjective *vazārət-* as **vaza-ārət-* and explains the spelling with its long *-ā-* as a reflex of the short stem vowel *-a-* of *vaza-* followed by a reduced *a-* before *-r-*, otherwise spelt *ər-*. A fourth Av. instance of *vaz*, Ved. *vaj* ‘to become vigorous’ is postulated by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 229, for Y 51.12 *vāza-* which he interprets as ‘gift of hospitality’. However, this word probably belongs with *vah* ‘to travel, move’ and refers to a ‘draught-animal’, as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1417, see HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 67f. with fn. 20–21.

besides the positive *namra-* ‘venerating’,⁷⁸ Yt 12.8 *hāiḍiṣta-* ‘succeeding best’ (Ved. *sādhiṣṭha-*), and Yt 17.59 *stāuuiṣta-* ‘strongest’ (Ved. *sthāviṣṭha-*) besides comparative *staoiiab-* ‘stronger; greater’.⁷⁹

Those of the second group, represented by *bairiṣta-* ‘best at bringing, carrying’, are deverbative and so created on the basis of a verb stem. TUCKER 1998, p. 114ff., establishes a derivational relationship between coexisting forms of the verb and the superlatives in *-iṣta-*. If the verb is intransitive, such as the present stem *uruuāza-* ‘to rejoice’ underlying the superlative *uruuāziṣta-* ‘most joyful’ (Y 36.2, 49.8), they are used like *maziṣta-*-type superlatives, the difference being that there is no associated positive adjective:

Y 49.8 *fəraṣaoṣtrāi uruuāziṣtaṃ aṣahiiā dā sarām*

To Fraṣaoṣtra grant the most joyful communion with truth!

If the underlying verb is transitive, such as the present stem *mara-* ‘to remember’ in *mairiṣta-* ‘best at remembering’, the superlative shares its syntactic properties and governs the accusative, e.g.:

Y 29.4 *mazdā sax^{ar}ārē mairiṣtō*

The Wise Lord is best at remembering the performances.⁸⁰

78 See TUCKER 1998, p. 114, fn. 28 and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 147, fn. 49, who explains the lengthened grade as either $\bar{a} < *ē$ or as $\bar{a} < *o$ with Brugmann’s Law. The long root vocalism of the hapax legeomenon *nāmiṣta-* ‘most venerating’, however, remains puzzling because full grade is found with other derivatives from the root *nam* ‘to attribute’, in particular the positive adj. *namra-* ‘venerating’ and the denominative verb IIr. **namas-īá-* ‘to venerate’ (on which see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, pp. 14–16). Since *nāmiṣta-* has active transitive meaning ‘most venerating’ (see above, p. 128), it cannot be connected with the causative present *nāmaīia-* ‘to make bend’ (on the latter see KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 143 with n. 19: ‘faire aller’), which is derived from the homonymous intransitive root *nam* ‘to bend’ (an (unattested) superlative from the causative stem of that root would mean **‘best at causing to bend’*). Since a lengthened grade form of *nam* ‘to bend’ occurs in the Caland *i*-stem constituting the first term of the compound *nāmii-qsu-* ‘with pliant stem’ (besides the adj. *namra-* ‘bending’), the long root vocalism of *nāmiṣta-* ‘most venerating’ could be attributed to influence of forms from the root *nam* ‘to bend’ on the derivative from *nam* ‘to attribute’. Moreover, variant forms with short and long *a* from *nam* ‘to bend’ are found in Sogdian, which has both *namr-* ‘mild, sweet’ and *nāmr* ‘sweet’, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983, p. 42. The fact that three long-vowel superlatives (*uruuāziṣta-*, *nāmiṣta-* and *vāzista-*) occur in Y 36.2–3 suggests that forms with a long root vowel were favoured in the context of Y 36.

79 The underlying roots of *hāiḍiṣta-* and *stāuuiṣta-* are, respectively, **seHd^b* (*EWAia*, II, p. 723; *LIV*², p. 517) and **steh₂u-* (*EWAia*, II, p. 768). DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 99, considers the long *-ā-* of *stāuuiṣta-* as either phonetically lengthened during the transmission of the Avesta or as due to the influence of other superlatives with a long *-ā-*.

80 The translation of *sax^{ar}ārē* as ‘performance’ follows HOFFMAN/NARTEN, p. 79, who connect it as *sax^{ar}-/sax^{ar}-* with IIr. **cakyar-* ‘performance’ (‘Leistung’), Ved. *śak*, *śaknōti* ‘to be able’. They separate it from Y 53.5 *sāx^{ar}ānī*, which they derive from IIr. **cāsyan-* ‘precept’ (‘Unterweisung’), Ved. *śās* ‘to control, instruct’ (*EWAia*, II, p. 632), see also below, p. 178, where Y 29.4 is more fully quoted.

In YAv., TUCKER argues that the *išta*-superlatives derived from transitive verbs constitute a fairly restricted class which function as epithets of *yazatas* and describe the deity's ability to be "best at defeating/overthrowing/striking down/crushing the Lie (Av. *druj*-) or creatures of the Evil Creation" (*ibid.*, p. 116). The root vocalism of the superlative corresponds to that of the verbal stem, e.g.:

- (*paiti*.)*dārišta*- Yt 11.2 'best at resisting', attribute of *nəmah*- 'prayer' and *həm*. *varəiti*- 'defence', besides causative present *dāraīia*- 'to hold'⁸¹
- *upa*:*raoḍišta*- Yt 10.126 'best at obstructing', epithet of Rašnu, from *upa*. *raoḍaiia*- 'to obstruct'⁸²
- *yūiḍišta*- Vd 19.42 'best at fighting', attribute of *mərəzu*-, from *yūiḍiia*- 'to fight'
- *nimarəzišta*- Yt 16.1 'best at sweeping down', epithet of Cistā, from pres. *ni*-*marəza*- 'to sweep down'⁸³
- *dāhišta*- Yt 13.17 'best at giving', attribute of the Fravashis, from pres. stem *dāha*-⁸⁴
- *nasišta*- Yt 12.8 'best at reaching, best at attacking', epithet of Rašnu, from pres. stem Av. **nasa*-, Ved. *naśa*-.⁸⁵

TUCKER argues that the process of deriving superlatives from verb stems became productive only in Younger Avestan, while the Old Avestan situation was more like Vedic with a class of superlatives in *-iṣṭha*- which show verbal syntax but which cannot be connected with a positive adjective. If, however, *vāzišta*- belongs to the deverbative type, then the pattern of deriving superlatives in *-išta*- from verb stems already existed in Old Avestan. Hence, there is no objection to projecting the development back into Old Avestan: superlative formations

81 The adjective **dārišta*- is attested twice in Yt 11.2. GELDNER, *Avesta*, II, p. 157, edits the form *dārəšta* transmitted by most mss. and interprets it as the nom.sg. of an agent noun (GELDNER, *Studien zum Avesta*, p. 118). However, as rightly pointed out by KREYENBROEK, *Sraoša*, pp. 58, 96f., the form occurs in a list of superlatives extending over Yt 11.1–3 and so is likely to be one itself. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 739, 831, emends **dārišta*, attested in the ms. K22, and interprets the form as a superlative with lengthened grade taken from the causative present stem *dāraīia*-. Influence of the latter could also account for the lack of epenthesis as well as for corruptions such as *dārasta* in the mss. L18, O3 and P13.

82 GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, pp. 137, 276, translates Rašnu's epithet *upa.raoḍišta*- as 'extremely tall' and derives it from the root *rud* 'to grow', which forms a present stem *raoḍa*- and a causative *frā-raoḍaiia*- Vd 18.46 (KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 144). However, since compounds of *rud* 'to grow' with *upa* are not otherwise found in Avestan, it is more likely that *upa.raoḍišta*- is from *rud* 'to hinder', as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 393, and further supported by TUCKER 1998, pp. 116, fn. 32, 118 with fn. 39.

83 On the Av. present stem *marəza*- cf. the comments by TUCKER 1998, p. 118, fn. 37.

84 On the present stem *dāha*-, which originated from an *s*-aor. subj. of *dā* 'to give; to put', see TUCKER 1998, p. 119.

85 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1058, derives the adj. *nasišta*- from *nas* 'to destroy', but TUCKER 1998, p. 119f., adduces compelling arguments in favour of a connection with *nas* 'to reach'.

such as *bairišta-* and *mairišta-* resemble thematic presents by virtue of their full-grade root and could represent the starting point for this innovation.

If *vāzišta-* belongs to the deverbative type of superlatives, it should be built from a present stem and retain its root vocalism. Such a present stem could be either transitive-causative **vāzaiia-*, Ved. *vājáyā-* ‘to impart vigour or activity, to enliven, invigorate, arouse’, or intransitive denominative **vāzaiia-*, Ved. *vājáyā-* ‘to be vigorous, energetic, strive for a prize’. If it was derived from the transitive-causative verb, one would expect the literal meaning to be ‘best at invigorating, most quickening, most enlivening’, and, like *mairišta-*, the superlative would be capable of governing an object in the acc. On the other hand, if derived from the intransitive denominative, its literal meaning would be ‘most vigorous, most energetic, best at striving for a prize’. However, whether the superlative is transitive or intransitive can only be decided on the basis of the individual contexts in which it occurs.

That the ritual fire is perceived as possessing internal energy emerges from NARTEN’s interpretation of Y 36.1–3 (YH, pp. 157–159). In Y 36.3, the worshippers approach (*pairijasāmaidē*) the transformed flames with the ‘*vāzišta-* of the names’ (*nāmanam vāzištəm*) of Ahura Mazdā’s fire. NARTEN argues that this *vāzišta-* of names is the one mentioned in the preceding sentence, i.e. Ahura Mazdā’s most bounteous spirit (*mainiiuš spāništō*). The identification of the ritual fire with Ahura Mazdā’s heavenly fire, which is invoked in Y 36.2, is made in the first *ahī-*clause. The second such clause equates the ritual fire, now identical with Ahura Mazdā’s heavenly one, with the deity’s most bounteous spirit. The latter was mentioned in Y 36.1 in its function of bringing retribution to evil (see above, p. 117f.). According to NARTEN, it is because of this judicial role that in Y 36.3 *spənta- mainiiu-* is called *vāzišta-* of all the names for the divine fire.⁸⁶ The judicial function and power (*aojah-*) of Ahura Mazdā’s fire also emerges from Y 43.4 *θβahiiā garēmā āθrō ašā.aojanhō* ‘through the heat of your fire strong through truth’. The view that the ritual fire is “an epiphany of the light of Ahura Mazdā” and that it is metaphysically linked to the purifying fire in the Universal Judgement still persists in present-day priestly interpretation of the Yasna ritual.⁸⁷

The Pahlavi translation of Y 36.3 confirms NARTEN’s interpretation of *vāzišta-* as the name of the ritual fire in which *spənta- mainiiu-* is present: the Av. clause *ahiiā spāništō ahī hūiaṭ vā tōi nāmanam vāzištəm*⁸⁸ is rendered such that when the fire’s name is *wāzišt* its characteristic or personality (*xwēš*) is described as *abzōnīg* ‘bounteous’, which translates Av. *spāništa-*. That the ritual fire bears the epithet *vāzišta-* when it is inhabited by the bounteous spirit is

86 KELLEN/PIRART, TVA, III, p. 138, consider *vāzista-* itself as that name.

87 KOTWAL/BOYD, Yasna, p. 13f.

88 The Pahlavi translation splits the Av. sentence in the middle, i.e. after *vōi* and before *ahiiā*, thus separating *mainiiuš* from *spāništō*, cf. above, p. 136, fn. 71.

also suggested by its Avestan attribute *spəñjayri-*. It is because of the presence of *mainiiuš spəništō* or *spənta- mainiiu-*, that the fire *vāzista-* is said to ‘spurt *spən*’, *spəñ-jayri-*⁸⁹:

Vd 19.40 *ātrām vāzištām frāiiazaēša*
**daēum.janəm spəñjayrim*

You shall worship the *vāzišta-* fire
 the one that slays the demon, the one that spurts prosperity.

The tradition that the fire *vāzišta-* is inhabited by Ahura Mazdā’s bounteous spirit was also known in the Midde Iranian period. This emerges from a passage in the *Bundahišn*, which relates the myth of the fire *wāzišt* and the demon in greater detail.⁹⁰ In this context, the fire *wāzišt* is said to be the body of the fire of the bounteous spirit (TD2 138.6). The same passage also suggests that the fire *wāzišt* has an affinity to water because of its identity with the fire of *spenāg mēnōg*.

In both the Younger Avestan and Pahlavi texts, *ātar- vāzišta-* is one of the fire’s several names. They are listed in Y 17.11, where the heavenly fire is worshipped as the son of Ahura Mazdā together with four other fires. NARTEN suggests that three out of these five names, namely *ātar- vāzišta-*, *ātar- uruuāzišta-* ‘most joyful fire’ and *ātar- spəništa-* ‘most bounteous fire’ derive from the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* (Y 36.2–3).⁹¹

If the literal meaning of *vāzišta-* is transitive ‘most invigorating, quickening, enlivening’, it could express the idea that this fire provides life-force and energy to the worshippers because it is inhabited by Spenta Mainyu. The latter represents Ahura Mazdā’s life-giving, creative force and is opposed by his deadly, destructive opponent, Angra Mainyu (Y 30.3–4, 45.2). Such a meaning of *vāzišta-* would also be consistent with the active, transitive value of some of the other epithets of the ritual fire, in particular *nəmišta-* ‘most venerating’ (Y 36.2, see above, p. 128) and, especially, *spəñjayri-* ‘spurting prosperity’ (Vd 19.40). Accordingly, Y 36.3 should be translated as follows:

89 On Av. *spəñjayri-*, which is usually taken by scholars to be the proper name of the demon slain by the fire *vāzišta-*, see HINTZE 2007, where the Middle Persian passages are also discussed and the Pahlavi translation of Y 36.3 quoted in full.

90 The story goes that the fire *wāzišt*, which is the fire of lightning, resides in the clouds, and belongs, together with the star Tištrya, to a group of beneficent beings producing rain. As Tištrya is opposed by Apaoš, the demon of drought, so the fire *wāzišt*, too, has an opponent, whose name in most passages is Spenjruš or Aspenjruš, but occasionally also Spenjagr. This demon utters a fearful cry called ‘thunder’ when smitten on the head by the fire *wāzišt*. The latter is also regarded as lightning fire in contemporary priestly interpretations, see KOTWAL/BOYD, *Yasna*, p. 112.

91 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 157, fn. 84. Y 17.11 is fully quoted in HINTZE 2007. In the Pahlavi texts, the distinction between five kinds of fire is found, for instance, in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 18.d 1–2, see WILLIAMS, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, II, p. 36 (translation), I, p. 96f. (Pahlavi text). Further references to the five fires are given by WILLIAMS, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, II, p. 157f.

Y 36.3 *ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī*
mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī
hiiat vā tōi nāmanam vāzištəm
ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā
tā θβā pairijasāmaidē

You are truly the fire of the Wise Lord.
 You are truly his most bounteous spirit.
 We approach you,
 O fire of the Wise Lord,
 (while uttering) what is indeed the most invigorating of your names.

This ‘most invigorating of names’ of the transformed ritual fire is Spenta Mainyu, Ahura Mazdā’s creative, life-producing force. When inhabited by him, the ritual fire is perceived as emitting and radiating enlivening, invigorating, energizing power. In the Younger Avesta, the *vāzišta- nāmanam*, which in Y 36.3 stands for *mainiiuš spāništō*, is itself an epithet of the fire in the expression *ātar-vāzišta-* (Y 17.11, Vd 19.40).

Apart from its use as an attribute of the ritual fire, *vāzišta-* occurs as an epithet of Ahura Mazdā’s guest in its only other OAv. attestation, Y 31.22. That the context has an eschatological dimension, emerges from the preceding stanzas, which mention Ahura Mazdā’s ‘bright fire’ (*āθrā suxrā* Y 31.19) and the different ultimate destinies of the truthful and deceitful ones respectively (Y 31.20). Y 31.21 is about the good things Ahura Mazdā gives to his ‘friend, ally’ (*uruuadā-*)⁹²:

Y 31.21 *mazdā dadāt ahurō hauruuatō amərətāscā*
būrōiš ā ašaxiiācā xāpaiθiiāt xšaθrahiiā sarō
vañhōuš vazduuarē manəhō yā hōi mainiiū šiiədanāišcā uruuadō

From his own rich communion with wholeness and immortality,
 truth and rule, the Wise Lord grants
 the permanence of good thought (to the one) who is his ally through thinking
 and actions.

The final stanza elaborates on the ‘splendid things’ given by Ahura Mazdā to the truthful, generous and understanding ‘ally’, who is then said to become Ahura Mazdā’s *vāzišta- asti-*:

Y 31.22 *ciθrā ī budāñhē *yaθənā vaēdāmnāi manəhā*
vohū huuō xšaθrā ašəm vacaṇhā šiiədanācā hapti
huuō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aṇhaiti astiš

Splendid are these (things) for the generous one who understands with his thought:
 that one cultivates truth through good rule, word and action;
 that one will be, O Wise Lord, your most invigorating guest.

92 On the role of *uruuadā-* in the *Gathas*, see HINTZE 2004b, pp. 35–40.

Thus, in the two final stanzas of Y 31, the generous *uruuadā-*, ‘ally’, is said to receive a host of riches from Ahura Mazdā and to be the deity’s *vāzišta- asti-* at some future point in time. Y 31.22 may be interpreted in the light of Y 36.1–3. The latter passage denotes a downwards movement insofar as Ahura Mazdā’s heavenly fire (*ātar-*) and spirit (*spāništa- mainiū-*) are invoked, invited and received in the earthly fire during the ritual. As a result of the divine presence, the earthly ritual fire becomes *ātar- vāzišta-* ‘most enlivening/invigorating/energizing’. The ‘ally’ and well-disposed patron of Zarathustra enables the earthwards movement to take place by funding the ritual. By contrast, Y 31.21–22 expresses a shift upwards insofar as, at some future point in time, that ‘ally’ will himself be received in Ahura Mazdā’s ‘House of Welcome’ (*garō dāmāna-*) as the deity’s heavenly guest, *vāzišta- asti-*.⁹³ Such a guest is himself ‘enlivening/invigorating/energizing’ because as an ‘ally’ he strengthened Ahura Mazdā by means of the ritual and promoted the deity’s cause during his life.

Dependent on the OAv. attestations are the two YAv. passages where the expression *vāzišta- asti-* occurs, Y 13.2 and Y 70.4. The context of the latter has an eschatological component insofar as *saošiiaṇt-* and *vərəθrajan-* allude to the final defeat of evil⁹⁴:

Y 70.4 *buiiama saošiiaṇtō buiama vərəθrajanō*
buiama aburahe mazdā friia vāzišta astaiiō
yōi narō ašauuanō humatāiš mainimna
hūxtāiš mruuatō huuarštāiš vərəziiaṇtō

May we be redeemers, may we be victorious.
 May we be dear, most invigorating guests of the Wise Lord,
 we truthful men thinking good thoughts,
 speaking good words, performing good actions.

The Avestan evidence suggests that as an epithet of both *ātar-* and *asti-* the superlative *vāzišta-* occurs in very specific contexts all of which exhibit both ritual and eschatological connotations. The ritual meaning is obvious in those passages where *vāzišta-* characterizes either the ritual fire or its name (Y 36.3), while an eschatological component is present when the superlative functions as a feature of the guest. In addition, an allusion to eschatology could also be seen in Y 36.3 insofar as the epithet characterizes the ritual fire in which Ahura Mazdā’s fire and spirit are present, thus anticipating the desired eschatological state in which human beings are united with the deity. It is in this very specific, ritually enacted situation that the god is ‘guest’ of the human beings and that the fire, the medium inhabited by the deity and his visible form, bears the name *vāzišta-* (Y 36.3). In turn, the entire sequence of invoking, inviting and offering hospitality to the deity, enacted in the ritual, is made possible by the patron,

93 For another possible instance of down-up movement and vice versa, see Y 35.8 no. 1 *ādā* ‘I say’, above, pp. 91–93.

94 See HINTZE 1995. On Y 70.4 see also Y 38.3 no. 2 *ižā-*, below p. 213.

who has welcomed Zarathustra, accepted his teachings and become his ‘ally’ (*uruuadā-*). That is the ‘ally’ who himself is said to become *vāzišta-* as Ahura Mazda’s ‘guest’ (Y 31.22). This suggests that the expression *vāzišta- ātar-* and *vāzišta- asti-* form an interconnected pair insofar as one does not occur without the other. In the light of this interpretation, Y 13.2 perhaps expresses more than just a loose association⁹⁵ of the ‘fire of the Wise Lord’ and *vāzišta- asti-*:

Y 13.2 *friiehe vāzištahē astōiš ratūm āmruiē*
ātrēm ahurahe mazdā

I address the fire of the Wise Lord
 as the Ratu of the dear, most invigorating guest.

As to the translation of *vāzišta-*, ‘most enlivening’ (or ‘most effective’) seems more appropriate when the adjective has eschatological connotations and applies to *asti-* ‘guest’ in Y 31.22, 70.4 and 13.2, while ‘most invigorating’ has the advantage of suggesting the etymological connection with the IE root **ueg-*.

95 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 157–158, fn. 86. HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 24, interprets Y 13.2 as evidence for the old association of guest and fire.

Y 36.4

vohū^{1a} 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎
vohū^{1a} 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎
vanhuiiā 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎
⁺*šiiāoḍnāišcā*¹ *vacābīšcā*²
*pairijasāmaidē*³ ∴

1a *vohū* G, all mss. except:
vōhū Mf4; C1, J6

1 *šiiāoḍnāišcā* Pt4 Mf4, S1; H1
šiiāoḍnāišcā G Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1
 K4; C1
šiiāoḍnāišcā J6
 2 *vacābīšcā* G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; C1
vacābīāšcā S1
vacābīiscā H1
vacābīscā J6
vacābīiāscā [M25]

3 *pairijasāmaidē* G Pt4 Mf4, S1 J3
pairi.jasāmaidē Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2,
 S2, L3; K11, H1 J7
pairijasāmaide K5
pairi.jasāmaide J2
pairi.jasā.maiḍi C1
pairi.jasā.maide J6
pairi.jasāmaidē L20

We approach you
 with good thought,
 (we approach) you with good truth,
 (we approach) you with deeds and words
 of good insight. ∴

Y 36.5

nəmaxiiāmahi^{1a} *išūidiiāmahi*¹
θβā mazdā ahurā
vīspāiš θβā humatāiš
vīspāiš hūxtāiš^{1b}
*vīspāiš huuarštāiš*²
*pairijasāmaidē*³ ∴

- 1a *nəmaxiiāmahi* G Mf4, K5 J2
nəma. xiiāmahi C1
nəm. axiiā. mahi J6
1 *išūidiiāmahi* Mf4
išūidiiāmahi G K5, S1
išūidiiāmahi J2
išūidiiāmahi C1, H1 J7
išūidiiā. mahi J6 (*i* superscr.)
1b *vīspāiš hūxtāiš* G Mf4, J2; C1, J6
vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš hūxtāiš K5 (the
second del.)

- 2 *huuarštāiš* G Pt4; Mf2; L2, L1
huuarəštāiš Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Jp1 K4;
C1 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7
3 *pairijasāmaidē* G Pt4 Mf1, S1
pairijasāmaide Mf4, K5
pairi. jasāmaide J2
pairi. jasāmaidē J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1;
K11, L13 J7
pairi. jasā. maide C1, J6

We pay homage, we bring refreshment
to you, O Wise Lord.
We approach you
with all good thoughts,
with all good words,
with all good deeds.

Y 36.6

¹*sraēštəm at tōi kəhrpām² kəhrpəm²*
āuuaēdaiiamahī³ mazdā ahurā
imā⁴ raocā⁵
barəzištəm^{5a} + barəzəmanəm⁶ auuat
yāt⁷ huuarē⁸ auuācī⁹ ∴

¹⁰*yejhe hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēvā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] tascā yazamaide ∴ ∴

1 Y 36.6 is repeated in Y 58.8

sraēštəm G Mf4, J2

srištəm C1

sraēštəm J6

2 *kəhrpām kəhrpəm* Pt4; K4; S2, L3; C1
 K11, J7

kəhrpām kəhrpəm G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2,
 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2, Bb1; H1 J6 L13

kərapām kərapəm L1

3 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* Pt4

āuuaēdaiiamahī Mf4, K4

āuuaēdaiiamahī Mf1; Mf2

āuuaēdaiiamahī K5 J2, J3; C1

āuuaēdaiiamahē Jp1

āuuaēdaiiamahī G L1; H1 L13

āuuaedaiia. mahī J6

āuuaedaiiae. mahī J7

āuuaēdaiie. mahī J5

S1 defective

4 *imā* G Pt4, S1; L2 K10, Dh1 S2, L1 B2
 Bb1; K11, H1 J6 L13 J7

amā Mf4 (*ā* corr. to *ā*)

imā Mf1, K5 (*ā* corr. to *ā*), J3; Mf2 Jp1
 K4; L3; C1, J5; [M25]

im... J2

5 *raocā* G Mf4, K5; C1, J6, J5

rācā J2

5a *barəzištəm* G Mf4, J2

barəzištəm C1

barəzštəm J6

barəjastəm J5

6 *barəzimanəm* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J3; Mf2
 Jp1 K4; L2

barəzəmanəm K5 J2; K11, H1 J6 L13 J7

barəmanəm S1

barəzimanəm Dh1, L3

barəzəmanəm S2, Bb1

barzimanəm L1

barəzəmanəm O2 B2

barəzəmanəm C1

barəzəmanəm J5

cf. Vr 19.2

7 *yāat* Pt4 Mf4; H1

yā.at Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; S2; L13, P6

yāt G K5 J2, S1 J4; L2, L1 O2 L3; C1 (*y*)
 K11, J6 (dot and *a* sec.m. superscr.)
 J7, J5

8 *huuarē* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; K4;
 L2; C1

huuarə Jp1; L1

auuarē Mf2 (sec.m. corr. to *huuarē*) S2,
 L3 Bb1; K11 Lb2, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5

9 *auuācī* G Mf4, K5 J2; J6

auuācō Jp1 K4

auuācīt C1

auuācī J5

10 Y 4.26 (= Y 27.15)

yejhe G

yejhe Mf4, K5; C1 (*y*), J6, J5

... *he* J2

We now declare¹, O Wise Lord,
 that this light here²

has been the most beautiful manifestation of your manifestations³,
 ever since⁴ yonder highest of heights⁵
 was called the sun.

We worship those male beings in whose [= Y 27.15] worship the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth, and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

1 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* ‘we declare’

The Av. causative verb *vaēdaiia-* agrees both morphologically and syntactically with Ved. *vedāya-* ‘to make something (acc.) known to someone (dat.)’. The verb’s literal meaning is ‘to cause something to be known to someone’. Being the causative of the middle *vidé* ‘is known’, and not of the active *véda* ‘knows’,⁹⁶ the verb has a technical meaning in the ritual and denotes the dedication of a sacrificial offering or hymn to the deity, such as for instance in

RV 4.36.2 *tāñ ū nv āsyá sávanasya pītáya á vo vājā ṛbhavo vedayāmasi* ||

We now dedicate these (soma drinks) of this pressing to you, for drinking, O Vājas, O Ṛbhus.⁹⁷

The corresponding Av. compound *ā-uuaēdaiia-* also has a direct (acc.) and an indirect (dat.) object in one of its two OAv. attestations, Y 41.1:

Y 41.1 *stūtō garō vahmāng
ahurāi mazdāi
ašāicā vahištāi
dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī*

We offer, assign and dedicate
praises, hymns and prayers
to the Wise Lord
and to the best Truth.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1317, assuming that the same construction is also found in Y 36.6, interprets the enclitic pronoun *tōi* as a dative representing the indirect object ‘to you’, and *sraēštəm ... kəhrpəm* as the direct object of the verb *āuuaēdaiiamahī*. He translates the beginning of Y 36.6 as *pulcherrimam ... tibi formam formarum dedicamus* ‘we dedicate the most beautiful form of forms to you’ and considers *imā raocā* ‘these lights’ and *barəzištəm ... auuat* ‘yonder height’ in the following lines as two explicative appositions of *kəhrpəm*, both in

96 THIEME, *Plusquamperfekum*, p. 22f. KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 153, points out that, being declarative verbs, Av. *vaēdaiia-* and Ved. *vedāya-* are constructed with the accusative and dative and literally mean ‘to make something known to someone’, as, for instance also in RV 1.162.4 *yajñām devébhyah prativedāyan* ‘dedicating the sacrifice to the gods’.

97 Cf. JAMISON, *-āya-Formations*, p. 166. Literally the verse means ‘We now make known to you these (soma drinks) of this pressing for drinking, O Vājas, O Ṛbhus.’ In the two other Rigvedic attestations, *ā vedāya-* has abstract objects: RV 10.151.1 *śraddhām bhāgasya mūrdhāni vācasā vedayāmasi* ‘On the high point of the sharing we make Faith known through the word’ and RV 4.36.7 *tāñ va enā brāhmaṇā vedayāmasi* ‘with this formulation we make these (praises) known to you’.

the accusative. The same syntactic analysis underlies many translations of this verse, for instance that of GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 293:

The most beautiful shape of shapes
we attribute to you, O Mazdāh Ahura,
these lights here,
yonder highest of the high,
which is called sun.⁹⁸

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 163f., rightly comments that according to this translation the link between Ahura Mazdā and his physical manifestation, the light, is established only by the speakers' words. She proposes a different analysis according to which the enclitic personal pronoun *tōi* is interpreted not as a dative but as a genitive 'of you', and thus denotes the owner of *kəhrpām*. This means that in Y 36.6 the verb *āuuaēdaiiamahī* does not, as in Y 41.1, govern an accusative and a dative but a double accusative and accordingly has a different meaning 'to make someone known as someone'. Moreover, instead of considering *kəhrpām* as the verb's direct object, this function could equally well be performed by *imā raocā*, *kəhrpām* being a predicative accusative. The literal meaning of the sentence would therefore be: 'we cause this light here to be known as your most beautiful form of forms', 'we make this light here known as your most beautiful form of forms'. The verb *āuuaēdaiia-* with double accusative thus means: 'to make known, declare that *acc.* is *acc.*'.⁹⁹

2 *imā raocā* 'this light here'

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 308, I, p. 33, suggest that in the *YH raocah-* 'light' is a substitute for 'sky' because it contrasts with *būmī-* 'earth' in Y 37.1 *yazamaidē ahurām mazdām yā ... raocāscā dāt būmīmā* 'we worship the Wise Lord, who ... has created light and the earth'. However, this interpretation is at odds with the import of the near-deictic demonstrative pronoun *imā* which locates 'the light' in the vicinity of the speakers. As already seen by BAUNACK, p. 368, in Y 36.6 *imā* contrasts with the far-deictic pronoun *auuat*, which refers to the sun in the sky.¹⁰⁰

In the Avesta, *raocah-* denotes the daylight that fills the earth, the heavenly bodies in the sky or the endless light space beyond such celestial spheres

⁹⁸ Similarly BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 212: 'The most beautiful form of forms we then devote to you, Mazdā Ahura, these lights here and that highest of the high, that which is called the sun'. The same syntactic interpretation also underlies the translation of HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 146, II, p. 122.

⁹⁹ KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 135, translate *tōi* as the direct object of the verb: 'nous te reconnaissons, ô Maître Mazdā, le corps le plus beau des corps etc.', but this would require the acc. form *ōβā* of the personal pronoun in the Avestan original.

¹⁰⁰ On the different deictic functions of the demonstrative pronouns in Av., see above, p. 120f. On KELLENS/PIRART's interpretation of Y 36.6 see below, p. 153.

(*AirWb.* 1489–1491). Since in Y 36.6 *imā raocā* contrasts with ‘yonder highest ... the sun’ (*barəzištəm ... auuat ... huuarē*), it can only refer to ‘light’ in the vicinity of the speakers. The most likely interpretation is therefore that of GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 293, according to whom the plural *raocā* has collective meaning and denotes the daylight, whose source is the sun. Furthermore, NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 164, 167, establishes a link between the sunlight filling the earth and considered to be Ahura Mazdā’s most beautiful manifestation, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ritual fire, in which the deity’s heavenly fire is believed to be present by the time Y 36.6 has been reached in the Yasna ceremony.¹⁰¹ The highest object in the sky is called the sun which emits the light filling the earth. The sunlight (*imā raocā*) is ‘made known’ (*āuuāēdaiia-*) as the most beautiful visible manifestation of Ahura Mazdā.

3 *sraēštəm ... kəhrpām kəhrpəm* ‘the most beautiful manifestation of manifestations’

The expression *sraēštəm ... kəhrpām kəhrpəm* is the only Avestan attestation of the stylistic figure of reinforcement in which a noun is characterized both by a superlative adjective and a partitive genitive plural. The figure is also found in Vedic, but even then there are only five examples, and these are confined to the *Rigveda*. One of them, however, is attested twice and employs the same lexical superlative as the Avestan instance. The expression in RV 1.113.1 and 10.170.3

śrēṣṭham jyōtiṣām jyōtir

the most beautiful light of lights

has the same syntactic structure as Y 36.6

sraēštəm ... kəhrpām kəhrpəm

the most beautiful manifestation of manifestations.

NARTEN draws attention to the figure’s Rigvedic parallel and WATKINS points out that in contrast to widespread combinations involving either genitives, such as *king of kings*, or superlatives, such as *lowest of the low*, the figure in Y 36.6 represents a very rare type. Since the Avestan and Vedic phrases share the same lexical superlative and occur in discourse prominent position, WATKINS concludes that in both traditions the stylistic device is inherited from the Common Indo-Iranian ritual language.¹⁰² While the expression characterizes the dawn in RV 1.113.1, it refers to the sun (*sūrya-*) in RV 10.170.3:

101 BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 212, interprets *imā raocā* as a plural ‘the scattered fires on earth’, while HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 122, suggests that it “refers to the Sacred Fire”.

102 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 164; WATKINS, *Dragon*, pp. 241–246. The Vedic attestations of the figure have been studied by OERTEL 1937, esp. p. 37.

*idāṃ śréṣṭhaṃ jyótiṣāṃ jyótir uttamāṃ viśvajíd dhanajíd ucyate brhát |
viśvabhṛád bhrājó máhi sūryo dṛśá urú paprathe sāha ójo ácyutam ||*

This most beautiful, highest light of lights is loudly called all-winning, prize-winning. The all-shining,¹⁰³ greatly shining Sun has broadly disseminated his might, his unshakable power in order to be seen.¹⁰⁴

RV 10.170.3 has in common with Y 36.6 that the stylistic figure refers to the sun (*huuár-*) and that the predicate is a passive of the verb *vac* 'to be called'.¹⁰⁵

4 *yāt* 'ever since'

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 163 (bottom), 1285, 1205, sees in *yāt* a form representing the nom.sg.ntr. of the relative pronoun *ya-*. This interpretation, which underlies the translation of *yāt huuarē auuācī* as 'which is called the sun' (for instance GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 293, quoted above, p. 149), is, however, untenable because the form should be *hiiaṭ* in OAv. More likely is BAUNACK's (p. 369) identification of *yāt* as an ablative 'where from'. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 166, rightly points out that such ablative would be a petrified form, because in the paradigm of the relative pronoun the abl.sg. is *yahmāt* in Avestan, *yásmāt* in Vedic. Both go back to an ancestor form **iá-sm-āt* remodelled from **iāt* and already present in Proto-Indo-Iranian. She suggests that in Av. *yāt*, Ved. *yāt*

103 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 279, translates the hapax legeomenon *viśvabhṛáj-* as 'shining on all' ('alles bestrahlend'), but SCARLATA, *Wurzelkomposita*, p. 374, rightly points out that the root's meaning is intransitive. However, the latter's own rendering of the strophe, 'Dieses schönste der Lichter, das oberste Licht etc.', destroys the stylistic figure by separating *jyótir* from the preceding *jyótiṣāṃ*. The stylistic figure is accounted for in SCARLATA's translation on p. 156 'Licht der Lichter', 'Licht {aller} Lichter'.

104 According to KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, p. 319f., who does not discuss RV 10.170.3, the middle voice of the perfect of *prath* 'to spread out' has no transitive function but only an intransitive ('inattigente') one. This is also the view of GRASSMANN, 872, who thus interprets *sāha ójah* as the subjects of *paprathe* and *sūryah* as that of *ucyate*. The latter is characterized by *brhát* functioning as an adverb 'loudly' (GRASSMANN, 912). According to this syntactic analysis, the translation of the strophe runs as follows:

'This most beautiful, highest light of lights is loudly called the all-winning, prize-winning, all-shining, greatly shining Sun. His might, his unshakable power has broadly disseminated in order to be seen'.

This interpretation implies that the 'sun' is the subject of a passive form of *vac* 'to be called' as in Y 36.6. However, since *dṛśé* 'in order to be seen' metrically belongs to pada c, it appears more plausible that padas c–d constitute a syntactic unit. In that case, *sūryō* is the subject of the verb *paprathe* and *sāha ójo ácyutam* the object. In pada b, *brhát* is either nom.sg.ntr. and refers to *jyótiṣ-*, as in the preceding stanza (cf. SCARLATA's translation, *Wurzelkomposita*, p. 156), or it functions as an adverb 'loudly', as suggested by GRASSMANN, 872.

105 The shared lexical item *vac* in both the Rigvedic and YH passage is an additional argument in favour of the interpretation of Y 36.6 *auuācī* as a passive of *vac* rather than as a form of *auuānc-* as suggested by KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 139, see below, p. 153.

two originally distinct words have merged. One of them is the old, petrified ablative **īāt* from the relative pronoun meaning 'from where, since',¹⁰⁶ and the other is the adverbial acc. of the pronominal adjective IE **īah₂nt-* 'as long as, as far as'. The expression Y 36.6 *yāt hūuarē auuācī* could thus mean either 'since it has been called the sun' or 'as far as it has been called the sun'. In either of these interpretations, *yāt* is a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause.

Usually *yāt* is considered to stand at the beginning of a subordinate clause, cf. for instance the translation of GERSHEVITCH quoted above, p. 149. The problem with such an interpretation is how to incorporate both 'this light' and 'yonder highest of heights' into the main clause. They would be two nominal appositions to 'the most beautiful manifestation of manifestations', which is itself the object of the verb *āuuaēdaiimahī*. The meaning of Y 36.6 would thus be that Ahura Mazdā has two visible expressions, the light (*imā raocā*) and the 'highest of heights'.

A better semantic interpretation is offered by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 164, 166, who divides the stanza into a main clause, ending after *raocā*, and a subordinate one, beginning with *barəzištəm*. She argues that *barəzištəm + barəzəmanəm auuat* constitutes the subject of the subordinate clause. Also, her assumption that part of that clause is anticipated before the subordinating conjunction *yāt* is supported with reference to parallels in the *Gathas*.¹⁰⁷ As suggested by NARTEN, such anticipation could be a stylistic device to underline the opposition between *imā raocā* in the main clause and *barəzištəm + barəzəmanəm auuat* in the subordinate one, thus creating a chiasmic structure by the crosswise arrangement of the two antonymous demonstrative pronouns.

Here the verb *vac* 'to say', as also frequently elsewhere, is constructed with a double accusative, one functioning as the direct object and the other as a predicative accusative 'to call someone something'. In the passive sentence of Y 36.6, the objects become nominatives. Thus, *barəzištəm* 'highest' is the subject of the *yāt*-clause and *hūuarē* 'sun' the predicative noun: 'since the highest of heights was called the sun', i.e. since the creation of the sun. The stanza thus states that since the creation of the sun Ahura Mazdā's most beautiful visible form has been the sunlight.

106 On adverbial ablative pronouns, see *AiGr.*, III, p. 500, §244b γ, and above Y 35.10 no. 2 *θβāt ... θβāt ... θβāt*.

107 HUMBACH, *Gathas*, I, p. 41e. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 123, rightly comments that one has to assume here that *yāt* introduces the subordinate clause but has been shifted from its initial position to one inside the subordinate clause. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 139, reject the possibility that the subject is anticipated before the conjunction on the grounds that it is "sans exemple dans la prose vieil-avestique". However, in view of the existence of Gathic parallels, on the one hand, and of the small corpus of OAv. rhythmic "prose" (i.e. the *YH*), on the other, such anticipation does appear justified.

5 *barəzištəm* + *barəzəmanəm* ‘highest of heights’

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 132, follows the reading of the good Iranian Pahlavi *Yasna* mss. Pt4 and Mf1 and edits a form *barəzimanəm*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 950, accordingly posits a stem *barəziman-*, which he considers to be an adjective meaning ‘high’. While this would be the only Avestan instance of a stem in *-iman-*, it is well represented in Vedic, see *AiGr.*, II.2, pp. 355–358, § 227.

Because Vedic stems in *-iman-* are usually masculine, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 272, III, p. 139, posit the same gender for Av. *barəziman-*. The superlative adjective *barəzištəm* would therefore derive its neuter gender not from *barəziman-* but from *imā raocā*, with which it would be in apposition. The neuter pronoun *anuāt*, interpreted by other scholars as agreeing with *barəzištəm* (‘yonder highest of heights’), would then be understood adverbially and correlate with *yāt*, the latter being equivalent to *yauuat*, ‘so ... as’. The form *anuācī*, usually taken as an *i-* passive --aorist of the root *vac* ‘to speak, say’,¹⁰⁸ is interpreted by KELLENS/PIRART as the loc.sg. “de point de vue” of an (otherwise unattested but possible) adj. *anuānc-* ‘qui se trouve en bas’, an equivalent of Ved. *āvāñc-* ‘turned downwards, being or situated below’. According to their translation, Y 36.6 states that the most beautiful of Ahura Mazdā’s bodies is ‘this sky’ (*imā raocā*) which ‘of the heights is as high as the sun’ (*barəzištəm barəzimanəm anuāt yāt huuarē*) ‘seen by one from down here’ (*anuācī*): ‘ce ciel, parmi les hauteurs, celle-ci est aussi haute que le soleil vu par un d’ici bas’ (*TVA*, I, p. 135). Leaving aside the question both of the meaning of such a translation and that of the antonymous function of the demonstrative pronouns *imā* and *anuāt*,¹⁰⁹ there are serious syntactic and morphological problems with this interpretation, because *barəzištəm ... anuāt* cannot mean ‘so high’.¹¹⁰ Moreover, their rendering of *anuācī* as ‘vu par un d’ici bas’ is problematic because they translate the form as if it was an ablative and not a locative.¹¹¹

108 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 167; KÜMMEL, *Stativ*, p. 150f.; DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 372. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1331, interprets *anuācī* as a compound *ā-vac*, but the latter is only attested in Y 38.5, see Y 38.5 no. 1 **ānuuaocāmā*, below, p. 246f. An additional argument for interpreting *anuācī* as an *i-* passive is adduced above, fn. 105.

109 See above, p. 120f. According to the paraphrase of KELLENS, *Zoroastre*, p. 46f., the stanza states that the visible form of Ahura Mazdā is the sky (“le ciel lumineux”) from here to the highest, from the one down here to the sun: “Ce qui veut dire que ce ciel lumineux (*raocā*), d’ici (*imā*) jusqu’en haut (*barəzištəm*), depuis celui qui le contemple ici-bas (*anuācī*) jusqu’au soleil (*huuarē*), c’est la form visible de Ahura Mazdā (*tōi kəhrpām*)”.

110 The syntax of *anuāt ... yauuat* in Y 28.4, to which KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 139, II, p. 127f. refer, is different, because there each of the correlative pronouns is constructed with a verb: *yauuat isāi tauuācā anuāt xsāi aēšē ašahiā* ‘as much as I can and am able, so much shall I search in the quest for truth’.

111 In *TVA*, II, p. 43, KELLENS/PIRART translate *anuācī* more like a locative ‘aux yeux de qui est ici-bas’. On adjectives with suffix **-anc-*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 137; *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 152f., III, p. 232.

From a diachronic point of view, Vedic stems in *-iman-* are formed with the suffix *-man-* attached to a root ending in a laryngeal, of which *-i-* is the regular reflex between consonants, e.g. Ved. *prathimán-* ‘extension, width’ (root IE **pleth₂*, EWAia, II, p. 178), *mahimán-* ‘greatness, might’ (root IE **megh₂*, EWAia, II, p. 339), *jarimán-* ‘old age’ (root IE **gerh₂*, EWAia, I, p. 577f.). In Avestan, however, such stems are not motivated because a laryngeal between consonants normally drops, and in any case the underlying Av. *barəz* probably continues an anīṭ-root IE **b^herǵh^h* ‘to rise’.¹¹² The expected OAv. form *barəzəmanəm* is indeed well attested in Y 36.6 in the manuscripts of the Indian Pahlavi *Yasna* (K5 J2) and *Yasna Sade* (K11, H1 J6 L13 J7) besides other variants in the mss. of the Indian *Vendidad Sade* (*barəzəmanəm* S2, Bb1 and *bərazəmanəm* O2 B2). HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 123, argues convincingly that the reading *barəzəmanəm* is to be preferred to *barəzimanəm*, the latter being easily explained by perseveration of *-i-* from the preceding *barəzištəm*. The form is the gen.pl. of the neuter stem *barəzəman-* ‘height’, YAv. *barəsman-* ‘sacrificial grass’ (literally: ‘elevation’), of which the instr.sg. is YAv. *barəšna* ‘in height’. Hence the far-deictic pronoun *auuaṭ* agrees in both case and gender with *barəzištəm*, and the latter derives its neuter gender from *barəzəman-*.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 165f., points out that the combination of a superlative with a genitive plural from the same stem in Y 36.6 *barəzištəm + barəzəmanəm* is a stylistic device indicating reinforcement and comparable to Ved. *nṛṇām nṛtamaḥ* ‘the most manly among men’. Accordingly, the Av. expression *barəzištəm + barəzəmanəm* means ‘the highest of heights’ and denotes the loftiest point in the sky. That it is a figure for the sun, emerges from

Vr 19.2 *huuarə barəzištəm *barəzəmanəm*¹¹³ *yazamaide*

We worship the highest of heights, the sun.

The expression Y 36.6 *barəzištəm ... auuaṭ huuarə* has Vedic parallels in the collocation *svār bṛhāt*.¹¹⁴ That there is a link between the ritual fire, in Vedic represented by *agnī-*, and the sun, emerges for instance from RV 6.12.1:

RV 6.12.1 *mādhye hótā duroṇé barhišo rāḷ agnís todāsya ródasī yájadhyai |
ayám sá sūnúḥ sáhasa ṛtāvā dūrāt súryo ná śócíṣā tatāna ||*

In the middle of the house Agni, the chief priest, the king of sacrificial grass
(and) of the whip shall sacrifice to the two Worlds.

He, the son of strength, the truthful one, has spread out with his light from afar
like the sun.

112 MAYRHOFFER, EWAia, II, p. 212; LIV², p. 78f. with n. 1.

113 As rightly pointed out by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*, II, p. 123, in Vr 19.2 the corrupt *barəzimanəm* is transmitted without variants according to GELDNER's edition. It has to be corrected to **barəzəmanəm* as a result of what has been argued for with regard to the attestation in Y 36.6.

114 KELLEN/Pirart, TVA, III, p. 139; MAYRHOFFER, EWAia, I, p. 232.

Yasna 37

Y 37.1

*iθā¹ āt² yazamaidē³ ahurəm mazdām
yā gāmcā ašāmcā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vaṇ^hhīš⁴
raocāscā dāt būmīmcā⁵
vīspācā vohū^{5a} ∴*

Y 37 is also found in Y 5. Most mss. give the complete text only in Y 5 and abbreviate in Y 37. Readings from Y 5 are here added within round brackets.

1 *iθā* G Mf4, K5 J2; J6, J5

yāθā S1

aθā C1

2 *āt* Pt4, S1 (S1); L2, Dh1, O2 Bb1; K11, (J6) J7, J5

ā G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1 L3; C1, L13; [F2 K8 K20 K36]

iθāt J3

at J6 (sec.m. corrected to *āt*)

3 *yezamaide* Mf4

yazamaidē G J3

yazmaide C1

yazamaide the other mss.

4 *vaṇhīš* Pt4 Mf4; Mf2 K4

vaṇuhōuš K5

vaṇhōuš J2; Jp1 (Jp1)

vaṇuhīš G (S1; S2); (J6)

vaṇ^hhīš [F2]

5 *būmīmcā* G Pt4 Mf4, (S1; Jp1)

būmāmcā K5 J2

būmām. cā K4

būmīm. cā (J6)

5a *vohū* G K5 J2; C1

vōhū Mf4; (J6), J5

In this way¹ we now worship² the Wise Lord,
who has created³ the cow and truth,
(who) has created the waters and the good plants,
(who) has created light and the earth
and all that is good

1 *iθā* ‘in this way’

The central part of the *Yasna Haptayhāiti* consists of seventeen ‘we worship’ (*yazamaidē*) formulae, which begin in Y 37.1 and end in Y 39.4. The first and third *hāiti* of this central part begin with the expression *iθā āt yazamaidē* (Y 37.1, 39.1) and the concluding section with *āt iθā yazamaidē* (Y 39.3):

Y 37.1 *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām*

In this way we now worship the Wise Lord

Y 39.1 *iṭā āt yazamaidē*
gāuš uruuānəmca tašānəmca

In this way we now worship
 the cow's soul and (her) maker.

Y 39.3 *āt iṭā yazamaidē*
vaṇhūšcā īt vaṇhīšcā īt
spəntāng aməšāng

Finally in this way we worship
 the good bounteous immortals,
 both male and female.

Since the demonstrative adverb *iṭā* 'thus, in this way' neither relates here to the preceding verses nor correlates with a relative adverb *yaṭā* 'as', NARTEN, *YH*, p. 167, fn. 1, suggests that it could refer to the actual circumstances of the unfolding liturgy, namely to the uttering of the worship formulae of Y 37.1–39.3 in the presence of Ahura Mazdā within the ritual fire.

2 *yazamaidē* 'we worship'

The form *yazamaidē* corresponds exactly to Vedic *yājāmahe*. Both are the 1pl. middle of the present stem *yaza-/yāja-*.¹ However, while Ved. *yaj* is usually translated 'to sacrifice', it has been customary to interpret Av. *yaz* as 'to worship' ever since BARTHOLOMAE posited its meaning as 'venerari, sacrare' (*AirWb.* 1274). Along with this rendering comes the view that the original OAv. ritual involved neither the pressing of Haoma nor an animal sacrifice. Instead, the OAv. texts are considered to be a literary expression of pure veneration for the deity.²

BENVENISTE 1964 challenges this view and distinguishes two applications of *yaz*. The older, inherited one denotes an animal sacrifice and is attested in a formula found in the *Yashts* (see below, pp. 181–183). This particular use, he argues, is confirmed by the account of the Greek historian Herodotus, and is also continued in Middle Persian, Khotanese and Sogdian cognates as well as in the Armenian loan word *yazel*. As to the latter, BENVENISTE demonstrates that its meaning results from semantic specialization: being a technical term of the

1 Because the morphologically ambiguous *yazamaidē* is syntactically co-ordinated with indicative present forms of other verbs, such as *friiṇmahī* in Y 38.4 and *dadəmaidē* in Y 39.4. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 167f., convincingly argues that its mood is indicative rather than subjunctive.

2 See, for instance, SCHLERATH 1960 and the critical discussion by HUMBACH 1977, pp. 21–23 (with references). According to GNOLI, *Zoroaster's Time*, p. 183, there "can be no doubt that the characteristic features of the Gathic teaching are a monotheistic faith and an inner religiosity that is emphatically antiritualistic and antisacrificial". On the question of animal sacrifice in the Older Avesta, see Y 39.1 no. 2 *gāuš uruuānəmca tašānəmca* 'the cow's soul and her maker', below, p. 258f.

“Persian” sacrifice, it denotes the specifically Zoroastrian practice of stunning the animal before it is killed, while the original, wider meaning of *yazel* passed on to *zobel* ‘to sacrifice’ (p. 52f.). The second application of *yaz* refers, in BENVENISTE’s view, to the offering of haoma, libations and spiritual gifts. This usage results from a moralizing restriction of its original sense, and is found only “dans une faible partie des exemples”, namely when Ahura Mazdā, Haoma, or Zarathustra carry out the action denoted by *yaz* (p. 46f.).

Following BENVENISTE, PANAINO argues that Av. *yaz* “corresponds to the idea of ‘sacrifice’ in a strict and a general sense” and that the meaning ‘worship’ occurs “in some special cases”, where the verb “designates a form of veneration, i.e. the oral expression of a prayer”. While the original meaning is ‘to sacrifice’, the other one, ‘to worship’, is considered to be the result of a semantic development in which the earlier sense became restricted to the oral act of worship. This is interpreted as a secondary phenomenon, since Avestan already has a verb for such an activity, namely *nəmaxiia-* ‘to venerate, pay homage’.³

The meaning ‘to sacrifice’ is well attested in Vedic. The offering of both Soma and a sacrificial animal is explicitly mentioned, for instance, in

RV 8.31.1 *yó yájāti yájāta ít sunávac ca pácāti ca |*
brahméd indrasya cākanat ||

That particular Brahman who sacrifices (for others), (and who) indeed sacrifices for himself, and presses (the soma) and cooks, shall be pleased with Indra.

The verb *pácāti* here refers to the ritual ‘cooking’ of the sacrificial animal’s flesh. The Av. cognate *pac* is used in the same way in Yt 8.58–59.⁴

The middle frequently occurs when the priests speak of their own ritual activities, e.g.

RV 1.26.6 *yác cid dhí śásvatā tánā devāṃ-devaṃ yájāmahe |*
tvé íd dhūyate havíh ||

Even when we sacrifice to this or that god one after another,
it is to you alone that the oblation is offered.

It is also found with reference to the gods performing sacrifice. Here, however, the direct object is not the deity to whom the oblation is offered, but the sacrifice itself, e.g.

RV 1.164.50 (= 10.90.16)
yajñéna yajñám ayajanta devás táni dhármāṇi prathamāny āsan |

The gods sacrificed the sacrifice with sacrifice. These were the first customs.

3 PANAINO 2004a, p. 234. BENVENISTE 1964, p. 45f., suggests that the Av. use of *yaz* reveals “un changement profond dans la conception du sacrifice” and assumes that originally it must have denoted “le sacrifice sanglant”. Similarly, BOYCE 1970b, p. 70, fn. 65, considers the meaning ‘to sacrifice’ to be prior and ‘to worship’ a later development.

4 See PANAINO 2004a, p. 240 with fn. 32, and *Tištrya*, pp. 81, 145.

A variation of *yajñám yaj* is attested in another rare instance where the direct object is not the deity but the sacrifice. This is the expression *jīvayājám yájate* ‘he commissions a sacrifice of living beings’ in

RV 1.31.15 *tvám agne práyatadakṣiṇam náram vármeva syūtám pári pási viśvátaḥ | svāduḥśádmā yó vasataú syonakṛj jīvayājám yájate sópamā diváh ||*

O Agni, like a tailored coat from all directions you protect the man who provides the sacrificial fee. The one who supplies sweet food and comfort in his home and commissions a sacrifice of living beings⁵, that one is closest to heaven.⁶

The verb’s meaning here is terminologically defined by its middle voice ‘to commission a sacrifice’ (literally: ‘to have a sacrifice performed on one’s own behalf’) and is said of the patron who employs the priest to perform the ritual. By contrast, the active means ‘to worship, sacrifice on behalf of someone else’ and is used of the priest who acts on behalf of the patron. This functional difference between the active and middle voices respectively was long ago observed by the Old Indian grammarians, cf. Scholiast on Pāṇini 1.3.72:

yajanti yājakāḥ yajamānō yajeta

The priests sacrifice, the sacrificer may commission a sacrifice.⁷

As noted by GOTÖ, *I. Präsensklasse*, p. 27, the semantic opposition between the active and middle forms of Ved. *yāja-* is due to no special function of the middle but derives from the practicalities of Indo-Iranian ritual in which only the professional priest is in a position to perform a sacrifice, and does so on behalf of a patron. The same opposition of voice is also found with the Greek verb θύω ‘to offer to the gods by burning meat or drink, to sacrifice, slay a victim’, said of the priest, and θύομαι ‘to cause a victim to be offered’, said of the patron.

Although the triangular pattern, involving patron, priest and deity, also underlies the Avestan ritual, the functional difference between forms of the active and middle voices of *yaz* is much less clearly defined.⁸ The active is confined to the expression *yasnəm yaz* and is attested only in four passages in the *Nērangestān* (N 22, 24, 65, 81) and once (probably) in Yt 1.24.⁹ The verb *yaz* is thus almost always middle and has an indirect reflexive value. Like its Vedic cognate, it usually governs the acc. of the object to whom the sacrifice is directed, while the item offered is in the instrumental case.¹⁰

5 The noun *jīvayājā-* ‘sacrifice of a living being’ is a hapax legomenon.

6 In the following two passages Agni could represent either the actual offering or its recipient: RV 6.11.2 *agne yájasva tanvām táva svām ||* ‘O Agni, sacrifice yourself’ or ‘to yourself’ and 10.81.5 *svayám yajasva tanvām vṛdhānāḥ ||* ‘while growing, sacrifice yourself’ or ‘to yourself’.

7 PW, VI, p. 8; DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 248.

8 On the triangular structure of Indo-Iranian ritual, see HINTZE 2004b.

9 KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, p. 29, and 1998, p. 481f.; HINTZE 2004a, pp. 312–314.

10 On the syntax of *yaz* see below, p. 177ff.

The YH with its seventeen attestations contains the earliest occurrences of the 1pl. *yazamaidē*. By contrast, the 1sg.subj. *yazāi* ‘I want to worship’ is found three times in the *Gathas* but not at all in the YH. The situation is similar with forms of the verb *pairī gam* ‘to approach’, which exhibits the same syntactic properties as *yaz*, insofar as the deity usually occurs in the accusative and the offering in the instrumental. The 1sg. *pairijasāi* ‘I want to approach’ occurs three times in the *Gathas*, but nowhere in the YH where the 1pl. *pairijasāmaidē* ‘we approach’ is found instead¹¹:

1sg. and pl. of *pairī gam* and *yaz* in the *Gathas* and YH

	<i>pairijasāi</i>	<i>pairijasāmaidē</i>	<i>yazāi</i>	<i>yazamaidē</i>
Gathas	Y 28.2, 50.8, 51.22	∅	Y 50.4, 51.22; Y 33.4 (with <i>apā</i>)	∅
YH	∅	Y 36.1, 3, 4, 5, 39.5	∅	17 × in Y 37–39

The form *pairijasāmaidē*, which is attested four times in Y 36 and once in Y 39.5, occurs in the sections preceding and following the *yazamaidē* formulae. This suggests that *pairī gam* denotes the ritual activity which takes place before and after that denoted by *yazamaidē*. However, in contrast to *pairijasāmaidē*, which remains confined to the YH, *yazamaidē* has enjoyed enormous success in the ritual language of the post-OAv. period.

In the Younger Avesta the plural form *yazamaidē* is found “infinitely often” (*AirWb.* 1275: “unendlich oft”) and to such an extent that it is frequently abbreviated in the mss. as *y°* or *yaz°*. When written in full, the form always has its Old Avestan sound shape with an intervocalic *-d-* instead of the YAv. *-δ-*. This has been convincingly explained as indicating that YAv. *yazamaide* is an OAv. loanword. Moreover, since all OAv. attestations are in the YH, it is likely that the latter provided the model for the innumerable YAv. *yazamaide* litanies.

The plural *yazamaide* may be syntactically collocated with a 1st sing. form:

Y 71.11 *gāθābiiō spəntābiiō ratuxšaθrābiiō ašaonibiiō*
zbaieiemi yazamadaēca
nipātaiaēca nišaṇharətaiaēca harəθrāica aiβiiāxštrāica

I invoke, we worship
 with the bounteous Gathas, which have the rule of the Ratus, the truthful ones,
 for protection, safeguard, guard and surveillance.

11 While both *pairijasāi* and *yazāi* are subjunctives, the various contexts suggest that the ambiguous *pairijasāmaidē* and *yazamaidē* are indicatives rather than subjunctives, see above, p. 156, fn. 1. On form and meaning of *pairijasāmaidē* see NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 139–142.

Such a combination suggests that although an *individual* may speak, the form *yazamaide* is an inclusive plural. In contrast to the *Rigveda*, where the objects of praise are always deities, in Avestan the range of beings who are worshipped is much wider. For instance, Mithra's 'mace' and the 'fellowship' are praised in

Yt 6.5 *yazāi miθrām vouru.gaoīiaoitīm*
hazaŋra.gaošām baēuuarā.cašmanām
yazāi vazrām huniūuixtām
kamərəde paiti daēuuanəm
miθrō yō vouru.gaoīiaoitiš
yazāi haxəδrəmca yaŋ asti
haxəδranəm vahištām
aŋtarə māŋhəmca huuarəca

I want to worship Mithra of extensive cattle pastures
 who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes.
 I want to worship the mace, well-brandished
 against the heads of the daevas
 (by) Mithra of extensive cattle pastures.
 I want to worship the fellowship, which is
 the best of the fellowships
 between the moon and the sun.

Here *yaz* cannot be translated as 'to sacrifice'. The same applies to those passages where sacred texts are the direct object, such as in

Y 34.16 (YAv.) *ahunauuaitīm gāθəm ašaonīm ašahe ratūm yazamaide*
ahunauuaitiā gāθaiiā haṇdātā yazamaide

We worship the *ahunauuaitī gāθā*, the truthful one, the Ratu of Truth.
 we worship the constituent parts of the *ahunauuaitī gāθā*.

In this and in many similar passages *yaz* has the sense of 'respect, honour'. In contrast to a great number of other verbs in this semantic field, however, *yaz* has an intrinsically ritual application. More precise connotations can be identified from a number of remarkable passages, discussed by PANAINO 1986, where Ahura Mazdā himself performs a *yasna* in honour of other deities, particularly Tishtrya (Yt 8.25), Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā (Yt 5.17–19), Vāyu (Yt 15.2–4) and Mithra (Yt 10.123–125, 140, 143).¹² Elaborating on GHERARDO GNOLI's observation (GNOLI 1963b) that one of the purposes of the sacrifice is to strengthen the object of veneration, PANAINO convincingly argues that there is no question of hierarchy here but that Ahura Mazdā strengthens Tishtrya and the other deities by means of his sacrificial power and thus enables them to fulfil their mission.

12 The idea that the gods are the agents of **iaj* is also found in the *Rigveda*. Apart from RV 1.164.50 (= 10.90.16), quoted above, p. 157, and the concept of Agni as the chief priest (*purōhita*-), also the adjectives *práyajyu*- and *yájyu*- 'eager to sacrifice, worship' refer to the gods, see FORSSMAN 1993, p. 100f.

PANAINO concludes with GNOLI that the notion of *yasna-* as a means of giving strength is found both in the Avesta and the Pahlavi text and can be traced back to the Common Indo-Iranian period.

Just as Ahura Mazdā offers ‘worship’ to a variety of other divine beings, so humans offer ‘worship’ to an even greater variety of spiritual and material entities, both human and divine, all of which have in common that they are directly linked to Ahura Mazdā as their source. By offering *yasna-* to such beings, the worshippers strengthen them and thus Ahura Mazdā’s cause of combatting evil.

This suggests that the concept attached to IIr. **iāf* comprises two interconnected notions. One is the mental state of respect and honour for a divine being, the other the action of strengthening that being by means of offerings which are presented in prescribed cultic rites. It is this twofold notion which accounts for the syntactic combination of the IIr. verb with both the accusative and instrumental cases: ‘ritually to honour the deity by means of the offering’, the connotation being ritually to strengthen him/her in this way. Such strengthening comes about through oblations which include both material gifts, such as soma, fat-offering or meat, and spiritual ones, like hymns of praise.

In Greek the concept of ‘respect, honour’ is also inherent in the cognate ἄζομαι ‘to stand in awe (esp. of gods and one’s parents)’ as well as in the adjective ἅγιος ‘sacred, holy’ (on the latter see also above, p. 114 on Y 36.1 no. 2 *axtiš*), while the notion of ‘sacrificing’ is expressed by a separate verb, θύω, θύομαι (see above, p. 158). The comparative evidence thus suggests that the IE verb **H₁aǵ* denotes a revering mental attitude. In Greek it may refer to the god-fearing demeanour which could accompany any action. For instance, at the beginning of Homer’s *Iliad*, Apollo’s priest Chryses implores the Greek leaders to release his daughter and appeals to them in the following way:

Hom. *Iliad* 1.20–21 παῖδα δ’ ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ’ ἄποινα δέχεσθαι,
ἄζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.

But set my dear child free for me and accept the ransom
while revering Zeus’ son, the far-shooting Apollo!

By contrast, the adjective ἅγιος ‘sacred, holy’ has a stronger cultic connection,¹³ while in Indo-Iranian the verb, alongside its derivatives, became a technical ritual term. It denotes the activity of expressing one’s reverence for a divine being by means of ritually presented offerings which then strengthen the deity. Since such a display of reverence and honour could only take place in a ritual context, the semantic development from ‘revere’ to ‘sacrifice’ is obvious. While the two activities are interconnected, it is the meaning ‘to revere, honour’ which allowed for the expansion of the verb’s application in Avestan. Moreover, its syntactic construction hints at its original meaning. For, as already noted by BENVENISTE, *Institutions*, II, p. 205, who has abandoned his earlier view of the primacy of the

13 FORSSMAN 1993, p. 102, who identifies Lat. *ieiunus* as an additional cognate of IE **H₁aǵ*.

meaning 'to sacrifice', if the latter was the verb's original sense one would rather expect a construction with the acc. of the offering and the dat. of the deity. He rightly concludes that the meaning 'to revere, to worship' is the older and more extensive one, while 'to sacrifice' results from semantic specialization.¹⁴

Regardless of whether the means by which the worship is offered is material or spiritual, as far as the Avesta is concerned a rendering of *yaz* as 'to worship', rather than 'sacrifice', is justified as long as one keeps in mind that the veneration is always presented in a ritual context and that the ritual act must be accompanied by a variety of offerings, which may involve the sacrifice of animals. For, as rightly pointed out by BOYCE 1970b, p. 70, fn. 65, "in Zoroastrianism the concepts of worship and offering are very closely linked, in fact no liturgical act of worship performed by a *zaotar* takes place without offerings being made".

3 *dāt* 'he has created'

As a result of the Iranian merger of non-aspirated and aspirated voiced stops, the Avestan verb *dā* continues the two IIr. verbs **d^hā* 'to set' and **dā* 'to give' both of which form a reduplicated athematic present and a root aorist. Since with one exception their paradigm has merged completely in Avestan, the verb's semantics can only be recognized from the context.¹⁵ Most scholars assume that one of its meanings is 'to create', and it particularly denotes Ahura Mazda's activity and role as the creator (*dātar-*) of the spiritual and material worlds.¹⁶

KELLENS 1989b challenges this view. After examining the construction and syntactic function of *dā* 'to set; to give' in all approximately sixty of its OAv. attestations, he concludes that only in Y 44.3–5 and Y 37.1 could *dā* possibly refer to the deity's creative activity. According to him, in both these passages the objects of *dāt* contrast semantically and generally consist of two nouns ("deux noms désignant les termes d'une paire contrastaire", p. 227):

- 14 BENVENISTE, *Institutions*, II, p. 205, observes that the meaning of Av. *yaz* and OP *yad* 'to venerate, worship' is broader than Ved. *yaj* 'to sacrifice': "A côté de skr. *yaj-*, l'avestique *yaz-* ne signifie pas simplement 'sacrifier', mais 'révérer les dieux' comme d'ailleurs v.perse *yad-*; il s'applique au culte en général, non particulièrement au sacrifice. Parmi les dérivés, il en est un, particulièrement important, qui est devenu en védique une épithète constante des dieux et dans l'Avesta le nom même du 'dieu': skr. *yajata*, av. *yazata*, littéralement: 'celui qui est digne de culte'. Il y a lieu de penser que le védique a spécialisé dans l'emploi rituel un verbe de sens plus général, 'colere' plutôt que 'sacrificare'. Cela peut expliquer que *yaj-* se construit avec l'accusatif du nom de la divinité et l'instrumental du nom de la chose consacrée: 'rendre culte à un dieu avec quelque chose'. C'est plutôt la construction avec le datif du nom de la divinité qu'on attendrait si le verbe signifiait 'sacrifier'." HAUDRY, *L'emploi des cas*, p. 349, also posits the meaning of *yaz/yaj* as 'rendre culte à un dieu avec quelque chose'.
- 15 The exception is the 3sg.ind.pres.middle, which is *dazdē* (< IIr. **d^ha-d^hai*, Ved. *dhattē*) from IIr. **d^hā* 'to set' and *dastē* (< IIr. **da-d^hai*, Ved. *datte*) from IIr. **dā* 'to give', see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 208; KELLENS 1989b, p. 217.
- 16 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 714f. ("schaffend hervorbringen"); BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 195f.

'sun and stars'	Y 44.3	<i>kasnā xōng *strōmcā dāt aduuānəm</i>
'light and darkness'	Y 44.5	<i>kē huuāpā raocāscā dāt tāmāscā</i>
'sleep and activity'	Y 44.5	<i>kē huuāpā xāfnāmcā dāt zaēmācā</i>
'cow and order'	Y 37.1	<i>yā gāmcā ašōmcā dāt</i>
'water and plants'	Y 37.1	<i>apascā dāt uruuarāscā vāy^hhīš</i>
'sky ¹⁷ and earth and the intermediate space' ¹⁸	Y 37.1	<i>raocāscā dāt būmīmcā vīspācā vohū</i>

Since in Y 44.3, 5 and 37.1 *dā* governs not just one but several accusatives which contrast semantically, KELLENS concludes that it cannot mean 'to create'. Instead he suggests that the verb implies "mettre à sa place respective" and describes Ahura Mazda's activity in allocating a place to the constituent parts of the cosmos.¹⁹ He further argues that "la fabrication divine" is not denoted by *dā* at all but by the verb *taš* 'to fashion, form'. The latter is used, in Y 51.7, for Ahura Mazda's making of the cow, waters and plants, and thus governs the same objects as *dā* in Y 37.1. KELLENS admits that in Y 51.7 Ahura Mazda "a non seulement mis en place, mais aussi façonné les richesses qui nous nourrissent: l'eau, les plantes et la vache".²⁰ Nevertheless, he asserts that neither the Older nor (probably) the Younger Avesta provide evidence that in the Mazdayasnianism of Av. times the universe was conceived as the result of divine creation. According to KELLENS, "Ahura Mazda n'est pas un dieu créateur" (the programmatic title of his 1989b article) but, like the gods of other religions of the time, "un ordonnateur du chaos initial". This

17 Because of the supposed semantic contrast with *būmī*- 'earth' in Y 37.1, KELLENS assumes that in the YH *raocāh*- 'light' substitutes for 'sky'; so also KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, II, p. 308, I, p. 33, but see above, p. 149f. (Y 36.6 no. 2 *imā raocā* 'this light here').

18 KELLENS 1989b, p. 227, and 2000, p. 58f. (= 1991, p. 37f.), interprets *vīspācā vohū* 'all that is good' as referring to the "espace intermédiaire" between earth and sky. Apart from the fact that in Y 37.1 the word for 'intermediate space' does not occur, the object of praise in Yt 13.153, which KELLENS adduces as a parallel, is not the 'intermediate space' (*yā antarastā*), but all the 'good things' between earth and sky:

Yt 13.153 <i>imāmcā zām yazamaide</i>	We worship this earth,
<i>aomca asmanəm yazamaide</i>	we worship that sky
<i>tāca vohū yazamaide</i>	and we worship (all) that is good
<i>yā antarastā</i>	in between (the earth and sky),
<i>yesniiāca vahmiiāca</i>	(all that is) worthy of worship, worthy of praise,
<i>*frāiiašəθβa naire ašaone</i>	to be worshipped by the truthful man.

On both the syntactic function of the dative *naire ašaone* denoting the agent and the emendation **frāiiašəθβa*, see NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 91 with fn. 21.

19 KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, III, p. 140; KELLENS, *Cosmogonie*, p. 6, and 1989b, p. 227: "Ainsi, dans ces deux passages eux-mêmes, étant donné la distribution de accusatifs qu'il régit, *dā* ne signifie pas 'créer', mais définit à leur place respective des éléments constitutifs de l'univers et de la vie. 37.1 et 44.3–5 ne parlent pas d'une création, mais d'une structuration du monde."

20 KELLENS 1989b, p. 228.

is so because “les temps n’étaient pas mûrs” for the concept of creation, and the proof (“la preuve”) for such a view is that there is no Av. verb ‘to create’.²¹

With the latter claim, however, KELLENS contradicts his own observation that in Y 51.7 Ahura Mazdā is indeed presented as the maker of some of the elements of the material world. With regard to Y 44.3, 5 and 37.1, KELLENS bases his conclusion on the view that the objects of *dā*, ‘arranged’ by Ahura Mazdā, form contrasting pairs. Since this works for ‘light and darkness’, ‘sleep and activity’ in Y 44.5, KELLENS argues that it must also be the case with the Y 37.1 pair ‘cow’ and ‘order’, which “ne peuvent faire exception et doivent donc, eux aussi, faire contraste” (1989b, p. 227). He suggests that the contrast consists in the cow representing the most precious of the earthly beings and *aša-* that of the heavenly ones. Be that as it may, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 169f., rightly points out that the pair *gāmcā ašāmcā* refers back to Y 35.4 and 8, where the worshippers have committed themselves to the care of both the cow and of *aša-*. Moreover, even if it was the case that all objects of *dā* in Y 44.3, 5 and 37.1 did indeed form contrasting pairs, as postulated by KELLENS, it does not necessarily follow that they were ‘mis à leur place’, rather than ‘produced’, by Ahura Mazdā.²² Neither interpretation, however, can be either proved or disproved. The question is rather, which is more probable?

In KELLENS’ analysis, the objects of *dā* are affected, rather than effected,²³ i.e. Ahura Mazdā ‘arranged’ items which were already in existence. Such, however, is not the case in Y 44.3, where the direct object of *dāt* is *aduuānām* ‘path’:

Y 44.3 *kasnā xōng +strāmcā dāt aduuānām*

Who has established the path of the sun and the stars?

- 21 KELLENS, *Cosmogonie*, p. 6: “L’homme avestique n’a pas forgé le concept de création. Les temps n’étaient pas mûrs et la preuve en est que l’outil linguistique faisait défaut: il n’y a pas de verbe ‘créer’ en avestique. Ahura Mazdā n’est pas un dieu créateur, mais, comme celui de toutes les religions de l’époque, un dieu qui a mis de l’ordre dans le chaos initial.” Cf. also KELLENS, *Quatrième naissance*, pp. 64 and 160, n. 19. His conclusions are accepted by SKJÆRVØ 2003a, p. 408, who regards *dā* as the OAv. term for the ordering activity and refers to “the placement of everything within the framework of Order (*aša-*) as established by Ahura Mazdā.” SKJÆRVØ emphasizes that such Order was itself “established or engendered by Ahura Mazdā”. By contrast, SHAKED 2003, p. 396, objects against KELLENS’ interpretation of the meaning of *dā* that “the fact that the later tradition unanimously understands *dā-* in the sense of ‘create’ is a definite proof” that KELLENS’ ‘put in place’ is not the right meaning of the verb.
- 22 Thus, for instance, in the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh’s creations are presented in contrasting pairs, e.g. Isaiah 42.5 ‘Thus says God, the Lord, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and what comes from it, who gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it’, and Isaiah 45.7 ‘I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe’. Moreover, although Yahweh is said to have ‘put in place’ the objects of his activity, he is perceived as their creator, e.g. Isaiah 41.19–20 ‘I will put in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, the myrtle, and the olive; I will set in the desert the cypress, the plane and the pine together, so that all may see and know ... that the hand of the Lord has done this, the Holy One of Israel has created it.’
- 23 On the difference between affected and effected objects, see Y 38.4 no. 3 *vayhūdā* ‘providing good (things)’, below, p. 241f.

Being, in KELLENS' own words, the "ordonnateur" of the cosmos, Ahura Mazdā is likely to be presented as the one who designed the 'path', *aduuānəm*, on which the heavenly bodies move. In other words, the 'path' is here produced by the activity denoted by *dāt* and is therefore the effected object. Regardless of whether the verb is translated as 'establish' or 'create', in Y 44.3 it has the semantic component that something is created which did not exist before. The same may then also apply to the other occurrences of *dāt* in Y 44.3, 5 and 37.1.

A further problem with the view of Ahura Mazdā as "un ordonnateur du chaos initial" is the notion of primeval chaos. According to KELLENS, *Cosmogonie*, p. 13, the Av. term for "chaos" is *druj-*, which he renders as 'désarticulation, agencement faux, trompeur, illusoire', the antonym of *aša-* 'order, truth'. In his view, the items which form the objects of *dāt* in Y 44.3, 5 and 37.1 existed in such "chaos initial" before Ahura Mazdā's intervention. In other words, sun, stars, light, darkness, sleep, activity, cow, order, sky, earth and the intermediate space, were all in "chaos", i.e. 'disorder, deceit' (*druj-*). However, the interpretation that any of these objects, and especially *aša-* 'order', should exist in a state of *druj-* 'disorder' sounds like a conceptual oxymoron and is therefore hardly convincing.²⁴

The Avesta rather suggests that when Ahura Mazdā is the agent of *dāt*, the items which form the verb's objects are in themselves highly organized, perfect structures and anything but part of such a "chaos initial". This emerges, for instance, from

Yt 19.10 *yaṭ asti ahurahe mazdā*
yaṭa dāmān daṭaṭ ahurō mazdā
pouruca vohuca
pouruca srīraca
pouruca abdaca
pouruca frašaca
pouruca bāmiiāca

(The glory) which belongs to Ahura Mazdā
 so that Ahura Mazdā created the creations,
 the many good,
 the many beautiful,
 the many marvellous,
 the many excellent,
 the many splendid ones.

As to KELLENS' view that OAv. times were not ripe ("mûrs", KELLENS, *Cosmogonie*, p. 6) for the concept of creation, it may be pointed out that the "glissement sémantique" of IIr. **dʰā* from 'establish' to 'create' is found in Vedic, too (PW,

24 According to SKJÆRVØ 2003a, p. 398, the coming into being of *druj-* "logically" happened "after the establishment of the first Ordered cosmos ... causing the 'sickening' and 'destruction' of its ordered settlements". Such a statement, however, is in conflict with KELLENS' view (which SKJÆRVØ accepts, see above, p. 164, fn. 21) that the objects "ordered" by Ahura Mazdā pre-existed in a "chaos initial", i.e. in *druj-*. According to KELLENS, the latter, i.e. disorder, existed before order (*aša-*).

III, p. 903), where the problem of the origin of the cosmos is also addressed. In particular, in RV 10.129.7 the subject is raised whether the world came into being by itself or by intervention of a divine being:

RV 10.129.7 *iyám víśṛṣṭir yáta ābabhúva yádi vā dadhé yádi vā ná |*

Whence has this creation arisen, whether it has been created or not?²⁵

The Zoroastrian concept of creation is independent from and should not be mixed up with the Christian doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* in an ontological sense. In Judaism and first-century Christianity, which had inherited the notion of creation from Judaism as a presupposition with axiomatic validity, ideas about the nature of the creation process were probably unsophisticated and unreflected, so that they did not pose a problem. As argued by GERHARD MAY, there the doctrine of the fashioning of the world out of eternal matter was widely accepted and no contradiction was found between the philosophical model of world-formation and the biblical concept of creation. In Philo, for instance, the question of the origin of matter in its original, unformed, primeval condition is not the subject of reflection. The philosophical problems which dominated the discussions of the second century had not yet arisen. These included the idea that the acceptance of pre-existent matter could diminish the omnipotence of God and therefore that matter must be thought of as created by him. MAY further shows that the concept of creation became a theological problem in gnostic circles of the second century and it was not until the second half of the century that the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* in a strict sense (that God created the world through the free decision of his will, *sua sententia et libere fecit omnia*)²⁶ developed among Christian theologians as the result of philosophical debates. It found its settled form with Irenaeus, who argued that creation was out of nothing and solely through the will of God, and served the purpose of underpinning the concept of God's omnipotence, freedom, uniqueness and sovereignty. It was formulated as an antithesis to Greek philosophical thought of the eternity of the *materia* (ύλη) and the Platonic notion of God as the δημιουργός who shaped pre-existing, unoriginate matter into the cosmos.²⁷

25 The middle perfect form *dadhé* here has passive function, see KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, p. 273. On the interpretation of the much-discussed hymn RV 10.129, see, for instance, VAR-ENNE, *Cosmogonies Védiques*, pp. 156–159, who on p. 226 translates the verse: 'A partir de quoi cette création s'est développée; et si elle a été fondée, ou non'.

26 Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, II, 1,1 quoted by MAY, *Creatio ex nihilo*, p. 166 with fn. 110. According to Irenaeus, God brought forth matter out of himself: he 'took from himself the stuff, the pattern and the form for the things he created' (*ipse a semetipso substantiam creaturarum et exemplum factorum et figuram in mundo ornamentorum accipiens*, IV, 20.1), see MAY, *ibid.*, p. 168 with fn. 121.

27 MAY, *Creatio ex nihilo*, pp. 3f., 9f., 174. An inevitable corollary of the Christian notion of *creatio ex nihilo* is the problem of Evil, because if God created matter out of nothing, then matter cannot be the cause for the presence of Evil in the world, see H. SCHWABL,

In contrast to the Jewish/Christian tradition, the omnipotence of God is not an issue in Zoroastrianism because Ahura Mazdā is perceived as all-knowing (*vīspō.vīdnuah-*) but not all-powerful. Evil exists outside his own sphere. Ahura Mazdā produced both the spiritual and material creations for the purpose of overcoming Evil, see below, p. 176. In the Avesta, Ahura Mazdā is said to have engendered the spiritual creation out of himself, a process which is described in biological terms (*zəθa-* Y 44.3, *pitar-* 47.3, *dugədar-* 45.4, cf. Yt 13.83 = 19.16, and see below, p. 207f.). The material world is derived from the spiritual. In the Middle Persian sources it is a firmly established doctrine that Ahura Mazdā created the material world. For instance, in chapter 34 of the *Bundahishn*, Zardusht asks Ohrmazd how the resurrection of a body which ‘the wind has blown away, and the water carried off’ is possible. Ohrmazd’s answer is that ‘if I made that which was not, why cannot I make again that which was?’²⁸ That the concept of creation is much older and goes back to the Avestan period, is also indicated by the Zoroastrian purity laws which *only* make sense if Ahura Mazdā is held to be the sole author of the good material world. Matter is intrinsically good *because* it comes from Ahura Mazdā and therefore must be kept pure and free from contamination.

Thus, in Y 37.1, the worship formulae begin with the praise of Ahura Mazdā as the creator. His creations are presented in three pairs, to the third of which is added ‘all that is good’²⁹:

Y 37.1 ... *yā gəmcā ašəmcā dāt*
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vaŋhīš
raocāscā dāt būmīmā
vīspācā vohū

... who has created the cow and truth,
 (who) has created the waters and the good plants,
 (who) has created light and the earth
 and all that is good.

In contrast to the catalogue of creations in Y 44.3–5, Y 37.1 gives a selection which incorporates those items which are essential for a healthy human life. These are water, good plants, light and the fruit-bearing earth.³⁰ The veneration of the cow is resumed in Y 39.1–2, where its soul and maker as well as the souls of other domestic animals are worshipped.

“Weltschöpfung”, in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Stuttgart (Suppl. IX) 1962, pp. 1576–1578.

28 IrBd. 34,4–5. The passage is translated by BOYCE, *Textual Sources*, p. 52, cf. also BOYCE, *HZ*, III, p. 407 with fn. 211.

29 On KELLENS’ (1989b, p. 277 and *Cosmogonie*, p. 6) interpretation of *vīspācā vohū* as “espace intermédiaire”, i.e. ‘all good things’ between earth and sky, see above, p. 163, fn. 18.

30 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 169, fn. 7, suggests that, in contrast to *zam-*, *būmī-* denotes the earth bringing forth plants and fruit. Further OAv. and YAv. parallels for the creations listed in Y 37.1 are given by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 123.

Y 37.2

ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapaṇhāišcā¹
tām at̥ yasnanəm² pauruuatātā^{2a} yazamaidē^{2b}
yōi^{2c} gəuš hacā šīieṇtī³ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> Pt4 Mf4 (š superscr.), K5;
 Mf2 Jp1 (Jp1) K4; (Bb1); C1; ([J1])
 <i>hauuō.paṇhāišcā</i> J2
 (<i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> S1; L2, S2)
 (<i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> Dh1)
 <i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> G (L1; J7)
 (<i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> H1)
 (<i>hauuapaṇhāišcā</i> J6)
 <i>hauuō.paṇhāišcā</i> [M25]</p> <p>2 <i>yasnanəm</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, (S1); Mf2
 Jp1 (Jp1); (S2); C1
 <i>yesnanəm</i> K4
 (<i>yesniiānəm</i> Dh1)
 (<i>yasnīiānəm</i> J6)</p> <p>2a <i>pauruuatātā</i> G K5 J2
 <i>puruuatātā</i> Mf4</p> | <p><i>paōurruatātā</i> C1
 (<i>paourruatātā</i> J6)</p> <p>2b <i>yazamaidē</i> G
 <i>yazamaide</i> Mf4 (y), K5 J2</p> <p>2c <i>yōi</i> G K5; C1 (y), (J6)
 <i>yō</i> Mf4
 <i>yəōi</i> J2</p> <p>3 <i>šīieṇtī</i> G Pt4 Mf4; (Jp1)
 <i>šīiantī</i> K5 J2; Jp1 K4
 (<i>šīiaṇtī</i> S1)
 <i>šīieṇtī</i> Mf2
 (<i>xšīieṇtī</i> S2, Bb1)
 (<i>xšīiaṇtī</i> O2)
 <i>hacāxšīiantī</i> C1
 (<i>xšīiaṇte</i> J6)</p> |
|---|---|

by his rule, greatness and skills.¹

We worship him with the most excellent worship² (of those)
who are on the side of the cow³.

- 1 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapaṇhāišcā*
‘by his rule, greatness and skills’

The beginning of this stanza forms the concluding line of Y 37.1. In Y 5, where the whole of Y 37 is repeated, GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 26f., correctly edits this line as belonging to what precedes.³¹ The following sentence beginning with *tām at̥* is the first of four *yazamaidē* formulae which are continued in Y 37.3.

- 2 *yasnanəm pauruuatātā* ‘with the most excellent worship’

The expression *yasnanəm pauruuatātā* literally means ‘with the excellence of worships’ and is a stylistic device involving a substantive and a dependent genitive instead of a substantive qualified by an adjective ‘with the most excellent worship’. The adjective is replaced by an abstract substantive followed by a qualifying genitive.³² The expression of Y 37.2 has a parallel in the *Gathas*:

31 The question of the syntactic interpretation of this line is discussed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 172f.

32 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 174. This construction is called an “inverse genitive” and is discussed with respect to Latin by LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.*, II, p. 152, § 89γ.

Y 33.14 *zaraḍuštrō ...*

dadāitī pauruuatātəm mananḥascā vanḥāuš mazdāi
**šīiaoθənahiiā *ašāi.yācā uxḍaxiiācā ...*

Zarathustra dedicates the principle of his good thought, action(s) and word(s) to the Wise one and to Truth³³.

The words *pauruuatātəm mananḥascā vanḥāuš ... šīiaoθənahiiā ... uxḍaxiiācā* literally mean ‘the excellence of good thought, action and word’. BAUNACK, p. 370, suggests that in Y 37.2 the expression *yasnanəm pauruuatātā* ‘with the most excellent worship’ implies ‘with the most excellent good thought, word and deed’, as stated in Y 33.14 and to which the worshippers have committed themselves in Y 36.4–5.

3 *yōi gāuš hacā šīieṇtī* ‘who are on the side of the cow’

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1706, has recognized that the verb *ši* ‘to dwell’ is used metaphorically here as well as in Y 47.5d *akāt ā šīiṣ mananḥō* ‘standing on the side of evil thought’ and 39.3 *yōi vanḥāuš ā mananḥō šīieṇtī* ‘(the Amesha Spentas) who stand on the side of good thought’. The combination of *ši* with the postpositions *ā* or *hacā* and the ablative case is a figure for being ‘on someone’s side’ and literally means ‘to dwell from someone’s point of view’. As observed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 176, the expression characterizes the Mazdayasnians as persons who are committed to care for the cow. It is closely paralleled in Y 34.14b *gāuš vərəzənē aziīā* ‘in the community of the milch-cow’.

33 On the form **ašāi.yācā*, a dat.sg. of *aša-*, see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, II, p. 653f. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 139, and KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 124, read an instr.sg. **ašā yācā* belonging with **šīiaoθənahiiā* ‘of the action (performed) with truth’.

Y 37.3

*tām*¹ *aṭ* *āhūiriiā*² *nāmānī*³
*mazdā.varā*⁴ + *spəntō.tāmā*⁵ *yazamaidē*^{5a}
*tām*⁶ *ahmākāiš*⁷ + *azdābīscā*⁸ *uštānāišcā*⁹ *yazamaidē*^{9a}
*tām*¹⁰ *ašāunqam*¹¹ *frauuašīš*¹²
*narqmcā nāirinqmcā*¹³ *yazamaidē*^{5a} ∴

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 <i>tām</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, (J6)
 <i>tīm</i> K4</p> <p>2 <i>āhūiriiā</i> G Pt4; Mf2 Jp1 (Jp1)
 <i>āhūiriiā</i> Mf4
 <i>āhū. iriiā</i> K5
 <i>āhūiriiāt</i> (K5 in Y 5.3, but there <i>t</i> is struck out) J2
 <i>(āhūiriiā</i> S1; L2, L1)
 <i>āhūiriiā</i> (S2); C1, (J6)</p> <p>3 <i>nāmānī</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; Jp1 K4
 <i>nāmānīš</i> (S1; Dh1 S2, O2 Bb1); (J6); [M25]
 <i>nāmānī</i> Mf2
 <i>(nāmānī</i> Jp1)
 <i>nāmānī</i> C1</p> <p>4 <i>mazdāuuarā</i> Pt4 Mf4
 <i>mazdā. varā</i> G K5 J2; (Jp1)
 <i>(mazdāvarā</i> K5 <i>ā</i> corr. to <i>ā</i>)
 <i>mazdā. ahurā</i> (S1; Dh1, Bb1); C1, (J6); [M25]
 <i>mazdā. uruuā</i> Mf2
 <i>mazdā. uuarā</i> Jp1 K4</p> <p>5 <i>spəntōtāmā</i> G Pt4
 <i>spəntōtām</i> Mf4
 <i>spəntō. tāmā</i> K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>spəntō. tāmā</i> (S1; Jp1; L2, S2); C1
 <i>(spəntō. tāmā</i> Dh1)
 <i>(spəntōtāmā</i> L1)
 <i>(spəntō. tamāi</i> H1 J6 L13)
 <i>(spəntō. tāmāi</i> J7)</p> <p>5a <i>yazamaidē</i> G
 <i>yazamaide</i> Mf4 (y), K5 J2</p> | <p>6 <i>tām</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, (J6)
 <i>tā</i> K4</p> <p>7 <i>ahmākāiš</i> G Pt4 Mf4, J2 (m); Jp1; C1
 <i>ahmāi. kāiš</i> K5 (m); (S2)
 <i>(ahmā. kāiš</i> J6)</p> <p>8 <i>azdābīscā</i> Pt4 Mf4, (S1; Dh1; H1 J7)
 <i>azdābīscā</i> K5 (<i>a</i> pr.m. corr. to <i>i</i> or vice versa); (Jp1)
 <i>azdibīscā</i> G J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1
 <i>(azdābīscā</i> S2, Bb1)
 <i>(azdābīscā</i> J6)</p> <p>9 <i>uštānāišcā</i> G Mf4, J2; C1
 <i>uštābāišcā</i> K5 (<i>b</i> pr.m. corr. to <i>n</i> by erasure)
 <i>(uštānqscā</i> Dh1, L3)
 <i>(ustānāiscā</i> J6)
 <i>ustā. nqscā</i> [M25]</p> <p>9a <i>yazamaide</i> Mf4 (y), K5
 <i>yazamaidē</i> G J2</p> <p>10 <i>tām</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, (J6)
 <i>(tīm</i> Jp1)</p> <p>11 <i>ašāunqam</i> G Pt4 Mf4, J2, (S1); Mf2
 <i>ašāōnqam</i> K5; Jp1 (Jp1) K4; (L2, S2, L1 O2 Bb1; H1 L13 J7)
 <i>ašāonqam</i> C1, (J6)</p> <p>12 <i>frauuašīš</i> G Pt4, K5, (S1); Jp1
 <i>frauuašīš</i> Mf4; C1, (J6, <i>i</i> corr.)
 <i>frauuašīš</i> J2; (L2, S2, L1 O2 Bb1; H1)</p> <p>13 <i>nāirinqmcā</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1
 <i>(nāirinqam. cā</i> S1)
 <i>(nāiriianqam. cā</i> J6)</p> |
|--|---|

We worship him in the form of his lordly names,
 (which are) welcome to the Wise one (and which are) the most bounteous ones.
 We worship him with our limbs and lives.
 We worship him in the form of the choices¹ of the truthful ones,
 both men and women.²

1 *frauuašīš* ‘choices’

While the Fravashis occur very frequently in the Younger Avesta, where the longest *Yasht* (Yt 13) is dedicated to their praise, they are absent from the *Gathas*. The earliest attestation is in Y 37.3, their only OAv. occurrence. In the Younger Avesta, *frauuašī-* has a range of meanings denoting not only one of the five human faculties but also ancestral spirits and valiant forces who help truthful people in battle.³⁴ The question arises as to whether these various semantic shades are also present in the OAv. passage or whether it attests a more literal meaning of the noun. Moreover, there is an ongoing debate about whether the word and concept of *frauuašī-* was coined by Zarathustra, as suggested, for instance by LOMMEL, *Yäšt*’s, p. 104ff., or whether it was “a primitive amoral concept” which was ignored by him. The latter interpretation goes back to SÖDERBLOM and has been adopted by BOYCE.³⁵

According to BOYCE, the cult of the Fravashis, which is unique to the Iranians, developed during an “Iranian Heroic Age” in the second millennium BCE, presumably “some two hundred years or more” before Zarathustra (1995, p. 28). The concept of *frauuašī-* was that of “the spirit of a valiant and mighty warrior, which because of his famous feats had attained a happier lot after death than the souls, urvans, of ordinary people”.³⁶ After the heroes had died, their souls became fravashis that inhabited the upper air “and could, if duly venerated, swoop like birds to aid their living kinsmen, fighting invisibly beside them in battle”. BOYCE maintains that their cult consisted in the veneration either of a princely ruler’s heroic forbears or of the spirits of heroes generally. By contrast, the souls (urvans) of ordinary people proceeded to a dark underworld kingdom of the dead, and their cult – inherited from Ilr. and ultimately IE times – entailed the souls of the departed returning from their shadowy abodes in the netherworld to their respective family homes, to be welcomed by their descendants with religious rites and offerings of food. BOYCE argues, however, that in Zarathustra’s system there was no room for such a cult because the departed soul was assigned a fixed place in heaven, hell or limbo according to its precisely judged deserts (1995, pp. 27–28). Neither did the cult of the Fravashis form part of Zarathustra’s teachings. The prophet would have been “mildly opposed on doctrinal grounds to their cult, or at least indifferent to it” (BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 106). Assuming that the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* is Zarathustra’s work, BOYCE considers the clause in Y 37.3 venerating the Fravashis to be an interpolation “consisting of a standard formula ... lightly archaized by lengthening final vowels”³⁷:

34 On the different meanings of YAv. *frauuašī-* see below, p. 174f.

35 SÖDERBLOM 1899, cf. BOYCE, *HZ*, I, pp. 118–120.

36 This interpretation seems to imply that, in the old, pre-Zoroastrian cult, only heroic people had a fravashi.

37 BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 91f., 106f. and 1995, pp. 26, 35.

Y 37.3 *ašāunąm frauuašiš narąmcā nāirinąmcā yazamaidē*

We worship the fravašis of the just, of men and of women.

Priests, or “a remarkable teacher” amongst them, are held responsible for this “hugely important interpolation”, which “could have been made at almost any time” (BOYCE 1995, pp. 26, 35). Its purpose was to give ancient authority to the fravashi-cult introduced into the religion some time after Zarathustra’s death and integrated into the Zoroastrian system by means of a fusion with the ancient cult of the soul. BOYCE argues that this incorporation of the fravashi-cult happened as a result of the fravashi “taking over not only the place but also the character of the urvan” and so becoming an object of worship at the great annual feast of Hamaspāthmaēdaya, the Iranian festival of All Souls, later renamed as *rōzān fravardīgān* ‘days of the fravashis’. Moreover, the fravashis were elevated to a level with the yazatas. This, together with the identification with *uruuan-*, helped their cult to become established in Zoroastrian worship. A third element, especially found in the *Yāsts*, was that the fravashis are celebrated in warlike terms. Such verses “continue the original tradition of praise for the fravashis as heroic warrior spirits” (1995, p. 28f.). Finally, BOYCE sees evidence for the postulated struggle to have the cult of the fravashis accepted within Zoroastrianism in the confusions, anomalies and logical difficulties which she considers it produced (1995, p. 34).

BOYCE’s theory rests on a number of assumptions, including that Y 37.3, the only OAv. attestation, is an interpolation and that nothing can be known about the original meaning of the word *frauuaši-* (1995, p. 26). Her assumption of an interpolation, however, is improbable for a number of reasons, the most obvious being that there are no parallels. Moreover, the disputed verse exhibits two grammatical characteristics – the forms *frauuašiš* and *ašāunąm* – which identify its language as Old Avestan. As argued by TICHY, the gen.pl. *ašāunąm* is more archaic than the regular YAv. *ašaonąm* because it preserves the long vowel of *ašā*, the original collective case, from which *ašauuan-* is derived with the suffix **-uan-*.³⁸ In YAv. the form *ašāunąm* essentially only occurs in expressions referring to the Fravashis, and denotes the *genus commune* in contrast to *ašaonąm* for the masculine gender and *ašaoninąm* for the feminine, e.g.:

Yt 13.145 *narąm ašaonąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide ...*
nāirinąm ašaoninąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide ...
vīspā ašāunąm ... frauuašaiiō yazamaide

We worship the Fravashis of truthful men;
 we worship the Fravašis of truthful women;
 we worship all the Fravashis of the truthful (people).

The second archaic feature is the form *frauuašiš*, which, as argued below on p. 181, is probably a regular OAv. *i*-stem acc.pl. in *-iš* (< **-iNs*). Although there

38 TICHY 1985, p. 161 with fn. 35 and, especially, 1986, pp. 92, 101f.

are a few isolated YAv. occurrences of an *i*-stem acc.pl. in *-īš* (Yt 14.41 *gairīš*),³⁹ as far as the noun *frauuaši*- is concerned the nom.pl. *frauuašaiiō* is always used for the acc.pl., e.g. in Yt 13.145 just quoted.

For these reasons, it is more probable that, rather than being a YAv. interpolation in the OAv., the reverse was in fact the case, and the verse line in question was borrowed from the YH into YAv. and provided the model for numerous invocations of the Fravashis, including that of Yt 13.145. If this is so, it may be stated with KELLENS 1989a, p. 101, that the earliest attestation of the noun *frauuaši*- is in Y 37.3, its only OAv. occurrence, and that its absence from the *Gathas* is probably due to chance. This one attestation is sufficient evidence that the term does form part of the OAv. vocabulary and religious system.

As to BOYCE's assumption that nothing can be known about the original meaning of the word *frauuaši*- because of "the variety of verbal roots *var* from which it may be derived" and that therefore it "seems unlikely that there will ever be unanimity about the etymology of the term *fravaši*" (1995, p. 26), only two roots need to be considered, *var* 'to cover, ward off' and *var* 'to choose, prefer, decide'. The former is favoured by BAILEY, *ZorProb.*, p. 109, according to whom *frauuaši*- belongs with MP *gurd* 'hero' and "probably was applied to the great heroes, possessors of **vṛti*- 'protective valour'". In Zoroastrian books the concept was "enlarged to include all men dead, born and unborn."

Although from a phonetic point of view the derivation of *frauuaši*- from the aniṭ-root *var* 'to cover, ward off' is possible on the assumption that the *ti*-abstract is formed from the full, rather than the zero, grade root (< **fra-ṽár-ti*-, cf. *ḥam.varəti*- 'defence' with unaccented root syllable),⁴⁰ it is unlikely because composition of this verb with the preverb **pra* is not found in Avestan and only little in Vedic. By contrast, the compound **pra-ṽar* from *var* 'to choose' is well attested in both languages. There remains, therefore, only one plausible etymology, which is that *frauuaši*- derives from the set-root *var* 'to choose'. It is thus a regular *ti*-abstract from the zero grade root (**fra-ṽár-ti*-, IE **pra-ṽ[_h]-ti*-), although a full grade formation is also conceivable.⁴¹ If this is so, one has to start from an action noun *frauuaši*- meaning 'preference', 'choice' and comparable to Ved. *pra-vara*- 'a call, summons'.⁴² While the term *frauuaši*- itself is not found

39 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 135.

40 In contrast to *-aš*- (which goes back to **-árt*-), *-arə*- is unaccented, see HOFFMANN 1986, p. 166 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, p. 840]. NARTEN 1985a, p. 36, excludes a derivation of *frauuaši*- from *var* 'to cover, ward off' on the grounds that the underlying root would be full grade, but does admit this possibility for *ḥam.varəti*- 'defence'.

41 The outcome *-š*- in Av. *frauuaši*- requires an accented root syllable, although Vedic *ti*-abstracts with preverbs are usually accented on the suffix. HOFFMANN 1986, p. 172 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, p. 846] considers the possibility that the root syllable in Av. *frauuaši*- has full grade and adduces Av. *frazaiṇti*- 'offspring' < IE **pro-ǵénh₁-ti*- as a parallel. Accordingly, DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 594, suggests a derivation of *frauuaši*- from **pra-ṽárH-ti*.

42 Cf. NARTEN 1985a, p. 36, who elaborates on an earlier suggestion by LOMMEL, *Yāšt*'s, pp. 104–106. KELLENS 1989a, p. 101, comments that the etymology of *frauuaši*- is now

in the *Gathas*, the concept of ‘choice’ is well represented by the noun *varəna-* ‘choice’ and the verb *var, fra-uuar* ‘to choose’. In particular, *var* denotes a person’s ethical choice, such as in Y 35.3 and

Y 43.16 *aṭ ahurā huuō mainiiūm zaraḍuštrō*
vərəntē mazdā yastē ciścā spāništō

O Lord, this one, Zarathustra, chooses
your most bounteous spirit, O Wise one.

While the Gathic noun *varəna-* is a *vox media* denoting a ‘choice’ which may be either good or bad (*aka-* Y 45.1),⁴³ the compounds with *fra, frauuaši-* and the verb *fra-uuar*, refer to the ‘choice’ in favour of (*fra*, Latin *pro*) Ahura Mazdā and against the destructive forces. From this there developed the YAv. meaning of the verb ‘confess, profess’, particularly in the Zoroastrian “Profession of Faith” (Y 12) in the form *frauuarānē*. This also explains why only ‘truthful’ people, whether men or women, have a *frauuaši-*.⁴⁴

Three distinct uses have been distinguished in the Younger Avesta.⁴⁵ The first is when *frauuaši-* denotes a human faculty besides *baodah-* ‘sensorial perception’, *uštana-* or *ahu-* ‘life’, *uruuan-* ‘soul’ and *daēnā-* ‘world-view, conception, conviction, belief’,⁴⁶ for instance in

Y 26.4 (= Yt 13.149) *paoiriianəm tkaēšanəm*
paoiriianəm sāsno.gūšəm
iḍa ašaonəm ašaoninəmca
ahūmca daēnəmca baodasca uruuanəmca frauuašimca yazamaide
yōi ašāi vaonara

We worship here the life, belief, perception, soul and choice
of the first teachers,
of the first hearers of the doctrine,
both truthful men and truthful women,
who have prevailed for the sake of truth.

certain: “des deux racines indo-iraniennes *var*, seule celle qui signifie ‘choisir’ parvient à rendre compte de la composition avec le préverbe *fra* et du degré plein, réel ou apparent, de la syllabe radicale”.

43 NARTEN 1985a, pp. 39–41.

44 An alternative explanation of the semantic difference between *varəna-* and *frauuaši-* is given by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 181; cf. NARTEN 1985a, p. 46, according to whom the verbal abstract *frauuaši-* in Y 37.3 is personified, while the Gathic *varəna-* is not. – The fact that only the *frauuaši-*s of truthful persons are venerated is considered by BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 119f., to be a relic of an ancestor cult of “pagan times” where *ašaunan-* indicated the “blessed dead”.

45 SCHLERATH 1980, p. 208; KELLENS 1989a, p. 99f. with fn. 1.

46 On the translation of *daēnā-* as ‘belief’, see Y 35.1 no. 3 *daēnaiiā*, above, pp. 58–60. On the Zoroastrian classification of the various faculties of which the human being is comprised, see SHAKED, *Dualism*, pp. 135–141. BOYCE 1995, p. 32f., considers the distinction between *uruuan-* and *frauuaši-* to be the result of scholastic speculation.

All spiritual and physical creatures endowed with the facility to choose and take Ahura Mazda's side have a *frauuāši*-. In particular, Zarathustra's *frauuāši*- provides the model for all human beings (Yt 13.87–95), and the praise of his *frauuāši*- is succeeded by that of a series of other truthful followers, both men and women (Yt 13.96–145). Even the Amesha Spentas are said to possess a *frauuāši*-, and theirs is second only to the primordial and best *frauuāši*- of Ahura Mazda (e.g. Y 26.2–3, 26.2, Yt 13.80–84). This statement may be interpreted as suggesting that the divine beings have also chosen to fight evil by creating the material world.⁴⁷

In its second application, *frauuāši*- occurs in the plural and is characteristic of 'truthful' (*ašauna-*) human and divine beings past, present and future. They desire to be worshipped and visit the houses of their families at certain times of the year (Yt 13.49–52). That there is no strict boundary between the first and second use emerges, for instance, from Y 24.5, where they are combined. The worshippers declare about the offerings:

Y 24.5 *āat dīš āuuaēdaiiamahī*
zaraθuštrahe spitāmahe ašaonō frauuāšē
yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastaiiaēca
aṇhuiiaoš ašacinayhō
mat vīspābiiō ašaonibiiō frauuāšibiiō
yā irīriθušqam ašaonqam
yāasca juuantqam ašaonqam
yāasca narqam azātanqam frašō.carəθraqm saošiiantqam

We dedicate them
 to the choice of truthful Spitāma Zarathustra
 for worship, praise, gratification and glory,
 (of Zarathustra) who deserves life, desires truth,
 together with all truthful choices
 of the truthful dead
 of the truthful living
 of unborn men, restorers and deliverers.

The third application, considered by BOYCE 1995 as incorporating the original use of the word, is when the plural of *frauuāši*-, specifically that of the truthful, refers to an anonymous group consisting of an army of strong, fast and victorious supernatural beings who are invoked in battle to provide succour to the truthful people and ensure victory over their enemies (e.g. Yt 13.31–48, 63, 69–73). It is such bellicose *fravashis* of the truthful ones who also helped Ahura Mazda when he created the physical world (see below, p. 176).

47 LOMMEL, *Yāst's*, p. 110, considers Yt 13.80–86 to be a later addition resulting from the mechanical extension of invocation formulae, because he finds it utterly incomprehensible ("vollkommen unverständlich") that spiritual beings such as Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas should have a *frauuāši*-.

BOYCE considers the “confusions, anomalies and logical difficulties” to be evidence for a postulated struggle to have the cult of the fravashis accepted within Zoroastrianism (1995, p. 34). According to BOYCE, the attempt to give the fravashis a role at the heart of Zoroastrian belief and myth “approached blasphemy”. For instance, the fravashis’ dual role as assistants of Ahura Mazdā when creating the physical world, on the one hand, and of human beings when struggling against evil, on the other, described at the beginning of Yt 13, is considered to be a “vast” claim and “unsupported by any other text” (1995, p. 30).

In Yt 13, the fravashis of the truthful ones are said to have assisted Ahura Mazdā when he created the material world (Yt 13.1–11, 22, 28–29). It is explicitly stated that had it not been for their support, deceit would have succeeded in estranging the material beings from their creator and assuming power over them. As a result, the destructive force of Angra Mainyu would have eventually prevailed over the creative power of Spenta Mainyu (Yt 13.12–13). If one assumes that the semantic kernel of *fraunuaši-* is ‘choice’, their role in creation makes sense and some of BOYCE’s instances of anomalies disappear. This is so because, according to Zoroastrian cosmology, Ahura Mazdā created the physical world for the sole purpose of overcoming evil. This goal, however, could only be reached if the material world in general, and human beings in particular, chose to side with Ahura Mazdā and support his struggle against evil. Their ‘choice’, *fraunuaši-*, in his favour was therefore crucial for the success of the deity’s plan.

From a doctrinal point of view, the various uses of *fraunuaši-* in the Avesta are explicable if its basic meaning is posited as ‘choice’. This does not exclude the possibility of the intrusion of a pre-Zoroastrian ancestor cult.⁴⁸ As noted by NARTEN 1985a, p. 35, the worship of the Fravashis of truthful people in Y 37.3 has close parallels in YAv. passages similarly praising those of truthful men, women and children, past, present and future (e.g. Y 24.5 quoted above, p. 175, Y 26). Since Y 37.3 is the only OAv. attestation, it is not possible, however, to establish with certainty whether *fraunuaši-* already possesses all the connotations which are found in the Younger Avesta.⁴⁹ To assume the presence of such ideas in Y 37.3 is not necessary because in the context of this stanza ‘choice’ makes perfect sense. Further support for this meaning derives from Y 39.2, where other

48 Cf. NARTEN 1985a, pp. 44–46, who argues that the different YAv. applications of *fraunuaši-* can be reconciled with one another if one starts from the etymological meaning ‘decisive choice, preference’, as established by LOMMEL, and to which the verbal form *fra-unarānē* also belongs. NARTEN stresses that the assumption of the original abstract concept of an individual’s ‘choice’ to fight evil requires the hypothesis that there are later incursions of popular belief.

49 KELLENS 1989a, p. 104, who also argues that in Y 37.3 *fraunuaši-* is used in its etymological sense ‘choice, preference’. According to KELLENS, it expresses the ‘preference’ of the worshipper for giving homage to Ahura Mazdā and not to another god: “il exprime la vertu abstraite, l’état d’esprit avec lequel le sacrifiant rend hommage à la divinité, à savoir la préférence qu’il a pour elle, l’allégeance sélective qu’il lui porte”.

constituent parts of the human being are venerated, namely the souls (*uruuan-*) and world-views or beliefs (*daēnā-*) of the truthful ones.⁵⁰ The most likely interpretation is therefore that Y 37.3 *frauuašiš* denotes the ‘choices’ of truthful men and women to align themselves with Ahura Mazdā in his struggle against evil, destructive forces.

2 *tām yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’

Y 37.2–3 is characterized by four sentences each beginning with *tām* and ending with *yazamaidē*:

1. *tām aṭ yasnanam pauruatātā yazamaidē*
2. *tām aṭ āhūiriā nāmānī mazdā.varā *spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē*
3. *tām ahmākāiš *azdabīscā uštānāišcā yazamaidē*
4. *tām aṣāunam frauuašiš narəmca nāirinəmca yazamaidē*

Clauses 1 and 3 exhibit the normal construction of *yaz* ‘to worship *acc.* with *instr.*’. The accusative denotes the object of the worship, the deity, and the instrumental the means by which it is offered (see above, p. 161). By contrast, the construction in nos. 2 and 4 is unclear insofar as *nāmānī* and *frauuašiš* do not look like instrumentals. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1276, interprets *nāmānī* as a loc. used instead of an instr.sg. and *frauuašiš* as an acc.pl. asyndetically joined to *tām*: ‘we shall worship him with the Ahurian name ..., we shall worship him (and) the Fravashis of the truthful ones’.⁵¹ NARTEN 1985b, p. 171, comments that if such was correct the expression *āhūiriā nāmānī* would represent an unparalleled instance of case syncretism in the Older Avesta. Moreover, in *YH*, p. 180, she rightly objects to the interpretation of asyndetic ‘him (and) the Fravashis’ on the grounds that the first three stanzas of Y 37 are dedicated exclusively to the praise of Ahura Mazdā. It is not until Y 37.4–5 that other divine beings are worshipped. HUMBACH, who considers *nāmānī* and *frauuašiš* to be accusatives, avoids the problem of *yaz* governing a double accusative by adding a verb: ‘we worship Him (pronouncing His) Ahurian names, ... we worship Him (mentioning) the Fravašis of the truthful men and women’ (*Gāthās*², I, p. 146, II, p. 124). SKJÆRVØ 2002a, p. 40, likewise translates *frauuašiš* as an acc.pl. but interprets it as the item offered: ‘Up to *him* we are offering up in sacrifice the

50 Cf. NARTEN 1985a, p. 44f., and *YH*, p. 181. On *frauuaši-* in the Younger Avesta denoting one of the inner human faculties, see above, p. 174f.

51 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1162, 1276; 993, 1274; WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 68: ‘ihn also wollen wir mit dem von Ahura stammenden ... Namen verehren; ... ihn (und) die Fravašay’s ... wollen wir verehren’. BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 91f., 106f., who also translates asyndetically ‘We worship him (that is, Ahura Mazdā), the *fravašis* of the just, of men and women’, concludes that the clause “has all the appearance of a clumsy later interpolation” because it is grammatically awkward and “not in harmony with the general tenor of the section”. Considering *frauuaši-* to be another word for ‘soul’ besides *uruuan-*, she deduces that the reason for the interpolation was to legitimize a pre-Zoroastrian ancestor cult. For a discussion of this hypothesis, see above, p. 171ff.

pre-souls of the sustainers of Order, men and women'. This view, however, is in conflict with the syntactic properties of *yaz*, which governs the instrumental of the offering, see above, p. 161.

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 141, interpret *nāmānī* and *frauuāšiš* as instrumentals and thus achieve a construction which is syntactically parallel to the other two clauses with their instrumentals *pauruātātā* and *azdabīšcā uštānāišcā*. PIRART 1988 argues that the nom./acc.pl. of neuter *n-* stems ends in *-an* and that all OAv. forms in *-ānī*, *-ānī* are instr. sg. In addition to Y 37.3 *nāmānī* they include Y 46.17 *afšmānī*, 53.5 *sāx^vānī*, 45.10 *anmānī* and Y 31.8, 45.8 *cašmainī*. Rejecting the idea that the language of the *Gathas* is "composite", PIRART 1988, p. 143, maintains that Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī* cannot be acc.pl. because elsewhere that case is *sax^vārē* (Y 29.4). The latter form, however, has been dissociated from Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī* by HOFFMANN/NARTEN, p. 79, who connect *sax^vārē* as acc.pl. of *sax^var-*/*sax^var-* with IIr. **čak^var-* 'work, performance' ('Leistung'), Ved. *śaknóti* 'is able'. Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī*, in contrast, is derived from IIr. **čās^van-* 'precept' ('Unterweisung'), Ved. *śās* 'to control, instruct' (*EWAia*, II, p. 632). That *sax^vārē* denotes a physical action rather than an oral one is indicated by its syntactic construction with the verb *varz* 'to do, perform':

Y 29.4 *mazdā^h sax^vārē mairištō yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī.ciθīt*
daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā yācā varəšaitē aipī.ciθīt

The Wise one (is he who) is best at remembering the works which have been
 done everywhere
 by (false) gods and mortals and which will be done in the future.

By contrast, Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī* is governed by the verb *mrū* 'to say, speak'. A syntactic problem arising from the interpretation of Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī* as an instr.sg. is posed by the form *ī* in line b. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, pp. 131, 222, interpret it as a "particule distributive" representing *it*, but their assumption of such a confusion is both unfounded and also unnecessary because there is Av. evidence for an emphasizing particle *ī*.⁵² Moreover, in their interpretation the verb *māncā ī mazdazdūm* 'pay attention!' is without an object.⁵³ It therefore appears preferable to analyse *ī* as the nom./acc.pl. ntr. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-*, referring back to *sāx^vānī*, which should then itself function as nom./acc.pl.:

Y 53.5 *sāx^vānī vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō mraomī*
xšmaibiiācā vadəmnō māncā ī mazdazdūm
vaēdōdūm daēnābīš^h aibiiāscā ahūm yā vanhāuš manəhō

52 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 363. Cf. also the critical comments by SKJÆRVØ 1997, p. 109.

53 In the other Gathic attestations, the verb *mān* ... *dā* takes the acc.: Y 28.4 *uruuānəm mān ... dadē ... ašīšcā šīiaodananəm* 'I pay attention to the soul and to the rewards for one's actions'; Y 44.8 **māndāidiiāi yā tōi mazdā ādišiš* 'to pay attention to your advice, O Lord'; Y 31.5 *māncā daidiiāi ... tācīt mazdā ahurā yā nōit vā anhaṭ anhaitī vā* 'and to pay attention ... to these (things), O Wise Lord, which shall either be or not be'; Y 45.1 *nū īm vīspā ciθrā zī mazdāhō.dūm* 'all you, now pay attention to this (life), for (it is) splendid!'

I, the leader of the bride,⁵⁴ declare the commandments to the maidens who will be getting married⁵⁵ and to you: Pay attention to them!
Find the life of good thought by means of your beliefs and for their own sake⁵⁶!

- 54 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1345 with n. 1, regards the form *vadāmnō* as a middle present participle and connects it with the verb *vad* 'to speak', Ved. *vad*, *vādati*. He rejects a suggestion by JUSTI and later by GELDNER 1887, pp. 192 and 204, who translate *vadāmnō* as 'marrying' and implicitly relate it to Ved. *vadh* 'to lead (the bride into marriage)'. HUMBACH 1956a, p. 75, initially endorsed the latter equation and rendered the word as 'bride-leader' ('Brautführer'), an interpretation also adopted by KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 109, n. 16, and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 296 ('paranymphe'). More recently, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 194, II, p. 242f., has abandoned his own earlier reading on the grounds that the YAv. present of *vad* 'to lead' is not *vada-* but *vādaiia-* and returned to BARTHOLOMAE's explanation of *vadāmnō*. He suggests that the middle form in Y 53.5 has a reciprocal sense 'conversing', while FRITZ 2000, p. 115, translates it as 'speaking' ('sprechend').

KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 109, n. 16, points out that 'speaking' is redundant in the context of Y 53.5 because the verb in the sentence is *mraomī* 'I say'. Moreover, while *vad* 'to speak' is well attested in Vedic, it is not found elsewhere in Avestan, indeed in any Iranian language (*EWaia*, II, p. 496). By contrast, the verb *vad* 'to lead' is documented not only in Avestan but also extensively in various other Iranian languages (BAILEY, *DKS*, p. 25 s.v. *āvasta-*, p. 277 s.v. *bāy-*). Finally, *vad* 'to lead', a technical term relating to marriage, fits the context of Y 53 perfectly, since the hymn concerns a wedding. For these reasons, the connection of *vadāmnō* with *vad* 'to lead' is more probable. While accepting the underlying root to be *vad* 'to lead', INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 325, proposes the emendation **vadāmnā*, which he interprets as a voc.pl. 'ye bridegrooms!'

- 55 FRITZ 2000, p. 115f., argues convincingly that *vaziiāmnābiiō*, which is usually connected with *vaz* 'to travel, move' (e.g. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 300), belongs with *vad* 'to lead (a bride home), to marry' (IE **yedh* 'to lead', *LIV*², p. 659). The form is the middle participle of the future stem *vaziia-* and developed via **yadzhiā-* from Ilr. **yadh-siā-*.

- 56 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 189, follows the reading of the ms. K5 and edits the form *abiiastā*, but prefers *abiiascā* in his "Additions and Corrections". BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 96, n. 2, rejects GELDNER's correction and accepts his earlier *abiiastā*, interpreting it as the loc.sg. of a hapax legomenon *abiiasti-* f. 'striving for' ('eifrige Bemühung um -'), a compound of *aibī* and *yasti-*, equivalent to Ved. **yatti-*, a *ti*-abstract of the root *yat*. According to BARTHOLOMAE, the words *abiiastā ahūm yā varjāuš manajhō* mean 'in striving for the life of good thought' ('in eifriger Bemühung um das Leben des guten Sinns'). He derives the notion of 'striving' from that of the root *yat* 'to move' ('sich in Bewegung setzen', *AirWb.* 1236ff.). However, as shown by THIEME 1975, pp. 341–346, the meaning of Av. *yat* is, like that of its Vedic equivalent, 'to take one's position'. Moreover, GELDNER's later preference for the reading *abiiascā* was probably correct since, as argued by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*, II, p. 96, the reading *abiiastā* is only attested in K5 and can be explained as a corruption of *c* to *t*. Accordingly, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 193, reads **abiiascā* with the mss. Pt4, J2 and K4, and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 190 **aibiiascā* with Mf2 and the Indian *Vendidad* and *Yasna Sade* mss.

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 270, segment **aibii-as-cā* and suggest that *-cā* is the enclitic particle while **aibii-* represents the preverb *aibī*, which would belong with the preceding verb *vaēdōdūm*. They further propose that the syllable *-as-* is "easily" ("aisément") understood as "brachylogique" for **(ahūm) ast(uuantam)**. Line b of 53.3 *vaēdōdūm daēnābīs *aibiiascā ahūm yā varjāuš manajhō* would then be short for

That there are Avestan forms of the nom./acc.pl. of neuter *n*-stems in *-āni* < **-ani* (IE **-en-h₂*) has been demonstrated by KUIPER 1978, pp. 83ff., 90, fn. 3, and further supported by BEEKES 1981. MAYRHOFER 1982, p. 203, adduces additional evidence with the OP expression *a-nu-u-v: t-u-m-n-i-š-i-y /anu taumani-šaiy/* 'according to his strengths' attested in DNb 25f. The variant forms of the nom./acc.pl. of neuter *n*-stems are explained by BEEKES as reflecting three different formations:⁵⁷ Y 38.4 *nāmam*, representing **nāmān*, continues the PIE ending *-ōn* while Y 37.3 *nāmānī*, representing **nāmani*, is formed with the PIE ending *-enh₂*. The third formation in *-ānī* (Y 46.17 *afšmānī*) results from a combination of the two. A parallel for forms of the nom.pl. in *-ani* alongside *-an* is found, for instance, in the paradigm of the *r/n* heteroclitic stem *baēnuar-/baēnuan-* 'ten thousand': *baēnuani* (Yt 13.64) and *baēnuan* (Yt 13.59, Vd 22.2).

In the expression Yt 13.79 *nāmānī āpō yazamaide* etc., NARTEN 1985b, p. 176f., interprets *nāmānī* as an acc.pl. functioning as an instr.pl., as is clearly the case in Y 15.1 *aməšə spəntə vanhūš srīrāiš nāman āzbaiia* 'I invoke the Amesha Spentas with their good,⁵⁸ beautiful names'. NARTEN concludes that in YAv. the plural forms *nāmānī*, *nāman* had multiple function just like the form *nāma* which could be not only nom./acc.sg. but also nom./acc.pl. and, moreover, was able to be used adverbially 'by name'. According to NARTEN 1985b, p. 171, *nāmānī* in

*vaēdōdūm daēnābīš (ahūm) *aibii-as(tuuantam)cā ahūm yā vanhūš manahō* 'et trouvez par votre conscience l'(existence) os(seuse) et l'existence de la divine Pensée!' (TVA, I, p. 190). This analysis, however, is unconvincing. Apart from the fact that the form **aibii-as-cā* contains *-as-* rather than *-ast-*, the assumption of brachylogy is *ad hoc* since KELLEN/PIRART adduce no parallels for such a phenomenon.

More promising is the interpretation of *abiiascā* as the fem. dat./abl.pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *a-* 'this', equivalent to Ved. *ābhyāh* (IIr. **ābhjas*). In the Av. form, *ā-* is regularly shortened to *a-* in the antepenultimate syllable (DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, pp. 110, 155, 610). HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 96 and *Gāthās²*, II, p. 243, opts for the abl. and translates the verse: 'Note them in your minds and accept with (your) religious views, and in accordance with them, the existence which (is that) of good thought' (*Gāthās²*, I, p. 193). Alternatively, *abiias^o* may be interpreted with HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 169, as the dat.plur. 'with your beliefs and for their sake'. The verse's meaning would then be that the *daēnā-* is not only a vehicle for spiritual insight, but is also shaped by its owner's choices. Thus the expression *abiiascā* 'and for their sake' contains an implicit reference to the Individual Judgement, where a good *daēnā-* is crucial for a safe crossing of the Cinwad Bridge. The pronoun *abiiascā* in Y 53.5 has then the same function as the dat. pl. *daēnābiiō* in Y 40.1 and 41.5, where Ahura Mazda is asked for the 'prize' (*mīzda-*) which he has 'allocated to someone like me for the sake of our beliefs'. For the translation of *daēnā-* as 'belief', see Y 35.1 no. 3, above, pp. 58–60.

57 BEEKES, *Grammar*, p. 121f.; cf. also NARTEN, *YH*, p. 177, fn. 37; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 153.

58 The form *vanhūš* could be an acc.pl. characterizing the Amesha Spentas, but it could also be the instr.pl. from **vanhuuiš* < **vanhuβīš*, see NARTEN 1985b, p. 177, after HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, II, p. 614, fn. 11, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 131, § 93, p. 97, § 63c.

Y 37.3 can be loc.sg., acc.pl. or acc.dual. The adjective *āhūiriiā*, which is likely to agree in case and number with *nāmānī*, suggests an accusative.⁵⁹

Even more problematic is PIRART's interpretation of *frauuāšīš* as an instr.pl.⁶⁰ because – if there are such plurals ending in *-īš* – they are confined to *n*-stems, e.g. *sūnīš* (if originally instr.pl. of *span-* 'dog'), *ašaonīš* (if instr.pl. in Vr 21.3 and P 35).⁶¹ While *u*-stems could develop an instr.pl. in *-ūš* (cf. *vaṇhūš* from **vaṇhuuiš* < **vaṇhu-βīš*, see above, p. 180, fn. 58), a parallel development for *i*-stems is excluded on phonetic grounds. The expected (but unattested) form of the instr.pl. of *frauuāši-* is **frauuāšibiš*, cf. YAv. dat.pl. *frauuāšibiiō* (e.g. Y 4.2, 24.5, 56.2). The reason that *frauuāši-* is not found in the instrumental case could be that the noun functions as the object of veneration, but never as the means by which worship is offered.⁶² If Y 37.3 *frauuāšīš* is the regularly built case form of an *i*-stem, it can only be acc.pl., cf. the OAv. acc.pl. *ašīš* from *aši-* 'reward'. Since in YAv., the nom.pl. *frauuāšaiiō* functions as the acc. pl. (e.g. Yt 13.18, 74, Vr 16.2 etc.), Y 37.3 *frauuāšīš* constitutes not only the earliest attestation of this noun but also a unique form which, with one exception (Y 63.3), is not found anywhere else in the Avesta.⁶³

There is the problem, however, of justifying a second accusative besides *tām* 'him' syntactically, because *yaz*, as well as its Vedic cognate *yaj*, does not occur with the double accusative of the deity and the offering.⁶⁴ The YAv. examples

59 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 141, by contrast, interpret *āhūiriiā* as nom.pl.m. "adrateur d'Ahura (Mazdā)". They consider that it would function "comme épithète du sujet de *yazamaidē*". Furthermore, they split the compound *mazdā.vārā* into its constituent parts *mazdā* and *vārā* (sic!) which, together with **spəntō.tāmā*, they regard as names of Ahura Mazdā.

60 PIRART 1988, p. 146; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 269, III, p. 141; KELLENS 1989a, p. 104. The view that *frauuāšīš* represents an instr.pl. is accepted, for instance, by PANAINO 2004a, p. 244.

61 On Av. instrumentals in *-īš*, see TICHY 1985, p. 160 with fn. 32. TICHY argues that *sūnīš* was initially the instr.pl. of *span-* 'dog' but identifies its syntactic function in the four YAv. attestations as a nom./acc.pl. By contrast, DE VAAN, *Av.Vowels*, p. 274, fn. 287, considers *sūnīš* to have been a nom.pl. originally without, however, offering an explanation for such a form alongside the regular nom.pl. *spānō* (= Ved. *śvānah*, see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 142). According to DE VAAN, *Av.Vowels*, p. 271f., there is no evidence for a YAv. instr.pl. ending *-nīš* instead of *-bīš*.

62 This constitutes a semantic argument against KELLENS/PIRART's interpretation of *frauuāšīš* as an instr. denoting the means by which worship (or sacrifice) is offered, see above, p. 178.

63 The two YAv. passages, where the form *frauuāšīš* occurs, are dependent on the YH: Y 5.3 is a quotation of Y 37.3 and Y 63.3 *ašāunəm urunascā frauuāšīšcā yazamaide* is based on Y 39.2 *ašāunəm āat urunō yazamaidē*.

64 HAUDRY, *L'emploi des cas*, p. 349. RV 1.75.5 *yājā devān ȳtām bṛhāt*, where according to GRASSMANN, 1071, *yaj* means 'to sacrifice something (acc.) to a god (acc.)', is interpreted differently by GAEDICKE, *Akkusativ*, pp. 159, 269. By contrast, such construction is found with the verb *vac*, e.g. RV 10.80.7 ... *agnīm mahām avocāmā suvṛktīm* 'we have spoken a great hymn to Agni'.

adduced by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1276, 1b, for *yaz* with double acc. are eliminated by NARTEN 1985b, pp. 173–178: instead of Yt 5.21 etc., Yt 9.3 etc. *satəm* ... *hazaṇrəm* edited by GELDNER, she reads with ms. F1 **satāe* ... **hazaṇrāe*, loc.sg. of adjective stems **sataiia-*, **hazaṇraiia-* ‘a hundred, hundreds’, ‘a thousand, thousands’ denoting the goal for the sake of which the worship is offered.⁶⁵ KELLENS 2001, p. 742, accepts NARTEN’s suggestion that a locative should be read instead of GELDNER’s *satəm* and *hazaṇrəm* but objects that **sataiia-* and **hazaṇraiia-* are not found elsewhere in Avestan (although NARTEN adduces Vedic evidence for such stems). Instead he reads *sate* and *hazaṇre*, regular loc. singulars of *sata-* and *hazaṇra-*, and explains the forms *satāe* and *hazaṇrāe* as corruptions due to the “prédilection pour la graphie finale fortement stylisée -āe.” While KELLENS adduces no further evidence for his suggestion, such support could come from the fact that the variant reading *hazaṇre* is actually well attested alongside that in -āe while *satāe* is almost always found in the good mss.⁶⁶ If *sate* and *hazaṇre* are the original forms, the corruption could have started from *sate* (instead of which, however, one would expect *saite*, cf. nom. du. *saite* in Yt 19.7). On the analogy of forms in -tāe originating from *ti-*stems, *sate* changed to *satāe* and spread from there to *hazaṇre*, where the development was less thoroughly carried through.

In NARTEN’s analysis, the use of the locatives here derives from the chariot race metaphor in which the ‘prize at stake’ (*mīžda-*) is denoted by that particular case (see Y 41.4 no.1 *zaēmācā* ‘may we obtain’ below, p. 315). Accordingly, the worshipper performs a ritual in order to obtain ‘hundreds of male horses etc.’. However, this interpretation involves the assumption of a dual purpose because the goal is always stated in the following stanza where the worshipper presents his special request which the deity may or may not grant.⁶⁷ If the locatives denote the goal, they could, therefore, refer only to the sacrificial fee (*mīžda-*) payable to the priest on completion of the ritual.⁶⁸ It is in such contexts that in Vedic, as in Yt 5.21 etc., fantastically large numbers of various kinds of domestic animals are mentioned. For instance, in RV 8.46.22, the poet rejoices in the reward he has received from the patron for his service:

RV 8.46.22 *ṣaṣṭi sahasrāśvyasyāyūtāsanam uṣṭrānām viśatī śatā |*
dāśa śyāvīnā śatā dāśa tryāruṣiṇām dāśa gāvā sahasrā ||

65 The formula recurs fifteen times in Yt 5 with regard to fifteen different worshippers, namely Yt 5.21 (Haošiianha), 25 (Yima), 29 (Aži Dahāka), 33 (Θraētaona), 37 (Kərəsāspa), 41 (Fraṇrasiiian), 45 (Kauui Usan), 49 (Haosrauuah), 57 (Vaēsakaiia), 68 (Jāmāspa), 72 (Aṣauuazdah and Θrita), 81 (Yōiṣta Friiāna), 108 (Kauui Vištāspa), 112 (Zairiuuairi), 116 (Vaṇdarəmainiṣ).

66 In F1 and E1 *hazaṇre* is found in Yt 5.29, 41, 45 (E1 only), 57, 81 and *hazaṇrāe* in Yt 5.21, 25, 37, 45 (F1 only), 49. The mss. abbreviate in Yt 5.108, 112 and 116.

67 KELLENS 2001, p. 742.

68 On *mīžda-* denoting the ‘sacrificial fee’, see HINTZE, *Lohn*, pp. 159f., 245f.

I have gained sixty thousand horses, a myriad (cows), two thousand camels,
one thousand dark brown (mares), ten (hundred) tricoloured (mares),
ten thousand cows.

The “special request” expressed in the stanza following the formula in Yt 5.21 etc. would then be that of the patron who commissions the ritual. More likely, however, is that the locatives refer to the sacrificial animals and thus imply a large-scale sacrifice, or hecatomb. Thus KELLENS suggests that the locatives have a temporal sense: ‘while offering a hundred male horses, while offering a thousand cows’. By contrast, PANAINO and CIRCASSIA interpret the forms as locatives of limitation: ‘in the number of one hundred horses etc.’, ‘in the amount of one hundred horses etc.’.⁶⁹ Another possibility is that the locatives denote the circumstances of the ritual.⁷⁰ Such is the function of the Vedic loc. *adhvaré* in

RV 6.16.2 *sá no mandrábhir adhvaré jihvábhir yajā maháh |*
á devān vakṣi yákṣi ca ||

Sacrifice for us at the ritual to the great ones with your pleasant tongues!
Bring the gods here and sacrifice!

Accordingly the locatives in Yt 5.21 etc. would mean ‘on the occasion of, at (the sacrifice of) a hundred male horses’ etc.:

Yt 5.21 *tām yazata*
haošiiāṇhō paraḍātō
upa upa.bdi haraiiā
**sate aspanām aršnām*
**hazayre gauuām*
baēuuarā anumaiianām

Haošiiāṇha Paraḍāta
worshipped her
at the foot of Harā
at (the sacrifice of) a hundred male horses,
at (the sacrifice of) a thousand cows,
at (the sacrifice of) of ten thousand⁷¹ sheep.

As to Y 37.3, NARTEN accepts NYBERG’s suggestion, *Religionen*, p. 278, that *nāmānī* and *frauuāšīš* have a predicative function. She argues that the difference of number between the object *tām* ‘him’ and the plural accusatives *āhūiriiā*

69 CIRCASSIA, *Druuāspā*, pp. 47, 101–105; PANAINO 2004a, p. 234, fn. 6.

70 On this function of the locative see DELBRÜCK, *Ai.Syntax*, p. 116; HAUDRY, *L’emploi des cas*, p. 84.

71 Since *baēuuarā*, originally the nom./acc.sg. of the neuter heteroclitic stem *baēuuar-/baēuuan-*, is syntactically parallel to the two preceding locatives, it should function here as an indeclinable numeral; on the latter see HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 175, and on alleged heteroclitic locatives in *-ar AiGr.*, III, p. 311. NARTEN 1985b, p. 175, suggests that *baēuuarā* could be an ungrammatical addition on the model of the following common pattern: *satāmca hazayrāmca baēuuarāca*, attested e.g. in Yt 13.71.

nāmānī ‘Ahurian names’ and *frauuāšīš* ‘choices’⁷² indicates that by worshipping the latter two, Ahura Mazda himself is worshipped: ‘to worship the god as *acc.*’ → ‘to worship the god in the form of *acc.*’. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 141, consider this interpretation to be a “conception religieuse bizarre et tout à fait *ex machina*”.⁷³ There are, however, YAv. parallels for the idea that Ahura Mazda is worshipped when other beings are praised, e.g. in

Yt 6.4 *yō yazaite huuarə yaṭ aməṣəm*
raēm auruaṭ.aspəm ...
yazaite ahurəm mazdəm
yazaite aməṣə spəntā
yazaite haom uruuanəm
xšnāuuaiieiti vīspe mainiiauuaca yazata gaēdīiāca
yō yazaite huuarə yaṭ aməṣəm
raēm auruaṭ.aspəm

The one who worships the sun, the immortal,
 swift-horsed splendour, ...
 he worships Ahura Mazda,
 he worships the Amesha Spentas,
 he worships his own soul.
 The one who worships the sun, the immortal,
 swift-horsed splendour,
 he gratifies all spiritual and material venerable ones.

The praise of the ‘Ahurian names’, such as *aša-*, and of the Fravashis is thus the same as that of Ahura Mazda himself, who is venerated when the former are worshipped. NARTEN argues that Y 37.3 is to be read in the light of Y 51.22c *tq yazāi xāiš nāmānīš* ‘I shall worship them with their own names’ which, as suggested by INSLER, *Gāthās*, p. 109, fn. 27, should be interpreted as ‘I shall worship truth with truth, good thinking with good thinking, etc.’. Translating the expression *āhūiriiā nāmānī* as a plural ‘Ahurian names’ is justified because it refers to several divine beings, such as *aša-*, *armaiti-* and *vohu-manah-*. In Y 37.3 it legitimizes and points forward to Y 37.4, where the worship of such names starts with *aṣəm at vahištəm yazamaidē ... hīiaṭ spəntəm aməṣəm* ‘we worship best Truth, the bounteous immortal’. The praise of the ‘Ahurian names’ concludes with the plural *spəntāṅg aməṣāṅg* at the end of the worship-formulae in Y 39.3.⁷⁴

The contention that in Y 37.3 *yaz* governs two accusatives, one denoting the direct object and the other having predicative function, postulates a syntactic structure that is unique in Avestan. It is, however, not without a Vedic parallel in

72 On the meaning of *frauuāšī-* see above, p. 171ff.

73 On KELLENS/PIRART’S OWN analysis of *nāmānī* and *frauuāšīš* as instrumentals, see above, p. 178ff.

74 NARTEN 1985b, p. 172f., *YH*, pp. 179–181.

ŚB 1.6.1.5 *prathamān evāinān yajñē yajāma*

We want to sacrifice to these as (they are) the first ones at the sacrifice.⁷⁵

Here, too, the verb *yaj* governs two accusatives and the direct object is a pronoun. In contrast to Y 37.3, however, the predicative function of the second accusative, the adjective *prathamān*, is clearly marked by the particle *evā*.

According to this analysis of Y 37.2–3, the worshippers identify themselves as those who ‘are on the side of the cow’ and praise Ahura Mazdā with both the most exquisite worship (*pauruuatātā yasnanām*) and their own bodies and souls (*ahmākāiš +azdabīscā uštānāišcā*). Each expression denotes the earthly means by which such veneration takes place, the difference being that ‘highest worship’ belongs to the ritual and divine sphere, while ‘our own bodies and lives’ refers to the worshippers’ daily existence:

1. *tām aṭ yasnanām pauruuatātā yazamaidē*
 2. *tām aṭ āhūiriiā nāmēnī mazdā.varā +spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē*
 3. *tām ahmākāiš +azdabīscā uštānāišcā yazamaidē*
 4. *tām ašāunām frauuašīš narāmcā nāirināmcā yazamaidē*
1. We worship him with the most excellent worship.
 2. We worship him in the form of his lordly names, (which are) welcome to the Wise one (and which are) the most bounteous ones.
 3. We worship him with our limbs and lives.
 4. We worship him in the form of the choices of the truthful ones, both men and women.

Clauses 2 and 4, in contrast, elaborate on the object of worship. The second with the predicative acc. *nāmēnī* asserts that the praise of the Amesha Spentas (and of Ahura Mazdā’s other creations) is the same as that of the deity himself. This is so because, as stated in Y 37.1, Ahura Mazdā is the creator both of them and of ‘all that is good’ (*vīspācā vohū*). The god is praised when his creation is praised. Clause no. 2 thus points forward to the worship formulae of the following stanzas and *hāiti*, which extend from Y 37.4 to Y 39.3. Clause no. 4 with the predicative acc. *frauuašīš* is, like no. 3, located in the human sphere of the worshippers. However, while no. 3 refers to their physical, bodily lives, no. 4 concerns the worshippers’ spiritual existence insofar as it refers to the ‘choice’ (*frauuaši-*) each person has to make. More precisely, it praises the right choices of those truthful men and women who have decided to support Ahura Mazdā in his struggle against evil. As noted by NARTEN 1985a, p. 45, the actual praise of such choices could be implied in Y 39.2, where the souls of truthful people are worshipped. This interpretation finds support in the Y 26.7 collocation which links the souls of the departed with the Fravashis of the truthful:

75 DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 180; GAEDICKE, *Akkusativ*, p. 159.

Y 26.7 *iḍa iristanąm uruuąnō yazamaide*
yā ašaonąm frauuašaiiō vīspanąm
ahmīia nmāne nabānazdištanąm para. iristanąm
aēθrapaitinąm aēθriianąm narąm nāirinąm
iḍa ašaonąm ašaoninąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide

Here we worship the souls of the departed,
the choices of all truthful persons;
in this house (we worship the choices) of the closest relatives who have passed away,
of the teachers, of male and female disciples;
here we worship the choices of truthful men and women.

If this reading is correct, Y 37.2–3 legitimizes the praise of the verses following in Y 37.4–39.3. The worship of Ahura Mazdā as it is presented in Y 37.2–3 is summarized in the following table:

Worship of Ahura Mazdā
tām ... yazamaidē

State of Life (<i>uba- abu-</i>)	Divine Sphere	Human Sphere
Material: means of worship (instr.)	with the highest worship: <i>pauruuatātā yasnanąm</i> , clause no. 1	with our own limbs and lives: <i>ahmākāiš + azdabīšcā</i> <i>uštānāišcā</i> , clause no. 3
Spiritual: object of worship (acc.)	lordly names: <i>āhūiriiā nāmānī</i> , clause no. 2	choices of truthful people: <i>ašāunąm frauuašīš</i> , clause no. 4

The literary composition of the four clauses in Y 37.2–3 is characterized by syntactic parallelism created by the stylistic device of *symploce*, or *complexio*, which consists of a combination of the anaphora of *tām* at the beginning and the epiphora (or epistrophe) of *yazamaidē* at the end of each of the four successive clauses.⁷⁶ The function of this literary figure is to emphasize strongly that the worship is directed to Ahura Mazdā alone, even if the names of other deities are also mentioned. The strict syntactic parallelism of the four clauses is varied by the crossways correspondence between clauses 1 and 3 denoting the means of worship, on the one hand, and that between 2 and 4 specifying the object of worship, on the other. The above table illustrates that the four clauses taken together constitute a unified whole in which each of the four occupies a clearly defined position within the larger conceptual framework of material and spiritual life. It is not possible to remove one of them without disturbing the balance of the entire construction. The worshippers thus stress that the praise of Ahura Mazdā encompasses all aspects of their existence.

76 LAUSBERG, *Literary Rhetoric*, §§ 629–633.

Y 37.4

aṣəm at̥¹ vahištəm yazamaidē^{1a}
hiiat̥² sraēštəm^{2a}
hiiat̥^{2b} spəntəm aməṣəm
hiiat̥^{2c} + raocōṇhūuat̥³
hiiat̥^{3a} + vīspā.vohū^{3b} ∴

- 1 *yāt* Pt4, but *y* is struck out
at̥ G Mf4, K5 J2, (S1); Jp1 K4; (L2, S2,
 L1 O2 Bb1)
hiiat̥ (L3); C1; [M25]
 (*yāt* H1 J6 J7)
 1a *yazamaidē* G
yazamaide Mf4 (*y*), K5 J2
 2 *hiiat̥* G Mf4, K5, (S1); (J6)
yiiat̥ J2
yāt C1
 2a *sraēštəm* G Mf4, J2
sraistəm C1
 (*srae. štəm* J6)

- 2b *hiiat̥* G Mf4, K5, (S1); (J6)
yiiat̥ J2
yāt C1
 2c *hiiat̥* G Mf4, K5, (S1); C1, (J6)
yiiat̥ J2
 3 *raocōṇhūuat̥* G Pt4 Mf4
raocō. aṇhūuat̥ K5 J2; (S2, L1); C1; [M25]
(raocō. aṇhūuat̥ S1; J6)
raocōṇhūuat̥ Mf2 Jp1 (Jp1) K4; (L2)
 3a *hiiat̥* G Mf4, K5, (S1); C1, (J6)
yiiat̥ J2
 3b *vīspā. vohū* Mf4; C1, (J6)
vīspā. vohū G K5 J2

We worship best Truth¹,
 the most beautiful one,
 the bounteous immortal²,
 that is full of light,
 that provides all that is good.

1 *aṣəm vahištəm* ‘best Truth’

The worship formulae with *yazamaidē*, which extend to the end of Y 39, begin in Y 37 with an address to seven divine beings whose individual praise is presented in sections of decreasing length. Ahura Mazdā is the first to be worshipped and is given special prominence insofar as his praise occupies more than half of the chapter. The worshippers praise the god as the creator of the spiritual and material worlds (Y 37.1–2) and in four syntactically parallel clauses stress that they venerate him (*tām*) when worshipping his creations (2–3), see above, p. 177ff. His praise is followed by that of ‘best Truth’, *aṣa- vahišta-* (Y 37.4), who is further described by a series of four additional epithets, including that of ‘bounteous immortal’ (*spənta- aməṣa-*). By contrast, *aṣa-* in the *Gathas* almost always occurs without an attribute. As suggested by NARTEN, this Amesha Spenta’s name, Asha Vahishta, is probably based on Y 37.4, as is the use of *aməṣa- spənta-* in the singular, one which is extremely rare in the Younger Avesta.⁷⁷ Moreover, in Y 37.4 *aṣa-* is given special prominence by being characterized as ‘best’ or ‘very

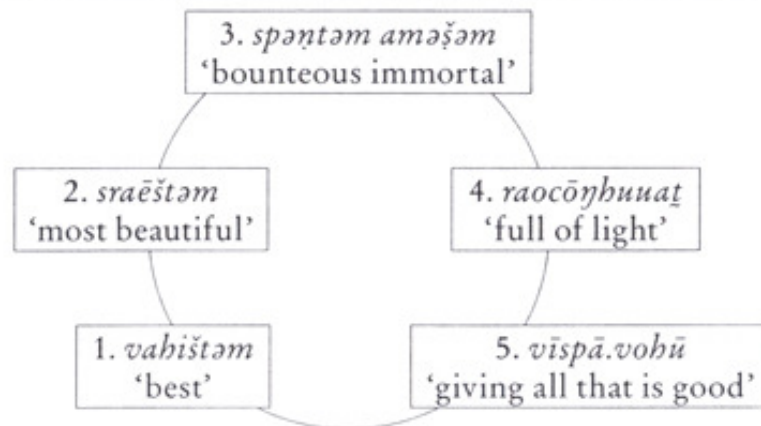
77 NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 74f., *YH*, p. 182.

good' (*vahišta-*), as distinct from the epithet 'good' (*vohu-*, *vaŋhī-*) applied to the remaining five divine beings who are listed in the final stanza without any additional attributes (Y 37.5). In all three of its occurrences in the YH (Y 35.5, 37.4 and 41.1), *aša- vahišta-* extends the worship of Ahura Mazdā, indicating that the expression is presented as the divine being most closely associated with him – an idea with parallels in the *Gathas*, e.g. Y 32.3 and 29.7.⁷⁸

2 *spəntəm aməšəm* 'bounteous immortal'

While the expression *aməša- spənta-*, central to Zoroastrian theology, is not found in the *Gathas*, its two earliest attestations occur in the YH (Y 37.4 in the singular and Y 39.3 in the plural). The position of *spənta- aməša-* in Y 37.4 as the third of five attributes of *aša-* gives the epithet special prominence if the stanza is considered to be a ring-composition: *spənta- aməša-* is flanked on either side by attributes which correspond to one another. The second epithet *sraēštəm* 'most beautiful' refers to a visual characteristic and is related semantically to the fourth **raocōŋhuuat* 'full of light', while the first *vahišta-* 'best' and fifth **vīspā.vohu-* 'giving all that is good' both describe moral properties.⁷⁹ The compositional structure of this stanza's attributes of *aša-* may thus be illustrated as in the following diagram:

Compositional Structure of Y 37.4 as a ring-composition



After the praise of Ahura Mazdā, truth, *aša-*, is the second of the seven divine names worshipped in Y 37.⁸⁰ In the Younger Avesta, too, the list of seven Amesha Spentas always begins with Ahura Mazdā. Some of the other names, however, are different, as are their attributes and order, as emerges from the following table:

⁷⁸ NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 183–185.

⁷⁹ As rightly argued by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 183, fn. 59, against GELDNER's *vīspa vohū*, BARTHOLOMAE's, *AirWb.* 1465, reading of a possessive compound *vīspa.vohu-* (= Ved. *viśvāvasu-*, an epithet of Gandharva) is to be preferred.

⁸⁰ NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 72.

Amesha Spentas in the YH and in YAv.

No.	Y 37		Younger Avesta
1	<i>ahura- mazdā-</i> ‘Wise Lord’	Y 37.1–3	<i>ahura- mazdā-</i> ‘Wise Lord’
2	<i>aša- vahišta-</i> ‘best Truth’	Y 37.4	<i>vohu- manah-</i> ‘good Thought’
3	<i>vohu- manah-</i> ‘good Thought’	Y 37.5	<i>aša- vahišta-</i> ‘best Truth’
4	<i>vohu- xšaθra-</i> ‘good Rule’	Y 37.5	<i>xšaθra- vairiia-</i> ‘desirable Rule’
5	<i>vaŋhī- daēnā-</i> ‘good Belief’	Y 37.5	<i>spəntā- ārmaiti-</i> ‘bounteous Right-mindedness’
6	<i>vaŋhī- fsəratū-</i> ‘good Enjoyment’	Y 37.5	<i>hauruuatāt-</i> ‘Wholeness’
7	<i>vaŋhī- ārmaiti-</i> ‘good Right-mindedness’	Y 37.5	<i>aməratatāt-</i> ‘Immortality’

In the YH, the expression *spənta- aməša-* does not yet function as the name of a specific group, listed in a fixed and hierarchical order, as it does in YAv. The same applies to the plural attestation in Y 39.3, which summarizes and concludes the worship of the divine beings praised in the central part of the YH, Y 37–39:

Y 39.3 *āṭ iṭhā yazamaidē*
vaŋhūscā iṭ vaŋhīscā iṭ
spəntōng aməšōng
yaunaējiō yaunaēsuoō
yōi vaŋhōuš ā manahō šieintī
yāscā ūitī

Finally in this way we worship
the good bounteous immortals,
both male and female,
who live forever, who thrive forever,
(the male ones) who are on the side of good thought
and (the female ones) who (are) as well.

In addition to concluding the *yazamaidē*-formulae, the plural expression functions to eliminate the possibility that the worship of a divine being ‘by its own name’ has been accidentally omitted.⁸¹

While the word *spənta-* is frequently attested in the *Gathas*, the term *aməša-* is not. NARTEN, who considers *aməša-* to be a substitute for *ahura-* (*AmSp.*, p. 75f.), suggests that one reason for it not being found in the *Gathas* could be their poetic genre, since, in contrast to the YH, they do not constitute a systematic ritual text (*AmSp.*, p. 77). A semantic equivalent to *spənta- aməša-*, however, is found in the Gathic formula *mazdāscā ahurāṇhō* ‘the Wise one and the (other) lords’ (Y 30.9, 31.4), in which *ahurāṇhō* corresponds to *spəntōng aməšōng* in

81 NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 76f.

Y 39.3 (*AmSp.*, p. 63). Moreover, the periphrastic formula *yōi ānharēcā hənticā* ‘which have been and (which) are’ (Y 51.22) is a further Gathic poetic expression referring to the Amesha Spentas.

NARTEN argues that the noun *aməša-* functions as a substantive ‘immortal one’, which is characterized as ‘bounteous’ by the epithet *spənta-*. Accordingly, in Y 37.4 the expression *spəntəm aməšəm* is masculine and functions as an apposition to the neuter noun *ašəm* (YH, p. 260f., see Y 39.3 no. 2 *spəntāng aməšāng*, below, p. 273f.). Moreover, NARTEN suggests that the OAv. expression *spənta- aməša-* as opposed to the YAv. *aməša- spənta-* indicates that in OAv. the word order was flexible and the two parts of the name had not yet become an inseparable collocation involving a fixed word sequence. In OAv. times the noun *aməša-* ‘immortal’ and its attribute *spənta-* ‘bounteous’ constituted a living part of the contemporary religious language. A comparable difference in word order is also found with the name of the deity Ahura Mazdā. While in the *Gathas* and to some extent also in the YH the preferred sequence is *mazdā- ahura-*, the YAv. has only *ahura- mazdā-*.

Although only the sequence *spənta- aməša-* is attested in the YH, NARTEN demonstrates that the plural forms *aməšā spəntā* in pseudo-OAv. and *aməšā spənta* in YAv. are OAv. relics because of their word-final long *-ā*. They indicate that the alternative word order also existed in Old Avestan (*AmSp.*, p. 78f.). NARTEN suggests that the reason for the eventual preference for the word order in which *spənta-* follows the noun could be that the postponed attribute more emphatically identifies the ‘immortals’ as ‘bounteous’ as opposed to the “daēvic” immortals (*aməša-*) worshipped by other religious communities (*AmSp.*, p. 76f.).

Y 37.5

*vohucā*¹ *manō yazamaidē*^{1a}
vohucā^{1b} *xšaθrām*²
*vañhīmā*³ *daēnām*^{3a}
vañhīmā^{3b} *fsəratūm*⁴
*vañhīmā*⁵ *ārmaitīm*^{5a} ∴
⁶*yerjhe hātām* [(= Y 27.15) *āat yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēdā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide* ∴ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>vohucā</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 (Jp1) K4; (L2; H1 J6 L13)
 (vōhūcā S1; S2, L1 Bb1)
 <i>vahucā</i> C1
 (vōhucā J6 J7)</p> <p>1a <i>yazamaidē</i> G
 <i>yazamaide</i> Mf4, K5 J2
 <i>y°</i> C1</p> <p>1b <i>vohucā</i> G Mf4, K5
 <i>vōhūcā</i> C1, (J7)
 (vōhucā J6)</p> <p>2 <i>xšaθrām</i> G (xš°) Mf4, K5 J2; C1, (J6)
 <i>xšaθrīm</i> Mf2</p> <p>3 <i>vañhīmā</i> Pt4 Mf4; Jp1
 <i>vañuhīmā</i> G K5 J2
 (vañuīmā S1)
 <i>vañhuīm.cā</i> C1
 (vañuhīm.cā J6)</p> <p>3a <i>daēnām</i> G Mf4, K5
 <i>dainām</i> C1
 (daēnām J6)</p> | <p>3b <i>vañhīmā</i> Mf4, J2
 <i>vañuhīmā</i> G K5; C1
 (vañhuīmā S1)
 (vañhuhīm.cā J6)</p> <p>4 <i>fsəratūm</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; Jp1 (Jp1) K4
 <i>fsəratūm</i> (S1); C1
 <i>fsərtūm</i> Mf2
 (fəsə.ratūm Dh1)
 (fšā.ratūm S2)
 (fšāratūm J6)
 <i>fraša.ratūm</i> [M25]</p> <p>5 <i>vañhīmā</i> Mf4, K5 J2
 (vañhuīmā S1)
 <i>vañuhīmā</i> G C1
 <i>vañuhīm.cā</i> J6 (J6)</p> <p>5a <i>ārmaitīm</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6 (J6)
 <i>ārmaidtīm</i> J2
 <i>āramaitīm</i> J5</p> <p>6 Y 4.26 (= Y 27.15)
 <i>yerjhe</i> Mf4, K5 J2; J6 (J6 y), J5
 <i>yerjhe</i> G C1</p> |
|---|---|

And we worship good Thought,
 and good Rule,
 and good Belief,
 and good Joy¹,
 and good Right-mindedness.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

1 *fsəratū-* ‘joy, enjoyment’

The noun *fsəratū-*, which is rendered in the Pahlavi translation as *sālārīh* ‘authority’, is metrically disyllabic and represents **fsratū-* instead of **fšratū-*. A comparable interchange between *-s-* and *-š-* is found in *afsmān-* and *afšmān-* ‘verse’.⁸² Occurring only in Old Avestan, *fsəratū-* is found twice in the *Gathas* (Y 33.12 and 51.4) and twice in the *YH* (Y 37.5 and 39.5). That the noun is feminine emerges from its epithets *van̥hīm* in Y 37.5 and *van̥hūiā* in 39.3. While the nom.sg. *-tuš* (Y 51.4) and gen.sg. *-tuuō* (Y 39.3) are ambiguous insofar as they could belong either to a stem in *-tu-* or to one in *-tū-*, the metrically disyllabic ending *-tūm* (i.e. *-tūm*) of the acc.sg. in Y 33.12 indicates that the stem is *-tū-*, the hiatus being caused by an IE laryngeal.⁸³ The latter could form part either of a suffix *-tū-*, where long *-ū-* is the reflex of the feminine marker (IE **-h₂*), or of a root ending in a laryngeal. In the latter case, *fsəratū-* would be a compound with the set-root *tū* ‘to be strong’ as its second term.⁸⁴

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 188, explains *fsəratū-* as a compound resulting from **spratu-tū-* ‘power of liberation’ (“Befreiungskraft”) by haplology and consisting of a noun **spratu-* ‘liberation’ (Ved. *spṛ* ‘to liberate, free’) and the root noun *-tū-* from the verb *tū* ‘to be strong’. Apart from recourse to haplology, the analysis employs the *ad-hoc* assumption of metathesis of an original PrIr. **spra-* > **sfra-* > Av. *fsəra-*.⁸⁵ Moreover, as noted by NARTEN, a further difficulty is that, when they are the second terms of a compound, root nouns function as action nouns only if the first term is a preverb. If, on the other hand, the first term is a nominal stem, as is the case in NARTEN’s explanation of *fsəratū-*, the root noun usually has the function of an agent noun. Accordingly, the meaning should be ‘who is powerful through liberation’, cf. the proper name *ašastū-* ‘who is powerful through truth’.⁸⁶ The same objection applies to KELLENS’ proposal that the first term of the compound *fsəratū-* is **ps-ra-* ‘fetter’, because the meaning would then be that of an adjective ‘who is powerful through fetters’.⁸⁷

82 NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 462, n. 1 (ad p. 239); HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 72f.; on *afsmān-* see also above, p. 3.

83 On the inflection of *fsəratū-* see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 188, and DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, who translates the noun as ‘protection’ on p. 328, but as ‘fullness, enjoyment’ on p. 533, and considers its etymology to be “unknown”.

84 That the root noun *tū-* constitutes the second term of *fsəratū-* was cautiously suggested by HUMBACH 1957a, p. 89, fn. 22, and *Gathas*, II, p. 48, though at the time he left *fsəra-* unexplained.

85 DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 534, fn. 696, comments that there are no examples of the initial cluster *spr-* in Avestan and that NARTEN’s suggestion of a metathesis **sfra-* → **fsra-* is improbable.

86 KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 103f.; MAYRHOFER, *IPNB*, p. 23.

87 KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 104, fn. 2, translates ‘qui est puissant par le dieu au lien’ or ‘qui renforce le dieu au lien’ and suggests that the compound’s first term **ps-ra-* is attested in Vd 4.51 *fšābīš ... paiti.aūua.pašāt* ‘one shall fetter with fetters’, a cognate of Ved. *pāśa-* ‘tie, fetter’ (MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, p. 125).

It being unlikely that the root noun *-tū-* is the second term in *fsəratū-*, *-atū-* is probably suffixal. However, since such a suffix does not exist in Indo-Iranian, *-a-* must belong to *fsər-*, thus forming a thematic present stem *fsəra-*, to which the suffix *-tū-* is attached (*fsər-a-tū-*). In his 1991 edition of the Older Avesta, HUMBACH abandons his earlier view (see above, fn. 84) and compares the formation of Av. *fsəratū-* to Greek verbal abstracts with the suffix *-tús*, which is attached to both verbal roots and present stems, e.g. ἐδῆτῦς ‘meat, food’, δαΐτῦς ‘a meal’ (Epic for δαΐς) and βρωτῦς ‘eating; food’ (Ionic for βρωσις).⁸⁸ This explanation can only be maintained if the Greek suffix *-tús* is inherited rather than the result of an inner-Greek development.⁸⁹ Alternatively, the suffix *-tu-* could be attached to the verbal stem *fsəra-*.⁹⁰ This interpretation warrants the additional *ad-hoc* assumption that a masculine stem **fsəratu-* shifted to the feminine *fsəratū-*, presumably in the process of the personification as a female being of the notion denoted by the noun.⁹¹

As to *fsəra-* there remain two possible explanations. VON ROTH connects OAv. *fsəratū-* with Vd 15.9 *fšarəma-* and MP and NP *šarm* ‘shame’.⁹² The advantage of this analysis is that the first part of *fsər-a-tū-* is attested in another Avestan word:

Vd 15.9 *yō kainīnəm upāiti*
stātō.ratūm vā astātō.ratūm vā
paradātəm vā aparadātəm vā
puθraṃca hē daḍāiti
mā.nō aēša yā kaine
mašiiānəm parō fšarəmāt
tarō daxštəm pāraiiāt
tarō apəmca uruuarəṃca

The one who goes to a girl,
 – whether her Ratu is appointed or not,
 whether she is engaged or not –
 and makes her with child,
 she, the girl, may not,
 because of shame before people,
 secretly make her period come,
 secretly (provide herself with) water and plants.

88 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 124. According to SIHLER, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 328, βρωτῦς was originally a **tu-* stem.

89 On Greek formations in *-tús* see SCHWYZER, *Gr.Gr.*, I, p. 506f, who explains the suffix as the result of a crossing of *-tu-* and IE **-tūt-*. On Vedic formations with suffix *-ú-*, see *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 491f.

90 On *-a-tu-* see *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 650f., § 482a.

91 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 124.

92 VON ROTH *apud* GELDNER, *Studien zum Avesta*, p. 158 with fn. 3. This proposal was favoured by NARTEN at an earlier stage (KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 104, fn. 2).

Vd 15.10 *yezica aēša yā kaine*
mašiiānqm parō fšarēmāt
tarō daxštām parāiti
tarō apəmca uruuarqmca
aētahmāiiuš paiti varšta šiiāoθna

And if she, the girl,
 because of shame before people,
 secretly makes her period come,
 secretly (provides herself with) water and plants,
 she is responsible for these perpetrated actions.

The noun *fšarēma-* is derived from an Av. root **fšar* ‘to be ashamed’, but in order to reconcile the meaning ‘shame’ with the obviously positive connotations of *fšaratū-* (see below), VON ROTH proposes that *fšarēma-* means ‘Scheu, Respekt, Achtung’ while KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 104, fn. 2, suggests ‘vénération’. Accordingly *fšaratū-* would signify ‘respect’, a sense which could be confirmed by its Pahlavi translation *sālārīh* ‘authority’. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 188, considers such a proposal to be plausible because *fšaratū-* denotes a mental state like other nouns such as *ārmaiti-* and *sraoša-*, the former of which occurs in its vicinity in Y 37.5. However, the context of Vd 15.9 does not suggest a positive meaning for *fšarēma-*. That the expression *mašiiānqm parō fšarēmāt* ‘because of shame before people’ has the connotation of fear is implied by the adverb *tarō* ‘secretly’, which describes the circumstances under which the girl acts. Furthermore, the following stanza Vd 15.10 states that the girl commits an offence by doing what she does ‘because of shame before people’. Similar notions are also present in the MP and NP continuant *šarm* ‘bashfulness, shame’ as well as in Ossetic *äfsärm*, *äfsärmi* ‘disgrace’.⁹³

The second possible explanation of *fšara-* is semantically more satisfactory. This is LOMMEL’s connection of *fšaratū-* with Ved. *psáras* ‘enjoyment, joy, exhilaration’. The noun’s first syllable *fšar-* is the OIr. root **fšar-* which may be continued in Khotan. *ššar-* ‘to exhilarate’.⁹⁴ On the basis of this morphological analysis, *fšaratū-* is a verbal abstract noun whose meaning is in the semantic sphere of ‘enjoyment, joy, exhilaration’. In Y 33.12 *fšaratū-* occurs besides ‘power’ (*təuuīši-*), ‘swiftness’ (*zauuah-*) and ‘strength’ (*hazab-*), all of which denote refreshments and strengthenings offered to Ahura Mazdā and achieved

93 STEINGASS, p. 742; HORN, *Neupers. Etymologie*, p. 172.

94 LOMMEL 1935, pp. 156, 169 and 1955, pp. 158–165. This explanation is accepted by MAYRHOFER, *KEWA*, II, p. 388, *EWAia*, II, p. 198; HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 124. HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 128, who translate it as ‘Freudenstärkung’, analyse the noun as a compound *fšara-tū-*, the first term being the equivalent of Ved. *psáras-*, *psará-* ‘joy’, and the second the root noun *tū-*. Since the former is a nominal stem, the root noun should function as an agent noun, and the meaning of the compound should rather be ‘one who is strong through joy’, see above, p. 192. On Khotan. *ššar-* see EMMERICK, *SGS*, p. 130 with references, and BAILEY, *DKS*, p. 407b.

as a result of right thoughts and actions carried out by human beings. In Y 51.4, too, *fsəratū-* belongs to Ahura Mazdā along with truth (*aša-*), right-mindedness (*ārmaiti-*) and best thought (*manah- vahišta-*). The noun also occurs next to *aša-* and *ārmaiti-* in Y 39.5 and 37.5, the latter listing *vohu- manah-*, *xšaθra-* and *daēnā-* in addition. The contexts of the four attestations suggest that the notion denoted by *fsəratū-* is connected with Ahura Mazdā's spiritual creations by means of which human beings are able to relate to the deity.⁹⁵

The meaning 'enjoyment, joy' fits the various contexts because it refers to an essential quality of the Zoroastrian view of life. The noun *fsəratū-* is thus semantically close to *uruuāzi-* 'joy' (Y 36.2) which denotes a characteristic of Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire. If the 'enjoyment' includes that deriving from the consumption of food and drink, plants and water, the link established by LOMMEL 1955, pp. 162–165, with *hauruuatāt-* 'wholeness' and *aməratatāt-* 'immortality' may be upheld, without, however, necessarily implying that *fsəratū-* has the concrete meaning of 'drink' postulated by him. Rather, in the list of Amesha Spentas in Y 37.4–5 it could take the place of the pair *hauruuatāt-* 'wholeness' and *aməratatāt-* 'immortality' (cf. the table above, p. 189).

95 Cf. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 186f., who concludes that *fsəratū-* belongs "zu jenen bedeutungsvollen Kräften oder göttlichen Wesenheiten, denen sich der gläubige Mensch aufs engste, gleichsam wie ein guter Verwandter, verbunden fühlt". KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 271, while positing a feminine *ū*-stem *fsəratū-*, refrain from a semantic definition, because they consider this noun to be "d'origine et de sens inconnus". INSLER's *Gāthās*, p. 313, equation of *fsəratū-* with Vedic *sárman-* 'protection' is problematic because it does not account for the initial consonant cluster of the Av. word.

Yasna 38

Y 38.1

*iməm āat¹ zəm
gənābīš² haθrā^{2a} yazamaidē³
yā nā⁴ baraitī^{4a}
yāscā tōi gənā⁵ ahurā⁶ mazdā
ašāt hacā vairiiā^{6a}
tā yazamaidē³ ∴*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 āat G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2 K4;
L2, S2; K11, H1, J5
āt Dh1, L1 O2 L3; C1
ā.at J6</p> <p>2 gənābīš G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, S1 J3; L2,
Dh1, L3; J5
gənābīš J2; S2; K11, H1
gənā.bīš Mf2 K4; C1, J6 L13 J7</p> <p>2a haθrā G, all mss. except:
haraθrā J6 (the first <i>r</i> erased)</p> <p>3 yazamaidē G, all mss. except:
yazamaide Mf4 (y), K5 J2</p> <p>4 yā. nā Pt4, K5 (nā pr.m. superscr.) J2
yānā Mf4, S1 J3; C1 K11, O1; J5; [M25]
yā. nā G Mf1; Mf2 Jp1; L2, L1 L3; H1
J6 L13 J7</p> | <p>4a baraitī G Mf4, K5; J6, J5
baraiti C1</p> <p>5 gənā G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1
K4; L2, L1 L3; C1, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
gənā J2; S2</p> <p>6 ahuramazdā G in “Additions and Cor-
rections” Pt4; K11, H1 J7
ahura. mazdā Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3;
Mf2; L2, L1 L3; C1, J6 L13
ahurā. mazdā G Jp1 K4
ahuramazdā J5</p> <p>6a vairiiā G, so all mss. except:
vairiiā Mf4; J5</p> |
|---|---|

Now we worship this earth here
together with the noblewomen¹.
(We worship the earth) that bears us
and we worship
these noblewomen¹ of yours, O Wise Lord,
who are excellent on account of Truth:

1 gənā- ‘noblewoman’

After the praise of Ahura Mazdā and his spiritual creations in Y 37, the central chapter of the YH, Y 38, is dedicated to the praise of the earth (Y 38.1), Ahura Mazdā’s ‘noblewomen’ (Y 38.1–2) and the waters (Y 38.3–5). The earth has already been mentioned in Y 37.1 as one of Ahura Mazdā’s material creations and denoted by the Av. word *būmī-*, highlighting its aspect as the plant-producing,

fertile soil.¹ By contrast, in Y 38.1, the old IE, and probably more general term *zam-* is employed.

The earth is praised ‘together with the noblewomen’ (*gənābiš haθrā*). There has been some debate about the precise meaning of *gənā-*, which occurs twice in Y 38.1. Some interpreters consider the noun to denote a human being. This is implied, for instance, by HUMBACH’s translation of Y 38.1, which suggests that *gənā-* refers to humans the first time but to divine beings the second:

We worship this earth
together with (its) females,
(this earth) which carries us,
and (those) females who (are) Thine, O Wise Ahura,
(who are) worthy of being chosen in accordance with truth,
those we worship.²

Other scholars, for instance INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 124, propose that *gənā-* denotes the personified waters (*āpō*), praised in Y 38.3–5. The most likely view, however, is that it points forward to the feminine abstract nouns listed at the beginning of the following stanza Y 38.2: *īzā yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō* ‘(noblewomen like) Invigoration, Vitalization, Perfection, Right-mindedness’, because syntactically the four belong to the preceding stanza and explicate Y 38.1 *yāscā tōi gənā* ‘your noblewomen’.³ These abstract notions are thus perceived in anthropomorphic terms as ‘noblewomen’. By contrast, however, in the expression *nā gənā vā*, its only Gathic attestation, *gənā-* is usually interpreted as referring to female human beings, ‘man or noblewoman’:⁴

Y 46.10 *yā vā mōi nā gənā vā mazdā ahurā*
dāiiāt aṇhōuš yā tū vōistā vahištā
ašīm ašāi vohū xšaθrəm manayhā
yāscā haxšāi xšmāuuatəm vahmāi.ā
frō tāiš vīspāiš cinuuatō frafrā pərətūm

With the one – man or noblewoman – O Wise Lord,
who may give to me (the quality) of life that you know to be best,
(that is) the reward for truth (and) rule through good thought,

1 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 169, fn. 7. See above, p. 167 with fn. 30.

2 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 147.

3 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 189 with references and a discussion of the various interpretations.

4 For instance, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 193; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 239; HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 183. KELLENS/PIRART and HUMBACH interpret the Gathic expression Y 46.10 *nā gənā vā* as equivalent to Y 35.6 *nā vā nāirī vā* ‘a man or a woman’, in which the latter clearly refers to a human being. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 37, accordingly suggest that the word for ‘woman’ is *gənā-* in the *Gāthas* but *nāirī-* in the *YH* and consider this to be a lexical difference between the two texts.

and whom I shall follow for the sake of praising those such as you:
with all those I want to cross the account-keeper's Bridge.⁵

Yet from a conceptual point of view it is puzzling that in Y 46.10 *nā gənā vā* should refer to human beings, because elsewhere *aši-* 'reward' is never granted by humans but only by deities.⁶ The same combination of *nar-* 'man' and *gənā-* 'noblewoman, lady' also occurs (once) in the *Rigveda* where the expression *gnāś ca ... náraś ca* 'both noblewomen and men' refers to gods. This emerges clearly from its syntactic function in apposition to *viśve devāsah* 'all gods':

RV 6.68.4 *gnāś ca yān náraś ca vāvṛdhánta viśve devāso narām svágūrtāḥ |
praibhya indrāvaruṇā mahitvā dyaús ca pṛthivi bhūtam urvī ||*

Although⁷ all gods, both female and male, had grown,⁸ being self-praised amongst men, you two, Indra and Varuṇa, were above them in greatness and (so were) Heaven and Earth, the spacious ones.

If Y 46.10 *nā gənā vā* 'man or noblewoman' refers, like its Vedic equivalent, to divine beings, the expression could include *ārmaiti-*, who twice in the *Gathas* (Y 43.1 and 16) is said to distribute 'reward, bestowal' (*aši-*), and is clearly identified as *gənā-* in Y 38.2. Moreover, since other beings, both male and female, are also implied, the phrase could be a generic expression for Ahura Mazda's spiritual creations. Furthermore, ritual powers such as *ižā-* and concepts such as *yaošti-* and *fərašti-*, all of which are identified as *gənā-* in Y 38.1–2, may also be included. This is particularly suggested by the words *xšmāuuatəm vahmāi. ā* 'for the praise of those such as you' in Y 46.10d. The entire stanza could be interpreted as expressing the idea that the singer wishes both to appropriate

- 5 KELLENS 1988 points out that the Av. expression *cinuuatō pəratu-* derives from the root *ci* 'to collect' and that the meaning 'to separate' is confined to the compound *vī-ci*. According to him, the name *cinuuatō pəratu-* means 'bridge of the stacker' ("le pont de l'empileur"), the latter implying Yima: "[c]omme il construira le *vara*, il construit le chemin du paradis" (p. 332). However, *cinuuatō pəratu-* leads not only to the 'House of Welcome' (*garō dāmāna-*), but also to the 'House of Deceit' since its function is closely linked to individual judgement. The action of 'collecting' or 'stacking' could therefore refer to the good and bad thoughts, words and deeds that are amassed at the Bridge. The expression *cinuuatō pəratu-* could then be translated with HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, 170f. as 'account-keeper's Bridge'.
- 6 HINTZE, *Lohn*, pp. 174–180, 193, where an attempt is made to justify the interpretation of Y 46.10 *nā gənā vā* as referring to human beings. INSLEER, *Gāthās*, pp. 82, 270, reads *ašəm* 'truth' instead of *ašīm* 'reward' and argues that '*ašəm ašāi* is a variation of the stylistic figure Y 43.5 *akēm akāi*. However, apart from the fact that in Y 46.10 *ašīm* is better transmitted, there are no precedents for *aša-* being 'given' (*dā*). At any rate, in Y 43.5 the contrast is between *akēm* (scil. *mīždēm*) and *aši-*, rather than *aša-*: *akēm akāi vañhīm ašīm vañhaouuē* 'a bad (prize) for the bad one, a good reward for the good one', cf. HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 170.
- 7 The interpretation of *yad* as here introducing a concessive clause follows HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe*, p. 369.
- 8 The form *vāvṛdhánta* is 3pl.inj.perf.middle of the root *vṛdh* 'to grow' and denotes the state reached by the subject ("subjektsresultativ"), see KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, p. 471.

Ahura Mazdā's (male and female) spiritual forces, addressed as *nā ganā vā*, as well as the benefits brought by them (the best of life, i.e. *aši-* and *xšaθra-*), and to cross the Cinwad Bridge easily with the aid of their strength and protective presence. Such an interpretation is in agreement with the teaching of Zoroastrian eschatology, according to which in the Individual Judgement after death it is clear that souls cross the Cinwad Bridge one by one, and not in groups, as would be implied by Y 46.10 if *nā ganā vā* referred to human beings.⁹

In Younger Avestan, *ganā-* occurs only in liturgical formulae. In one of them, it is associated with truthful female human beings denoted by the Av. word *nāirikā-*. The latter's praise is paralleled by that of the truthful man (*nar-*) in two nearly identical passages, G 4.9 and Vr 3.4:

Vr 3.4 *nāirikamca āstāia*
frāiiō. humatəm frāiiō. hūxtəm frāiiō. huuarštəm
huš.həm.sāstəm ratuxšaθrəm ašaonīm
yəm ārmaitīm spəntəm
 (cf. Y 38.1) *yāśca tē yānā ahura mazdā*

narəmca ašauuanəm āstāia
frāiiō. humatəm frāiiō. hūxtəm frāiiō. huuarštəm
vistō. fraoraitīm auuistō. kaiiaδəm
yejhe šiaonāiš gaēdā aša frādənte

I want to appoint the woman
 whose good thoughts prevail, whose good words prevail, whose good deeds prevail,
 who is well instructed,¹⁰ who has the rule of a Ratu, the truthful one.
 (We worship) bounteous Right-mindedness,
 and (we worship) your noblewomen, O Wise Lord,

- 9 In Middle Persian times, however, Y 46.10 *nā ganā vā* seems to have been considered as denoting human beings. This is suggested by Purs. 5, where Y 46.10 is quoted and interpreted as referring to all those persons who 'stand by the religion of Ohrmazd' and 'worship Zarduxšt' and therefore go to Paradise (*garōdmānig*), see JAMASPA/AS/HUMBACH, *Purs.*, I, pp. 14–15.
- 10 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1842, posits the meaning of the adjective *huš.həm.sāsta-* as 'easily directed, malleable, tractable' ('gut zurechtzuweisen, lenksam') and is followed by DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Composés*, p. 124, who translates 'facile à diriger'. However, no such connotations are warranted by either the context of the passage or the word's formation. The last term of the compound is the past participle *sāsta-* of the root *sāh* 'to instruct', the Av. cognate of Ved. *śās* (*AirWb.* 1574f., *EWaia*, II, p. 632f.). Accordingly *huš.həm.sāsta-* means 'well instructed, taught'. Such meaning is confirmed by the Pahlavi translation *hu-* (H 2.18: *xūb-*) *hammōxt* 'well taught'. It is, moreover, parallel to that of the corresponding epithet of the truthful man *vistō.fraoraitīm* 'who knows the Confession'. Besides the latter, the epithet of the truthful women *huš.həm.sāsta-* expresses the Zoroastrian ideal of good education for both sexes. PIRAS, *Hādōxt Nask*, p. 113, who translates the adj. as 'propensa alla dottrina' without, however, questioning BARTHOLOMAE's semantic definition, draws attention to the Pahl. version of Vyt 64, where women are said to be *xūb-hammōxt az hērbedān* (DHABHAR, *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 216, *Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 399). 'Male and female disciples' are mentioned in Y 26.7, quoted above, p. 186.

I want to appoint the truthful man,
 whose good thoughts prevail, whose good words prevail, whose good deeds prevail,
 who knows the Confession, who does not know the *kaiiaḍa*(-sin)
 (and) by whose actions the creatures prosper through truth.

As in Y 38.1–2, *gənā*- here denotes personified qualities belonging to Ahura Mazdā and occurs in a quotation from Y 38.1 in YAv. form. Moreover, *ārmaiti*-, who in Y 38.2 is referred to as one of the ‘noblewomen’, is also mentioned just before the quotation. In another passage, Y 13.1, the ‘Ratu of the noblewomen’ (**γənanəm ratūm āmruiē*) is addressed and they are named as the Mazdayasnian Belief, good Reward, Abundance, the truthful woman (*bipaitiṣṭanā*-) and the earth:

Y 13.1 *ahurəm mazdəm āmruiē*
nmānahē nmānō.patōiš ratūm ā
vīsō vīspatōiš ratūm ā
zanṭāuš zanṭupatōiš ratūm ā
daṣṭhāuš daṣṭhupatōiš ratūm ā
**γənanəm ratūm āmruiē*
daēnəm māzdaiiesnīm
*aṣīm vaṣṭhīm *parəndīm*
γəmcā bipaitiṣṭanəm aṣaonīm
 (cf. Y 38.1) *iməmcā zəm yā nā baraitī*

I address the Wise Lord,
 I address the Ratu of the lord of the house,
 I address the Ratu of the lord of the clan,
 I address the Ratu of the lord of the tribe,
 I address the Ratu of the lord of the country.
 I address the Ratu of the noblewomen,
 the Mazdayasnian Belief,
 good Reward, Abundance,
 and the two-legged truthful (woman),
 and this earth here, which bears us.

By mentioning the first (‘Reward’, *aṣi*-) and last (‘Abundance’, *parəndi*-) of the five divine gifts enumerated in Y 38.2, the entire list is probably implied (cf. below, p. 222). These two personified notions quoted from the YH are preceded by that of the Mazdayasnian Belief, which equally appears to be perceived as a female person. They are followed by the ‘two-legged truthful (woman)’ (*γəmcā bipaitiṣṭanəm aṣaonīm*) and the earth, referred to by the words *iməmcā zəm yā nā baraitī*. The latter expression originates from Y 38.1:

Y 38.1	Y 13.1
<i>iməm āat zəm</i> <i>gənābīš haḍrā yazamaidē</i> <i>yā nā baraitī</i> <i>γāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā</i>	<i>*γənanəm ratūm āmruiē</i> <i>daēnəm māzdaiiesnīm</i> <i>aṣīm vaṣṭhīm *parəndīm</i> <i>γəmcā bipaitiṣṭanəm aṣaonīm</i>

Y 38.1	Y 13.1
<i>ašāt hacā vairiā tā yazamaidē</i>	<i>imamcā zəm yā nā baraitī</i>

In Y 13.1 the particle *āāt* of Y 38.1 is replaced by the enclitic *-cā* (with OAv. lengthening of the word-final vowel) and the words *gənābīš haθrā yazamaidē* are omitted. While in Y 38.1 the accusative *zəm* is governed by the verb *yazamaidē* ‘we worship’, in Y 13.1 the verb is *āmruīē* ‘I address’. The fact that the (incomplete) quotation fits well into the syntactic context of Y 13.1 suggests that Younger Avestan text composers were prepared to employ OAv. expressions and to adjust them to new and different literary contexts by slightly changing the wording. Such a procedure indicates both the extent to which expressions of the YH were present in their minds and, moreover, that it was considered permissible to take portions from the YH and make alterations in order to adjust them to a Younger Avestan context. It also shows that the composers of these litanies were in full command of the Avestan language.¹¹

The ‘noblewomen’, *gənā-*, have a special relation to *aīβisrūθrima- aibigaiia-*, the name of the day’s evening part, one of five Zoroastrian time divisions (*Gāh*) of the twenty-four hour day.¹² This emerges from an invocation dedicated to that time section in Y 1.6 (= G 4.1–2, 13) and Y 2.6 (= G 4.10). In a list of personified abstract notions worthy of worship the noun *gənā-* occupies a fixed position behind the ‘choices’ (*frauuaši-*) of the truthful ones (men and women) and before ‘good dwelling lasting all year’:

Y 1.6 (= G 4.1) *niuuaēdaiiemi haṅkārāiemi
aīβisrūθrimāi aibigaiiāi ašaone ašahe raθβe*

*niuuaēdaiiemi haṅkārāiemi
frādaṭ.vīspəm.hujiiātē
zaraθuštrōtāmāica ašaone ašahe raθβe*

(= G 4.2, 4.13; cf. Y 2.6, G 4.10) *niuuaēdaiiemi haṅkārāiemi
ašāunəm frauuašinəm
γənqanəmca vīrō.vqθβanəm
yāiriiaiiāasca hušitōiš
amaheca hutāštāhe huraoḍahe
vəraθraynaheca ahuraḍātāhe
vanaiṅtiiāasca uparatātō*

I announce, I celebrate
(the worship) for the truthful *Aīβisrūθrima Aibigaiia* time of Truth.

11 For another instance of the use of the YH in the Younger Avesta (in Vd 20.5), see below, p. 242 with fn. 92.

12 On the meaning of *aīβisrūθrima- aibigaiia-* ‘(time of) chanting characterized by attentive listening’, see HINTZE 2003.

I announce, I celebrate
(the worship) for the truthful *Frādaṭ.vīspəm.hujiiāiti*
and for *Zaraθuštrōtəma*, the truthful Ratu of Truth.

I announce, I celebrate
(the worship) of the choices of the truthful ones,
and of the noblewomen provided with troops of heroes
and of good dwelling lasting throughout the year
and of the well-shaped, well-grown force
and of victory created by the Lord
and of superiority which prevails.

The adjective *vīrō.vəθβa-* ‘provided with troops of heroes’¹³ occurs exclusively as an epithet of *gənā-*. The latter probably has a metaphorical meaning here because it occurs in a list of personified abstract qualities receiving worship. Such divine female beings could include the ‘noblewomen’ specified in Y 38.1–2. The idea of their being surrounded by ‘heroes’ is also found in the *Rigveda*, where they are closely connected with the creator god Tvaṣṭar, whose skilful hands fashion ‘heroes’ (*vīrā-*). This is stated, for instance, in a hymn dedicated to All Gods:

RV 7.34.20 *ā yān nah pātnīr gāmanty āchā tvāṣṭā supāñīr dādhatu vīrān ||*

When the wives come to us, then the skilful handed Tvaṣṭar will create heroes.

Tvāṣṭar-, the fashioner god of living beings, is associated both with deities of procreation, in particular *dhātār-*, *savitār-*, *prajāpati-* and *pūṣān-*, and with divine females, *gnāh*, *janāyah*, *devānām pātnīh*, see below, p. 204.

An explicit reference to the text of the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* is found in the litanies of Vr 1.5 and 2.7, where the ‘noblewomen’ are mentioned with Ahura Mazda. In the arrangement of the text, they occupy a fixed position after the *Ahunavaiti Gatha* but before *Ahura Mazda* and the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*. That they are perceived in anthropomorphic terms emerges from their epithets ‘happy, of good lineage, of good growth’ (*hubayā hufədrīš huraodənhō*):

Vr 2.7 (cf. Vr 1.5) *ahmīia zaodre barəsmānēcā*
ahunauuaitīm gāθəm ašaonīm ašahe ratūm āiiese yešti
yənā hubayā hufədrīš huraodənhō āiiese yešti

ahmīia zaodre barəsmānēcā
ahuməntəm ratuməntəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm āiiese yešti
hō zī asti ahūmca ratūmca yō ahurō mazdā

ahmīia zaodre barəsmānēcā
yasnəm sūrəm haptañhāitīm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm āiiese yešti
arəduuīm sūrəm anāhitəm ašaonīm ašahe ratūm āiiese yešti

13 On the meaning of this adjective, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 192 with fn. 9, who argues that Av. *vīra-* and Ved. *vīrā-* mean ‘hero’ and not ‘son’, as implied by BARTHOLOMAE’s translation ‘mit Scharen von Heldensöhnen versehen’ (*AirWb.* 1455).

At this libation and straw

I invite with worship the truthful Ahunavaiti Gatha, the Ratu of Truth,
I invite with worship the noblewomen, happy, of good lineage, of good growth.

At this libation and straw

I invite with worship the truthful Ratu of Truth provided with a Lord and with
a Ratu
the Lord and Ratu, for he is Ahura Mazdā.

At this libation and straw

I invite with worship the strong Yasna Haptañhāiti, the truthful one, the Ratu
of Truth,
the strong Arədvī Anāhitā, the truthful one, the Ratu of Truth.

Here Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā seems to take the place which is occupied by Ārmaiti in Y 38.2, Vr 3.4 and G 4.9. In Vr 1.5 the ‘noblewomen’ occur in the same litany as in Vr 2.7, but their epithets are different and include ‘of many varieties’ (*pouru. sarəda-*) and ‘created by the Wise one’ (*mazdaδāta-*).

It emerges from this survey that in Younger Avestan *gənā-* occurs only in liturgical formulae. Some of the latter relate to the evening part of the day (Y 1.6 = G 4.1–2, 13 and Y 2.6 = G 4.10), with which the *gənā-* are associated together with the ‘choices’ (*fraunuaši-*) of the truthful ones’, ‘good dwelling lasting throughout the year’ (*yāiriā- hušiti-*), ‘force’ (*ama-*), ‘victory’ (*vərəθrayna-*) and ‘superiority’ (*uparatāt-*). All other attestations (Y 13.1, Vr 1.5, Vr 2.7, Vr 3.4, G 4.9) relate to the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* (and Ahura Mazdā) either by means of quotations from Y 38.1–2 (Y 13.1, Vr 3.4, G 4.9) or by mentioning the text’s name (Vr 1.5, 2.7).

The Avestan use of *gənā-* as a metaphor picturing divine females who embody personified abstract notions has parallels in Vedic. The cognate *gnā-*, which is confined to the *Rigveda* and its *mantra-* tradition, occurs especially in hymns dedicated to ‘all gods’ (*viśve devāḥ*).¹⁴ It is used as an epithet for abstract notions some of which are either semantically similar or etymologically related to those characterized as *gənā-* in Avestan. In particular, the equivalents of Av. *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-*, Ved. *īlā-* and *arāmati-*, occur in conjunction with *gnā-*. Vedic *arāmati-* ‘right-mindedness’ is worshipped as *gnā-* ‘noblewoman’ and *devī-* ‘goddess’ in

RV 5.43.6 *ā no mahīm arāmatim sajoṣā gnām devīm nāmasā rātāhavyām |*
... āgne vaha pathibhir devayānaih ||

On the paths travelled by the gods, O Agni, being of the same mind, bring to us great Right-mindedness, the divine noblewoman, to whom libations have been offered with veneration!

14 Of the sixteen Rigvedic attestations of *gnā-*, eleven are in hymns to All Gods (1.22.10, 2.31.4, 5.43.6 and 13, 5.46.2 and 8, 6.49.7, 6.50.15, 7.35.6, 10.66.3, 10.92.14.). Apart from these, one each is found in hymns to Agni (4.9.4), Indra (1.61.8), the R̥bhus (1.161.4), Indra and Varuṇa (6.68.4) and on Purūravas and Urvaśī (10.95.7).

Like Agni, the god Tvaṣṭar, too, is said to be ‘of one mind’ (*sajóṣas-*) with the divine females. RV 2.31.4 also mentions *īlā-* and *púrandhi-* whose Avestan equivalents *īžā-* and *parəndi-* each occur in one of the two lists constituting Y 38.2:

RV 2.31.4 *utá syá devó bhúvanasya sakṣáṇis tváṣṭā gnábhiḥ sajóṣā jūjvād rátham |
īlā bhágo bṛhaddivótá ródasī pūṣá púramdhir áśvínāv ádhā pátī ||*

This god, too, Tvaṣṭar, the friend of the world, of one mind with the noblewomen, speeds the chariot, and (so do) *Ílā*, *Bhaga* and *Bṛhaddivā*, *Rodasī*, *Pūṣan*, *Abundance* and also the two *Áśvin*, the two lords.

Elsewhere *īlā-* occurs particularly besides *bhárati-* and *sárasvatī-* as one of three goddesses (*devī-*) addressed at a fixed place in the *āpri-*hymns. The latter belong to the liturgy accompanying the animal sacrifice, which was offered either on its own or in conjunction with the Soma sacrifice. The *āpri-*hymns were recited to calm the sacrificial animal before it was killed. Ten of these hymns form part of the *Rigveda*. All are composed after a rigid pattern according to which eleven key words are incorporated into the composition in a fixed order. The eighth position is taken by the three oblation goddesses *Bhárati*, *Ílā* and *Sárasvatī*, though their order may vary and occasionally not all of them will be mentioned.¹⁵ Although in the *āpri-*hymns they are not called *gná-*, but *devī-*, *Bhárati* is identified as *gná-* in RV 1.22.10, and both *Ílā* and *Sárasvatī* are associated with them in other hymns (see the table “‘Noblewomen’ in Avestan and Vedic”, below, p. 207).

In the *āpri-*hymns, the praise of the three goddesses is always followed by that of Tvaṣṭar, who elsewhere is also associated with the divine females (cf. above, p. 202ff.). For instance, in RV 1.22.9–12, a hymn dedicated to various gods, he is mentioned together with the wives of the gods (*pátnīr ... devánām*), the ‘noblewomen’ (*gnáh*) including *Bhárati*, the goddesses (*devīḥ*) and the wives of Indra, Varuṇa and Agni:

RV 1.22.9 *ágne pátnīr ihá vaha devánām úsatīr úpa |
tváṣṭāraṃ sómapítaye ||*

Bring here, O Agni, the willing wives of the gods,
(and) Tvaṣṭar, for the drinking of Soma!

1.22.10 *á gná agna ihávase hótrāṃ yaviṣṭha bháratiṃ |
várūtrīm dhiṣāṇām vaha ||*

Bring here, O Agni, O youngest one, the noblewomen for assistance, (namely) Libation, Recitation¹⁶, Protection and Ritual Action¹⁷!

15 For instance, in RV 10.70.8, quoted below, p. 212, only the name of *īlā-* is mentioned as one of the three goddesses. On the *āpri-* hymns see GELDNER, *Rig-Veda*, I, p. 13; SCHLERATH 1960, p. 310; TOPOROV 1981, p. 251; VAN DEN BOSCH 1985; WATKINS, *Dragon*, pp. 101f., 238.

16 The meaning of *bhárati-* follows GRASSMANN, 933, according to whom *bhárati-* is the deity of speech and recitation. On the verb *bhar*, *pra-bhar* ‘to recite (a hymn etc.)’ see also I. SCHEFTELOWITZ, “Die Nividas und Praiṣās, die ältesten vedischen Prosatexte”, in: ZDMG 73 (1919), p. 38, fn. 1.

1.22.11 *abhí no devír ávasā maháh sármaṇā nṛpátnīh |*
áchinnapatrāh sacantām ||

The goddesses, the wives of sovereigns whose wings are unclipped shall accompany us with their help, with their shelter.

1.22.12 *ihéndrāñīm úpa hvaye varuṇāñīm svastáye |*
agnáyīm sómapítaye ||

I summon here Indra's wife, Varuṇa's wife for well-being,
 Agni's wife for the drinking of Soma.

Like Y 38.2, RV 1.22.10 lists four 'noblewomen'. Although their names are different, they all relate to powers that are active during the ritual, as emerges from the following table:

Catalogues of four 'noblewomen' in Avestan and Vedic

Avestan		Vedic	
Meaning	Y 38.2	RV 1.22.10	Meaning
libation, fat-offering, invigoration	<i>īžā-</i>	<i>hótrā-</i>	libation, fat-offering
vitalization	<i>yaošti-</i>	<i>bhárati-</i>	recitation
perfection	<i>fərašti-</i>	<i>várūtrī-</i>	protection
right-mindedness	<i>ārmaiti-</i>	<i>dhiśánā-</i>	ritual action (?)

Equivalence could be established across the two languages between the first and last members of the two lists respectively insofar as in both of them the first 'noblewomen' refer to ritual libations: Av. *īžā-* 'invigoration' and Ved. *hótrā-* 'libation'. Furthermore, the last ones could correspond to one another insofar as *dhiśánā-* (if its meaning posited above is correct, cf. fn. 17) refers, on the practical level, to the action performed during the ritual, while *ārmaiti-* denotes, on the spiritual plane, the state of mind appropriate for carrying it out. It is probably not by chance that the first and last terms of the Av. list of 'noblewomen', *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-*, have cognates amongst the Vedic *gnā-*, *ílā-* and *arámati-*, see above, p. 203. This suggests that in Y 38.2 an inherited catalogue of IIR. **gnā-* has been modified and either expanded by, or substituted with, the two central terms *yaošti-* and *fərašti-*, both of which are unique to Iranian, and, as argued below, p. 214ff., specifically Zoroastrian with regard to their meaning.

That the Vedic divine females have a special relationship to both the earth and water, is stated in

17 This meaning of *dhiśánā-* follows GELDNER's 'Werk des Priesters' (*Rig-Veda*, III, p. 41 on RV 9.59.2c with fn. 2). On different explanations and the exegetical problems of this noun see MAYRHOFER, *EWaia*, I, p. 791f. with references.

RV 5.46.7 *devānām pátnīr úsatīr avantu naḥ právantu nas tujáye vājasātaye |
yāḥ párthivāso yá apám ápi vraté tá no devīḥ suhavāḥ śárma yachata ||*

The wives of the gods shall assist us willingly, they shall help us to procreate,¹⁸ for the winning of the prize! Those who are the earthly ones, who are committed to the waters, those goddesses, who are good to be invoked, provide us with protection!

This stanza is paralleled by the whole chapter of Y 38, where the divine females (*gānā-*) are worshipped in conjunction with the earth (Y 38.1–2) and the waters (Y 38.3–5). Although the word *gnā-* does not occur in RV 5.46.7, it emerges unequivocally from the following stanza that the ‘noblewomen’ are implied in the expression *devānām pátnīḥ* since in RV 5.46.8 they (*gnā-*) are addressed as ‘wives of the gods’ (*devápatnīḥ*) and specified as those of Indra, Agni and the Áśvin. Furthermore, they are identified as goddesses (*devī-*) who have a special relationship to women (*jāni-*):

RV 5.46.8 *utá gnā vyantu devápatnīr indrāṇy āgnāy aśvínī rāt |
ā ródasī varuṇānī śṛṇotu vyántu devīr yá ṛtúr jānīnām ||*

And the noblewomen, the wives of the gods, shall come: the wife of Indra, of Agni, (and) of the Áśvin, the queen.¹⁹

Rodasī shall listen, (and) the wife of Varuṇa. The goddesses shall come at the time of the women.

It emerges from this survey that divine beings addressed as ‘noblewomen’ in Avestan and Vedic are, on the one hand, personified abstract concepts some of which relate to the ritual, and, on the other, natural beings such as plants (Ved. *óṣadhi-*). Furthermore, they are associated with a range of both spiritual and physical items. They include other natural beings such as earth and water as well as goddesses associated with the latter, in particular Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā in Avestan and Sarasvatī in Vedic. Identities and associations of the ‘noblewomen’ in Avestan and Vedic may be summarized as in the following table:

18 The form *tujáye* belongs with the root noun *túc-*, apparently with *-c-* “weakened” to *-j-*, see MAYRHOFFER, *EWAia*, I, pp. 651–652.

19 MAYRHOFFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 141, interprets *aśvínī* as ‘mother of the Áśvin’ though her name is given as *saranyū* in RV 10.17.2. In the context of RV 5.46.8, however, *aśvínī* can only mean ‘wife of the Áśvin’, as suggested by GRASSMANN, 143. Since the form is identified as a singular by the following apposition *rāt* ‘queen’, the passage implies that the two Áśvin shared one wife, cf. also LEHMANN 1988, p. 375. The stanza thus attests to the idea of polyandry in Vedic culture, one for which there is also evidence in Iranian, as shown by SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Bactrian Documents*, pp. 32–35, on the basis of a Bactrian marriage contract. More on this subject is to be found in S. D. SINGH, *Polyandry in Ancient India*, New Delhi 1978, and EMMERICK 2000.

‘Noblewomen’ in Avestan and Vedic

Avesta		Rigveda		Concept
identified as <i>gənā-</i>	associated with <i>gənā-</i>	identified as <i>gnā-</i>	associated with <i>gnā-</i>	
<i>īžā-</i> Y 38.2	<i>iš-</i> Y 38.2		<i>īlā-</i> 2.31.4	invigoration
<i>yaošti-</i> Y 38.2				vitalization
<i>fərašti-</i> Y 38.2				perfection
<i>ārmaiti-</i> Y 38.2	<i>ārmaiti-</i> Vr 3.4, G 4.9	<i>arāmati-</i> 5.43.6		right-minded- ness
		<i>dhiśānā-</i> 1.22.10		ritual action (?)
		<i>bhāratī-</i> 1.22.10		recitation
		<i>vārūtrī-</i> 1.22.10		protection
	<i>āzūiti-</i> Y 38.2	<i>hótrā-</i> 1.22.10		libation
	<i>parəndi-</i> Y 38.2; 13.1		<i>púramdhi-</i> 2.31.4	abundance
	<i>zam-</i> Y 38.1, 13.1	<i>óṣadhi-</i> 5.43.13	<i>pythivī-</i> 5.46.7	earth, plants
	<i>ap-</i> Y 38.3–5; <i>arəduuī-</i> <i>sūrā-</i> <i>anāhitā-</i> Vr 1.5, 2.7		<i>ap-</i> 5.46.7; <i>sárasvatī-</i> 6.49.7, 5.46.2; <i>nadī-</i> 10.95.7	water, female water deities, river
	<i>nāirikā-</i> Vr 3.4, G 4.9; <i>bipaitištānā-</i> Y 13.1		<i>jāni-</i> 5.46.8	woman
	Ahura Mazdā Y 38.1, Vr 1.5, 2.7		Indra, Agni, Aśvin, Varuṇa 1.22.12, 5.46.8, 2.31.4, 5.43.13	male deities

In Vedic the ‘noblewomen’ are explicitly identified both as goddesses (*devī-*) and as ‘wives of the gods’ (*devānām pátnīḥ*, *devāpatnīḥ*, RV 5.46.7–8), namely those of Indra, Agni, Varuṇa and the Aśvin, (*indrāñī-*, *agnāyī-*, *varuṇāñī-*, *aśvīnī-*). In Avestan, too, the ‘noblewomen’ are associated with a male deity, but only with one, Ahura Mazdā. This emerges both from Y 38.1, where they are addressed as those who belong to Ahura Mazdā, and from YAv. passages where they are associated with him. However, in the *Gathas* they are not said to be his wives. Instead, their relationship is defined in terms of descent since he is

presented as the father of *ārmaiti-*, his ‘daughter’ (Y 45.4),²⁰ as well as of other spiritual creations such as *vohu manah-* (Y 45.4, 31.8) and *aša-* (Y 47.2, 44.3). The *gənā-* may therefore be considered as ‘noble’ because of their derivation from Ahura Mazdā.²¹ Moreover, it is probably for this reason that they are said to be ‘excellent’ (*vairiia* Y 38.1) ‘on account of truth’ (*ašāt hacā*).

Furthermore, in both Avestan and Vedic a range of terms which are etymologically and/or conceptually unrelated are associated with *gənā-/gnā-*:²²

Additional words associated with *gənā-/gnā-*,
but etymologically or conceptually unrelated in Āv. and Ved.

Avestan <i>gənā-</i>		Vedic <i>gnā-</i>	
word	concept	word	concept
<i>aši-</i> Y 38.2, 13.1	reward	<i>aditi-</i> 10.92.14	mother of the Ādityas
<i>frasasti-</i> Y 38.2	glory	<i>ródasī</i> 2.31.4, 5.46.8	name of a goddess
<i>daēnā- māzdaiiasni-</i> Y 13.1	Mazdayasnian Belief	<i>pūšan-</i> 2.31.4	name of a god who protects the roads
<i>fraunaši-</i> Y 1.6	choice	<i>bhāga-</i> 2.31.4	name of an Āditya, ‘share’
<i>yāiriiā- hušiti-</i> Y 1.6	good dwelling throughout the year	<i>bṛhaddivā-</i> 2.31.4	name of a goddess
<i>ama-</i> Y 1.6	attack, force	<i>tvāṣtar-</i> 1.161.4, 7.35.6, 10.66.3	name of a god who fashions living beings
<i>vərəθrayna-</i> Y 1.6	victory		
<i>uparatāt-</i> Y 1.6	superiority		
<i>aīβisrūθrima-</i> <i>aibigaiia-</i> Y 1.6, 2.6	name of the day’s evening section		

20 In the YAv. Yt 17.16, however, *ārmaiti-* is said to be the mother and Ahura Mazdā the father of *aši-*. This suggests that *ārmaiti-* could also be perceived as Ahura Mazdā’s wife. SKJÆRVØ 2002b interprets this feature in the light of the IE myth of the *hieros gamos* between heaven and earth.

21 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 194. On the interpretation of the family links between Ahura Mazdā and the spiritual creations, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 214f., and *AmSp.*, p. 63f.

22 In contrast to the table on p. 207, the listing of Avestan and Vedic terms in the same horizontal row here does not imply that they are thought to correspond either etymologically or conceptually.

Avestan <i>gənā-</i>		Vedic <i>gnā-</i>	
word	concept	word	concept
<i>Ahunavaiti Gatha</i> Vr 1.5, 2.7	name of the sacred text preceding the YH	.	
<i>Yasna Haptanhāiti</i> Vr 1.5, 2.7	sacred text in which the <i>gənā-</i> are worshipped (Y 38.1–2)		

Although there are some differences in terminology, the two tables illustrate that there is also a large amount of overlap between the Avestan and Vedic contexts of *gənā-/gnā-* both from a terminological and a conceptual point of view. In both languages the primary use of the term appears to apply to forces active during the ritual (above, p. 203). This is also suggested by the two lists of four ‘noblewomen’ in Y 38.2 and RV 1.22.10 respectively (above, p. 204f.). Further parallels include the association of the ‘noblewomen’ with water, water deities, the earth, women and male deities. Such correspondences suggest that the group of divine females called *gənā-/gnā-* in Avestan and Vedic continues an inherited Indo-Iranian metaphor of noble female beings, who constitute anthropomorphic personifications of abstract notions and qualities relating both to the ritual and to fertility and prosperity. The praise offered to them in Y 38.1–2 thus employs ritual language and imagery inherited from the IIr. period.

Y 38.2

*īžā^{1a} yaoštaiiō¹ fəraštaiiō² ārmataiīō³
 vaṇ^hīm⁴ ābīš⁵ ašīm⁶
 vaṇ^hīm^{6a} īšəm⁷
 vaṇ^hīm^{7a} āzūitīm^{7b}
 vaṇ^hīm⁸ frasastīm
 vaṇ^hīm^{8a} +parəṇdīm⁹ yazamaide^{9a} ∴*

- 1a *īžā* G Mf4, K5; J6, J5
ýžā C1
- 1 *yaoištaiiō* Pt4 Mf4; C1
yaoštaiiō G Mf1, K5 (ō pr.m. corr. from
ā), S1 J3; Mf2; L2, L1; K11
yaoxštaiiō J2
ýaōštaiiā Jp1 K4
yaostaiiō S2; H1 J6 (ý) L13 J7, J5
- 2 *fəraštaiiō* Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; L1
fəraštaiiō G Mf1, S1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2,
 Dh1, O2 L3 Bb1; C1
fərastaiiō J3 J4; K11, H1 J7
frastaiiō S2; J6 L13
fraestaiiō J5
- 3 *ārmaiti. iiō* (?) Mf4
ārmaitaiiō Mf1 (*i* erased after *a*), Jp1 K4;
 K11, H1 J7
ārmataiīō G K5 J2; C1, J6
āramaitiīō J5
- 4 *vaṇhīm* Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1
vaṇuhīm G K5, J3; H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
vaṇhuīm K11
- 5 *ābīš* G Pt4, S1 J3; L2, S2, L1 L3; K11,
 H1 J6 L13 J7
ābiš Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1
ā. bīš J5
- 6 *ašīm* G Mf4, K5 J2; J6
ašī J3
ašām K4
ašəm C1, J5
- 6a *vaṇhīm* Mf4, J2; C1
vaṇuhīm G K5; J6, J5
- 7 *īšīm* Pt4; Dh1; C1, P6; [M25]
īšəm G Mf4 Mf1, J3; Mf2; L2, L1; K11,
 H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
īšəm K2 J2
īsəm S1
- 7a *vaṇhīm* Mf4, K5 J2; C1
vaṇuhīm G J6, J5
- 7b *āzūittīm* Mf4 (the second *t* struck out)
āzūitīm G K5; J6
āzītīm C1
āzuuaitīm J5
- 8 *vaṇhīm* Mf4, J2 C1
vaṇuhīm G K5; J6, J5
deest Jp1
- 8a *vaṇhīm* Mf4, J2
vaṇuhīm G K5; C1, J5
vaṇhuīm J6
- 9 *pārəṇdām* Pt4
pārəṇdīm Mf4; C1
parəṇdīm G Mf1 (but *a* superscr. and
 below it is an erasure); Jp1 K4
parəṇdīm K5
parəndəm J2
pāraiṇdīm S1
paraṇdīm J3
pārəṇdīm Mf2; L2, L1 B2 L3; K11 Lb2,
 H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
- 9a *yazamaide* Mf4 (ý), K5
yazamaide G J2
yaz° J6
y° J5

¹(noblewomen like) Invigoration², Vitalization³, Perfection⁴, Right-mindedness.
 Together with them we worship good Reward⁵,
 good Strengthening⁶,
 good Libation⁷,
 good Glory⁸
 (and) good Abundance⁹.

- 1 *īžā yaoštaiō fəraštaiō ārmataiō* ‘(noblewomen like) Invigoration, Vitalization, Perfection, Right-mindedness’

From a syntactic point of view the phrase *īžā yaoštaiō fəraštaiō ārmataiō* does not belong to Y 38.2 but to the preceding stanza. Being in the nominative case, the four nouns are an apposition to Y 38.1 *yāscā tōi gənā* ‘your noblewomen’. As observed by NARTEN, the fact that in Y 68.21 the quotation of Y 38.2 begins with *īžā* indicates that by Young Avestan times the list of Ahura Mazda’s ‘noblewomen’ had been detached from the preceding stanza, to which it belongs syntactically. Such segmentation, NARTEN argues, was facilitated by the position of the verb *yazamaidē* at the conclusion of Y 38.1, since in YAv. this form usually marks the end of a syntactic unit. Occurring before the apposition, it was interpreted as concluding the sentence, and the following four nouns considered as belonging to the next section.

The function of the plural number is to turn the four personified abstract notions ‘invigoration, vitalization, perfection and right-mindedness’ into proper names and to present them as typical representatives of their category. The pluralization of proper names has parallels in Greek and Latin, e.g. Aesch. Ag. 1439 *Χρυσήιδων* ‘of girls like Chryseis’, Mart. 8.56.5 *Maecenates* ‘people like Maecenas’.²³ Accordingly, *īžā ... ārmataiō* means ‘noblewomen like Invigoration, ... noblewomen like Right-mindedness’.

The arrangement of the four divine females displays a compositional pattern according to which the first one, *īžā-*, corresponds to the last one, *ārmaiti-*, insofar as *īžā-* ‘libation, fat-offering, invigoration’, referring to ritual action, unfolds on the material level, while *ārmaiti-*, denoting the right state of mind, including that which is to accompany the offering, manifests itself on the spiritual plane. These nouns occur immediately before and after the central ones, *yaošti-* and *fərašti-*, two words found only here and probably special terms of the ritual and religious language.²⁴ The arrangement of the four names thus follows the pattern of a ring-composition.

2 *īžā-* ‘invigoration’

The Av. noun *īžā-* and its Vedic cognate *īdā-* (*īlā-*, *īrā-*) are technical terms of the ritual language. Deriving from IIr. **iš-ā-*, they are formed with suffix *-ā* attached to the root **iš* ‘to set in motion’. Both Av. *īžā-* and Ved. *īdā-*, *īrā-* exhibit a peculiar compositional sandhi which could indicate that the words are artificial formations of the IIr. ritual language.²⁵ The basic meaning of such

23 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 194–197 with references.

24 On *yaošti-* see p. below, p. 214ff., on *fərašti-* p. 221ff. For a comparison of the list of four *gənā-* in Y 38.2 with a similar one in Vedic, see above, p. 203–205.

25 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 205f. with references; MAYRHOFER, *EWAla*, I, pp. 187, 195. In OAv. the mss. readings of *īžā-* are consistently with unetymological *ī-*, while in YAv. there is variation between *i-* and *ī-*, see HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 387.

terms being ‘driving force or motion’, Av. *īžā-* denotes the ‘strengthening, invigoration’ presented to the deity in the form of a fat-offering. In OAv. the noun denotes the ritual action of ‘invigoration’ while in YAv. it may also be used as a general metaphor for strength and prosperity.²⁶ The unsuffixed root noun Av. *īš-* ‘strenght’ forms part of the second list of terms in Y 38.2, see below, p. 223f.

The ritual connotations emerge particularly clearly from phraseological parallels for the metaphor of the ‘footprints of invigoration’ in the *Gathas* and *Rigveda*. As noted by HUMBACH, 1957–1958a, p. 43, the expression Y 50.8 *padāiš ... īžaiiā* ‘with footprints of *īžā-*’ corresponds to RV 3.29.4 *īlāyās padé* and 6.1.2 *īlās padé* ‘in the footprint of *īl(ā)-*’. That this is an established, traditional metaphor is made explicit in Y 50.8, which states that the ‘footprints’ are ‘renowned’ (*frasrūta-*) as being those of *īžā-*:

Y 50.8 *maṭ vā padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiā*
pairijasāi mazdā ustānazastō

With footprints which are renowned as those of invigoration
 I shall approach you, O Wise one, with hands outstretched.

The image of the fatty footprints of ‘invigoration’ is also evoked by the Vedic adjective *ghṛtāpadī* ‘whose foot drops with ghee’ which characterizes *īlā-* in her function as one of the three goddesses in the *āpri*-hymn RV 10.70²⁷:

RV 10.70.8 *tísro devīr barhīr idāṃ vārīya ā sīdata cakṛmā vah syonām |*
manuṣvād yajñāṃ súdhitā havīmṣīlā devī ghṛtāpadī juṣanta ||

You three goddesses sit down leisurely on this sacrificial straw! We have prepared it comfortably for you. They, (including) the goddess *Ilā* whose feet drip with ghee, enjoy the sacrifice (and) the well-placed offerings just as human beings do.

Similarly, *īlā-* is also characterized as *ghṛtāhasta-* ‘whose hands drip with ghee’ (RV 7.16.8). In YAv. the metaphor is applied to the eyes of the Saošyant *Astvat.*-*ərəta* when defeating death²⁸:

Yt 19.94 *hō vīspəm ahūm astuuantəm*
īžaiiā vaēnāt dōiθrābiia
**darəšca daṭat *amarəxšiiantīm*
vīspəm yəm astuuaitīm gaēṭəm

He will look at all corporeal life
 with invigorating eyes,

26 Especially in Vd 9.53, where HUMBACH 1957–1958a, p. 41, followed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 205, translates *īžāca āzūitišca* as ‘Saft und Kraft’. By contrast, WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 239, who both quotes the entire passage and comments on its rhythmic and syntactic line structure, renders the expression as ‘milk and fat’.

27 On the *āpri*-hymns see above, p. 204 with fn. 15. The second term of the compound *ghṛtāpadī* is *-pad-ī-*, the fem. of the root noun *pad-* ‘foot’. In later Vedic texts it is connected with *padá-* ‘step’, see *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 388f.

28 HUMBACH 1957–1958a, p. 43, fn. 7.

and his gaze²⁹ will render
the entire corporeal world incorruptible³⁰.

That the eyes of Armaiti are also in a position to slay Evil emerges from another YAv. passage:

Yt 1.29 *spəntaiiā ārmatoiš dōiθrābiia auuāstriiata mairiiō*

The villain was struck down³¹ by the eyes of Bounteous Right-mindedness.

Yt 19.94 and 1.29 thus suggest that both *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-* are perceived as special weapons for overcoming death and destruction. Moreover, they attest that the association of *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-* is also present in Younger Avestan. Eschatological connotations of *īžā-* are also found in the noun's third YAv. attestation in Y 70.4. At the conclusion of the Yasna ritual, the worshippers express their wish to be Saoshyants:

Y 70.4 *yaθa īža vācim nāšīma*
yaθa vā saošiiantō daxiiunəm suiiamna vācim barəntū
buiiama saošiiantō
buiiama vərəθrājanō
buiiama ahurahe mazdā friia vāzišta astaiiō

... so that we may raise our voice along with the fat-offering.

Likewise let the deliverers of the countries, as they gain strength, definitely
raise their voice.

May we be deliverers,

May we be victorious,

May we be Ahura Mazdā's dear, most effective³² guests!

29 On the emendation **darəšca* for *darəsca* (F1) see HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 389. HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA, *Zamyād Yasht*, p. 168, conjecture a reading **darəsaca*, instr.sg. of *darəsa-* 'gaze'.

30 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 143, and HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA, *Zamyād Yasht*, p. 168, read *aməra°* with the mss. However, since the form is a future participle (with privative *a-*), one from the full grade root *marc* 'to destroy' is expected (**a-marč-sja-nt-*), see KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, p. 160; HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 389. The reading of the mss. with *-əra-* results from the common confusion of *-əra-* and *-ara-*, see HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 496 (bottom). As noted by KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, p. 162, the future participles often have medio-passive meaning with a modal (subjunctive) overtone. Such is also the case with **amarəxšiiant-* 'indestructible, incorruptible, imperishable'.

31 The noun *mairiiō* 'villain' probably implies Angra Mainyu. The form *auuāstriiata* is 3sg. of a passive *ja*-present with middle ending from root *star* 'to strike down' with preverbs *auua* and *ā* (BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1596), cf. KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, pp. 126–127f., n. 14, who, however, analyses the form as *auua-striiata*. The verse in Yt 1.29 is presented as spoken by Zarathustra and preceded by a corrupt line which seems to allude to the episode, recounted in Yt 19.81, in which the demons were driven under the earth at the moment when Zarathustra recited the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer. A restoration of the line is attempted by BARTHOLOMAE 1901, pp. 126–128.

32 On the meaning of *vāzišta-* 'most invigorating, effective' as an epithet of *asti-* 'guest', see Y 36.3 at the end of no. 3 *vāzišta-*, above, p. 143f.

The collocation of *īžā-* with *ārmaiti-* in the list of ‘noblewomen’ in Y 38.2 is also found in the Gathic expression *ārmaitiš īžācā*:

Y 49.10 *taṭcā mazdā θβahmī ā dām nipāñhē*
manō vohū urunascā ašāunam
nəmascā yā ārmaitiš īžācā

And this you guard in your house, O Wise one:
 good thought and the souls of the truthful ones,
 and reverence with which (are allied) right-mindedness and invigoration.

The verse states that *ārmaiti-* and *īžā-*, both addressed as ‘noblewomen’ of Ahura Mazdā in Y 38.2, are preserved in the deity’s dwelling together with ‘good thought’, *vohu- manah-*. In Y 49.10 the two feminine nouns denote offerings presented to the god. In stanza 5 of the same hymn, *īžā-* is juxtaposed with *āzūiti-* ‘libation’, and *ārmaiti-* as well as *vohu- manah-* are also mentioned:

Y 49.5 *aṭ huuō mazdā īžācā āzūitišcā*
yā daēnām vohū sārštā manahā
ārmatōiš kasciṭ ašā huzəntuš
tāišcā vīspāiš θβahmī xšaθrōi ahurā

That person (is) invigoration and libation, O Wise one,
 who unites his belief with good thought,
 whosoever, by virtue of right-mindedness, (is) well acquainted with truth
 and with all those in your kingdom, O Lord.

In the context of this stanza the two ritual terms *īžācā āzūitišcā* become metaphors for the Mazdā-worshipper who himself becomes ‘invigoration and libation’ for the deity by uniting his *daēnā-* with ‘good thought’.³³ It thus emerges from the survey of these passages that in OAv. both *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-* are offerings presented to Ahura Mazdā by his worshippers. In YAv. the phrase *īžācā āzūitišcā* appears as an expression for prosperity (Vd 9.53). Apart from this, *īžā-* occurs twice in the context of *frašō.kərəti-* and the Saoshyant(s), both the particular one who raises the dead ‘with eyes of *īžā-*’ (Yt 19.94) and the victorious ones that the priests would like to emulate (Y 70.4).

3 *yaošti-* ‘vitalization’

Amongst the names of Ahura Mazdā’s four ‘noblewomen’, *īžā-* and *ārmaiti-* are well attested in Avestan and morphologically transparent with Vedic equivalents (*īdā-* and *arāmati-* respectively, see above, p. 203), whereas both *yaošti-* and *fərašti-* are hapax legomena in Y 38.2. The noun *fərašti-* is further isolated

33 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 205, 294. While in Y 37.3 the worshippers state that they worship Ahura Mazdā with their ‘limbs and lives’ (**azdabišcā uštānāišcā*), in Y 41.3 the thought is turned around in that they desire that Ahura Mazdā may become their own ‘life and corporality’ (*gaiiascā astəntāscā*), see Y 41.3 no. 1 *gaiiascā astəntāscā*, below, p. 313.

because there is only one other form of the same word family, the past participle *fraždāta-*, a hapax legomenon that occurs in Yt 12.1. By contrast, *yaošti-* forms part of a widely attested and productive lexical field which includes the noun *yaoš* (= Ved. *yós*), the verb *yaoždā-*, the past participle *yaoždāta-*, the *ti*-abstract *yaoždāti-* and the agent noun *yaoždātar-* (*AirWb.* 1232–1236). In Zoroastrian vocabulary the entire word family of *yaož-dā-* continued to be productive into the Middle Iranian period, when it generated the priestly title *yōjdahrgar* ‘purifier’, which corresponds functionally to Av. *yaoždātar-* and *yaoždāθriia-*.

The compound *yaoš/ž dā* has been considered to be a formation morphologically parallel to *mązdā-*, with both having a zero-grade *s*-stem acc.sg. as their first term:

Av.	Meaning	IIr.	IE
<i>yaoš ... [yaož]dā</i>	to make weal	* <i>īayš d^hā</i>	* <i>īey-s d^heh₁</i>
<i>mązdā-</i>	to set one’s mind	* <i>máns d^hā</i>	* <i>mén-s d^heh₁</i>

Thus, SCHINDLER 1975, p. 266, suggests that Av. *yaoš* is an acc. sg. of a neuter *s*-stem IE **īey-es-/os-*. He argues that the archaic acc. sg. with zero grade suffix has survived in the OAv. syntagm *yaoš ... [yaož]dā*, YAv. *yaoždā-* and goes back to IIr. **īayš d^hā* < IE **īey-s d^heh₁* ‘to make weal’ (‘Heil setzen, heilwirkend machen’). The formation of the Av. verb *yaoždā-* is seen as parallel to that of OAv., YAv. *mązdā-* ‘to set one’s mind’ (‘den Sinn auf etw. richten, (sich) merken’) < **máns d^hā* < IE **mén-s d^heh₁*. The standardized form of the nom./acc.sg. was the one with full-grade suffix which continued in Lat. *iūs* ‘law’ < IE **īey-os*, Av. *manah-* ‘thought’ < IE **men-os*. Against the explanation of *yaoš* as acc.sg., however, stands the evidence of Y 43.13, where the form is unambiguously identified as gen.sg. by the adjective *darəgahiiā* with which it agrees in both case and number:

Y 43.13 *spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā mōnghī ahurā*
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasat manəhā
arəθā vōizdiiāi kāmahiiā tām mōi dātā
*darəgahiiā *yaoš yām vā naēcīš *darəšt itē*
vairiiā stōiš yā θbahmī xšaθrōi vācī

Bounteous indeed I think that you are, O Wise Lord,
 when he approached me with good thought.
 To find the objects of (my) longing, fulfil for me this (longing),
 (the longing) for lasting life³⁴, (a longing) for which no one has dared³⁵ to approach you,
 (the longing) for desirable existence, which is said (to be) in your kingdom!

34 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 145, edits *yāuš* with the mss. K5 J2 and J3, though all others read *yaoš*. The latter is the expected form of the gen.sg. of *āiū-* ‘life’, see below.

35 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 145, edits *dārəšt* with Mf1. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 690, analyses this form as 3rd sg.inj. *s*-aor.act. from *dar* ‘to hold’, cf. HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 51; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 230 (*dārəšt* < **d^hār-š-t*) and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II,

Moreover, if interpreted as a gen./abl.sg., *yaoš* fits perfectly into the paradigm of the neuter noun *āiū-* 'life' (Ved. *āyū* 'life', IE **h₂óju-*), which forms a nom./acc.sg. *āiū* (Y 31.20), an instr.sg. *yauuā* (Y 29.9) and a well-attested dat.sg. *yauuōi*.³⁶ The original meaning of *āiū-* has been defined by BENVENISTE 1937 as 'vital force' ('force de vie, source de vitalité'). Elaborating on this semantic definition and stressing that any accusative collocation must be rejected because *yaoš* can only be either genitive or ablative, SZEMERÉNYI 1979, p. 166, identifies the syntactic status of the genitive as one "of sphere, more specifically the genitive of rubric", as e.g. in Lat. *lucri facere* 'to put down under the heading

p. 254. Such a grammatical form is probably attested in Y 49.2 where, however, it is *dōrāšt*:

Y 49.2 *nōiṭ spəntəm dōrāšt ahmāi stōi ārmaitīm*
naēdā vohū mazdā fraštā manayhā

He neither holds on to bounteous right-mindedness in order for it to be his own,
 nor consults with good thought, O Wise one.

Since Y 49.2 *dōrāšt ... ārmaitīm* has syntactic parallels in Y 43.1 *ašəm dərāidiiāi* 'to grasp truth' (HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 207), it is preferred to connect *dōrāšt* with *dar* 'to hold' rather than with *darz* (= Ved. *dṛh*) 'to fasten', suggested as an alternative by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 255, III, p. 232, and HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, pp. 64 ('er befestigt'), 224f. By contrast, in Y 43.13, both form and context are different from that in Y 49.2. PIRART in *TVA*, III, p. 232, and DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 510, rightly consider it difficult to derive both Y 43.13 *dārāšt* and Y 49.2 *dōrāšt* from the same preform. Moreover, in the context of Y 43.13 a form of *dar* 'to hold' is syntactically and semantically awkward to accommodate, as emerges from the translations offered by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 155 ("which nobody obliges You to agree") and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 147 ("que nul ne vous contraint à exaucer").

It is therefore preferable to interpret *dārāšt* in Y 43.13 with INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 238, as 3rd sg.root aor. of *darš* 'to dare' which then governs the following infinitive *itē*, cf. also LOMMEL's translation 'worum noch niemand euch anzugehen gewagt hat' (*Gathas*, p. 99). In Vedic the cognate root *dharṣ* forms a thematic aorist *adhyas* (ŚB) and an *iṣ*-aor. *adharṣiṣur* (TA). While the latter would be a unique new formation (NARTEN, *Sigm. Aor.*, p. 154), the former could constitute an indirect attestation of the earlier root aorist from which thematic aorists usually arose. A form with a short root vowel, as expected for a 3rd sg. root aor., is found in the Pahlavi Yasna mss. K5 (*daršt itē*) and J2 (*darišt itē*, where *i* is corrected to *ə* or vice versa). On this basis one may read **darāšt itē*, with an anaptyctic vowel in the word's final consonant cluster. This follows LUBOTSKY 1994, p. 95, who states that in the Avestan mss. *-aršt-* is usually written inside a word, but *-āṛāšt* at its end.

- 36 On the reconstruction of the inflectional type, with nom./acc.sg. IE **h₂óju* > Av. *āiū*, gen.sg. IE **h₂iéu-s* > Av. *yaoš*, see KUIPER, *Notes*, p. 31f.; H. EICHNER, "Die Etymologie von heth. *mehur*", in: MSS 31 (1973), p. 84f., fn. 5; W. COWGILL, "Greek *ou* and Armenian *oč*", in: *Language* 36 (1960), p. 347ff.; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 293; INSLEER, *Gāthās*, p. 343 s.v. *āyū*. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 199, fn. 22, notes not only that Ved. *yóṣ* cannot be an old "Ablautform" of *āyūṣ-* 'life', but also rejects the interpretation of *yaoš* as a gen. or abl.sg. of *āiū-* on the grounds that INSLEER's, *Gāthās*, p. 245f., translation of *yaoš/ž dā* as 'to give life to, bring to life' does not adequately render any of these case forms. INSLEER's reading is justified, however, if seen as a loose rendering of a partitive genitive 'to give (from/of) life', as noted by OBERLIES 1989, p. 80, fn. 45.

“profit”, ‘consider as profit’. It consists of an IE genitive and the verb **d^heh₁*. The syntactic relationship between the Av. verb *dā* ‘to set, place’ and *yaoš* is seen as parallel to that of Vd 7.29 *añhā zəmō nidaiθiiqn* ‘one shall place on this earth’ (BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 721). The original meaning of the phrase **yauš dā* – in OAv. attested in the verb *yaoždā-* (Y 44.9) and the root noun *yaoždā-* (Y 48.5) – is therefore ‘to place within the sphere of vital force’, ‘endow with vital force, power’. From such a meaning, which is also present in the Younger Avesta (Y 65.2), there developed that of ‘endow with purity, purify’, mainly attested in the *Videvdad*.³⁷

Gathic *yaoš* ‘of vitality, welfare, happiness’ probably also underlies the hapax legomenon *yaošti-* in Y 38.2. The problem, however, arises of how to explain the latter morphologically, because the suffix *-ti-* is usually attached to zero-grade roots, but not to inflected case forms. A regular formation would emerge if *yaoždā-* were interpreted as containing the verb *dā* ‘to give’ (IE **deh₃*) rather than *dā* ‘to set, place’ (IE **d^heh₁*).³⁸ The *ti-*abstract *yaošti-* could then be derived from a pre-form **ieus-dh₃-ti-* ‘giving of vitality’, which would be a compound with the gen. *yaoš°*. The second term would be a regularly formed zero grade *ti-*abstract from *dā* ‘to give’, as found, for instance, in *paitiiāsti-* ‘listening’ from *paiti-ā-dā-* ‘to receive, accept’ (see Y 35.9 no. 4 *paitiiāstārəm*, above, p. 99ff.). The syntactic relationship between the first and second term of the compound being that of a partitive genitive, the basic meaning would be ‘to grant vitality (gen.) to someone (dat.)’. Such a construction of *dā* ‘to give’ with a partitive genitive and an indirect dative object is attested in Y 40.2:

Y 40.2 *ahiiā huuō nō dāidī*
ahmāicā ahuiiē manāxiiāicā

You there, give us from this (prize)
for both this and the spiritual life!

Against this interpretation, however, there is the syntax of the verb *yaoždā-* which is constructed not with a dative but an acc., e.g. in

- 37 SZEMERÉNYI’s explanation that *yaoš* functions as a “genitive of sphere” which literally means ‘of vitality, welfare, happiness’, is accepted by MAYRHOFER, *EWaia*, II, p. 420 with references, I, p. 171. An “intrinsic affinity between *yaoš* and life” is also recognized by DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1970, p. 206. On the semantic development of *yaož-dā-*, see KELLENS 1976a, p. 92f.; SZEMERÉNYI 1979, p. 170.
- 38 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125, appears to imply this explanation when he derives *yaošti-* from **yaožd-ti-* ‘purification, conservation’, which itself comes from *yaoždā-* ‘to purify, conserve, make durable’ without, however, discussing the syntactic implications. Although the formation is different from Av. *yaošti-*, the second term of the Latin compound *sacerdōs* ‘priest’ also used to be considered as continuing the IE root **d^heh₁*, but is now better explained by STRUNK 1994 [1995] as containing the IE root **deh₃* ‘to give’. STRUNK analyses *sacerdōs* as an exocentric compound of two substantives *sacrum* and *dō(t)s* ‘who has the gift of the sacred’.

Y 44.9 *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā mōi yaṃ yaoš daēnəm ⁺[yaož]dānē

I ask you this, tell me truly, O Lord:
 How am I to endue my belief with vitality?³⁹

It is therefore more likely that °dā- represents the IIr. root *d^hā ‘to set, place’. If such is indeed the case, the only probable explanation of *yaošti-* is that proposed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 199, according to whom the noun is an artificial nonce form of the religious language (“Kunstbildung der religiösen Sprache”). The word could have been created in one of two possible ways. Either, as suggested by NARTEN, the suffix *-ti-* was attached directly to the inflected case form *yaoš* to denote its handling (“Heiligung, Heilbringung”).⁴⁰ Or, as indicated by HUM-BACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125, the word was derived from the verb *yaoždā-* by attaching the suffix *-ti-* to the synchronic zero grade stem *yaožd-*. In either case, it is likely that from a synchronic point of view OAv. speakers associated *yaošti-* with both *yaoš* and *yaoždā-*. The YAv. equivalent of *yaošti-* is *yaoždāiti-*, attested in Vd 10.19.

NARTEN’s explanation requires the assumption that *yaoš*, which clearly forms part of the living paradigm of *āiui-* ‘life’, could also be perceived as an uninflected, petrified form. Such a re-interpretation of *yaoš* could have arisen when in combination with *dā*.⁴¹ Petrification is what also happened to the Vedic equivalent *yóh* which occurs only in collocation with *śám* ‘weal’. SZEMERÉNYI 1979, p. 172, convincingly explains the expression *śám yóh* as an old genitival collocation of the neuter nom./acc.sg. *śám* and the gen.sg. *yóh* meaning ‘increase in life force’. After the original grammatical functions of the collocation’s constituent parts had become blurred, *yóh* was reinterpreted as a nom./acc.sg. and linked to the preceding *śám* by enclitic *-ca*, thus producing the expressions *śám ca yós ca*, *śám yósca*.

In accordance with the meaning of Gathic *yaoš* ‘of life force, vitality’, *yaošti-* may be rendered as ‘providing life force, vitalization’. There remains, however, the question as to the nature of the concept implied by the expression *yaož-dā-*

39 Literally: ‘place my belief into the sphere of life force’.

40 As rightly concluded by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 198, the equation of OAv. *yaošti-* with YAv. *yaošti-* ‘skill’, first proposed by JUSTI, *Handbuch*, p. 241, and adopted by HUM-BACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125, should be abandoned for semantic reasons, cf. also HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, p. 99 with fn. 31.

41 HUM-BACH, *Gāthās*², II, pp. 143, 188, distinguishes two functions of OAv. *yaoš*, one being that of the gen.sg. of the living paradigm of *āiui-* (Y 43.13). In the second function, attested in Y 46.18, the gen.sg. *yaoš* ‘of use, useful’ is petrified and, like Ved. *yóh* ‘welfare’, indeclinable. The same “indeclinable word” also constitutes the first term of the compound *yaoždā-* translated by HUM-BACH as ‘purify’ (Y 44.9, 48.5). The latter’s alleged “same structure” of *yaoš* and *māng*, however, is only apparent, because from a morphological point of view *māng* is an acc.sg. (< IIr. *man-s, with zero-grade s-stem suffix) while *yaoš* is a gen./abl.sg. (< IIr. *iaṃ-s, with zero grade gen./abl. case ending).

‘place within the sphere of life, life force, vitality’, which is used as a technical term in the Younger Avesta. Some indication may be gained from Y 46.18 where *yaoš* ‘life force, vitality, welfare’ contrasts semantically with *qsta-* ‘harm’:

Y 46.18 *yā maibiiā yaoš ahmāi ascīti vahištā*
maxiiā ištōiš vohū cōišam manayhā
qstōng ahmāi yā nā qstāi daiditā
mazdā ašā xšmākam vārām xšnaošamnō
taṭ mōi xratōuš manayhascā vīciṭam

By means of good thought I assign what is best under my command
to the person who (is a source) of life-force to me,
but (I assign) harm to the one who wishes to consign us to harm,
O Wise one, thereby gratifying your will through truth.
Such is the discrimination of my intellect and mind.

Like *staota-* ‘praise’ the masculine noun *qsta-* ‘harm’ is formed by attaching the suffix *-ta-* to a full grade root (AiGr., II.2, p. 587, cf. above, p. 108). The underlying root is the same as that which, in the zero grade, forms the adjective *ayra-* ‘harmful, evil’,⁴² which itself constitutes part of the name of Angra Mainyu. It emerges from Y 46.18 that ‘to be (a source) of life force (*yaoš*) to someone’ contrasts with ‘to consign someone to harm’ (*qstāi dā*), or, more freely, that ‘to place within the sphere of life’ (*yaoš-dā-*) contrasts with ‘place within the sphere of harm’, or ‘death’ (*qstāi dā*). The expression *qstāi dā* in Y 46.18 is functionally equivalent to *axtōiiōi dā* ‘to consign to harm’ in Y 36.1:

Y 36.1 *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzānā*
*paouruiiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā*
θβā θβā mainiiū spāništā
yā ā axtiš ahmāi
yām axtōiiōi dāyḥē

Together with the community of this fire here,
we approach you, O Wise Lord, at the beginning,
(we approach) you together with your most bounteous spirit
who indeed (is) harm for the one
whom you consign to harm.

In Y 36.1 the word for ‘harm’ equivalent to *qsta-* in Y 46.18 is *axti-* which is derived from the same root as the adj. *aka-* ‘bad, evil’ (see Y 36.1 no. 2 *axtiš* ‘harm’). The latter also provides one of the names of Evil, *aka-mainiiu-*, which in Y 30.3 is said to be the source of ‘non-life’ (*a-jiiāiti-*). Both Y 46.18 and 36.1, therefore, suggest that those who choose not to align themselves with Ahura Mazda are consigned to ‘harm’ (*qsta-*, *axti-*), which belongs to the realm of Evil and is the opposite of ‘life’ (*āiiu-*, *yaoš*).

42 MAYRHOFER, *EWAla*, I, pp. 152, 807.

While Gathic *yaoš* and *yaoždā-* exhibit no clear traces of ritual meaning, YH *yaošti-* occurs in a list of ritual terms denoting Ahura Mazdā's divine females (*ganā-*, see above, p. 196ff.). Ritual meaning is found in the YAv. attestations of the verb *yaoždā-*, which, especially in the *Videvdad*, is employed as a technical term for purification from pollution. Even then, however, the underlying meaning of 'place within the sphere of life' (as opposed to that of harm or death) could still adhere to this word if it is viewed as expressing the idea that removal of any uncleanness introduces (*dā*) someone or something into the sphere of vitality, life force (*yaoš*). This is because pollution, which in Zoroastrian dualistic thinking is closely associated with decay and death, is interpreted as one of Evil's products.

The concept of *yaošti-*, being similar to that of *yaoš* and the verb *yaoždā-* 'to endue with life force', 'vitalize', therefore appears to have both ritual and ethical connotations and, in addition, a bearing on both corporeal and spiritual life. On the material level, one 'introduces something into the sphere of life' by preventing any products of Evil – such as pollution, decay or death – from manifesting themselves in Ahura Mazdā's material creations. Any physical object or person afflicted by Evil is reintroduced into the sphere of life by removing from him, her or it any product of Evil, particularly pollution. It is this use of *yaoždā-* which is responsible for those passages, particularly frequent in the *Videvdad*, where both the verb and its derivatives may be translated as 'purify', such as, for instance, in

Vd 7.28 (cf. Vd 7.23 etc.) *dātarə ... ašāum*
kaṭ tā aēšma yaoždaiiṇ aṇhən
ašāum ahura mazda
yā nasāum auua.bərəta
sūnō vā para.iritabe mašīiehe vā

O creator, ... truthful one,
 can such fuel be purified,
 O truthful Wise Lord,
 that has been brought in contact with the corpse
 of either a dog or a deceased person?

Since religious specialists are required to carry out the task of purification, it is on the material level that the ritual use of *yaoždā-* and its derivatives is prevalent. That in the Younger Avesta and Pahlavi texts priestly titles are derived from *yaoždā-* can be seen in relation to this function. The ethical meaning of *yaoždā-* applies to the spiritual plane from which evil forces such as 'bad thoughts, words and deeds' are to be excluded. For instance, Vd 5.21 states that one places one's own life (*huuā- aṇhuuā-*) in the sphere of life (*yaoš*) by means of good thoughts, words and deeds:

Vd 5.21 *bā yaoždā zaraθuštra yā daēna māzdaiiasniš*
yō huuṇm aṇhuuṇm yaoždāite
humatāišca būxtāišca huuarštāišca

The Mazdā-worshipping belief, O Zarathustra, is life-enduing (for the one) who endues his own life with life force by means of his good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

It is each person's responsibility to ensure that their own 'belief' (*daēnā-*, see above, Y 35.1 no. 3, p. 58ff.) is 'endued with life' (*yaoždā*). This emerges from

Vd 10.19 *daēnəm arəzuuō yaoždaiθiša*
aθa zī aṇhā asti yaoždāitiš
kahmāciṭ aṇhōuš astuuatō
hauuaitiā arəzuuō daēnaitiā
yō huuəm daēnəm yaoždāite
humatāišca hūxtāišca huuarštāišca

You, O upright one [i.e. Zarathustra], may introduce your belief into the sphere of life!

For the introducing of it into the sphere of life,
 – namely of one's own belief, O upright one –
 happens for each person on the physical plane in this way
 that one introduces one's own belief into the sphere of life
 by means of good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

On the spiritual level, one introduces one's *daēnā-* into the sphere of life by excluding from one's mind any evil thoughts, words or deeds. After death such *daēnā-* will eventually lead its owner joyfully across the Cinwad Bridge.

4 *fərašti-* 'perfection'

Like *yaošti-*, the noun *fərašti-* in Y 38.2 is a hapax legomenon. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 202, considers two explanations for its formation. Either it is a regular *ti*-abstract from a verbal root *fraš* 'to excel', or it is, like *yaošti-*, an artificial nonce form of the religious language, whereby the suffix *ti-* is attached to a root noun *fraš-*. The latter occurs in combination with the verb *dā* in the past participle *fraž-dāta-*. NARTEN prefers the first explanation and suggests that if *fərašti-* is a regular *ti*-abstract, it could have provided the model for the formation of *yaošti-*: as *fərašti-* exists besides *fraž-dā-*, so *yaošti-* does besides *yaož-dā-*:

Parallel formations of *yaošti-* and *fərašti-*

Underlying noun or verbal root	<i>ti</i> -abstract	Compound with <i>-dā</i>
<i>yaoš</i> gen.sg. of <i>āiīu-</i> 'life'	<i>yaoš-ti-</i> Y 38.2	<i>yaož-dā</i>
<i>fraš</i> < Proto-Iranian * <i>frašš</i> 'to excel'	<i>fəraš-ti-</i> Y 38.2	<i>fraž-dā-</i> in past part. <i>fraž-dāta-</i> Yt 12.1 (with root noun <i>fraš</i>)

OAv. collocations of *fraša-* with *kar* and *dā* 'to make excellent' suggest that *fərašti-* is the OAv. equivalent of YAv. *frašō.kərati-*. By placing something or someone in the sphere of life (*yaoš*), that object or person is made *fraša-*,

‘excellent, perfect’. The two terms are thus not only closely connected and parallel from a morphological point of view, but they also form a semantic pair: *fərašti-* ‘perfection’ results from *yaošti-* ‘placing in the sphere of life’ (by removing non-life).

5 *vaŋ^hīm ābīš ašīm ...* ‘together with them (we worship) good Reward ...’

Together with the four divine females of Ahura Mazdā, five other personifications of female abstract nouns are also worshipped. They are:

- *aši-* ‘bestowal, reward’
- *iš-* ‘strengthening’
- *āzūiti-* ‘libation’
- *frasasti-* ‘glory’
- *parəndi-* ‘abundance, bloom of plenty’.

All of them are characterized by the epithet *vaŋ^hī-* ‘good’ and their praise constitutes the main theme of Y 38.2. The complete list from *aši-* to *parəndi-* is probably implied in Y 13.1, where the first and last terms are mentioned, see above, p. 200. Y 38.2 thus contains two series of personified abstract notions. The first one is that of Ahura Mazdā’s ‘noblewomen’, in the plural number, and the second that of five divine gifts, listed in the singular.

In a detailed analysis of the contexts of Ved. *púrandhi-* and Av. *parəndi-*, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 210, observes that in Vedic *púrandhi-* usually occupies the final position in enumerations of deities allotting prosperity. These lists include gods such as *pūṣán-*, *śavitṛ-*, the *násatya-*, and, especially, almost always *bhága-*, the personified ‘share’. Since *parəndi-* also occupies the final position in Y 38.2, NARTEN concludes that the enumeration of divine beings ending with *parəndi-* ultimately goes back to an IIr. list of deities, personified abstract notions, whose function is to provide plenty and prosperity.⁴³ Since most of them are divine gifts, they could continue a catalogue of deities referred to in the RV as *rātiṣác-*, a group of divine beings dispensing gifts and to which *bhága-* and *púrandhi-* (e.g. RV 6.49.14; 7.36.8) belong.⁴⁴

On the basis of additional phraseological parallels adduced by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 143, WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 236, observes that the deities are usually listed in the same sequence. For instance Y 38.2 *frasastīm ... parəndīm* corresponds to RV 7.35.2 *śámsah ... púrandhiḥ*. He concludes that such a correspondence points to “a common inherited ordering of shared elements of a litany”. There is a Common Indo-Iranian “semantic and sequential ‘program’ which can be poetically encoded both into the strophic style of ‘rhythmic prose’, as in Iranian, and into the metrical strophic verse of Vedic hymnic poetry”. Furthermore, WATKINS points out that this ritual litany inherited from Common

43 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 206.

44 On *rātiṣác-*, cf. SCARLATA, *Wurzelkomposita*, p. 593f.

Indo-Iranian times is reflected in several other features as well. The relevant characteristics may be summarized as follows:

Characteristics of a ritual litany inherited from Common Indo-Iranian times

1.	Metaphor of the shared elements as divine women (<i>gəṇā-</i> , <i>gnā-</i>)
2.	Collocation of the shared elements with <i>vaŋhī-</i> = Ved. <i>vásvī-</i> ‘good’
3.	Common ordering of the shared elements, i.e. deities listed in the same sequence
4.	Sequential order ending with <i>vaŋhīm parəndīm</i> = Ved. <i>púrāndhīr vásvīh</i> .

6 *iš-* ‘strength, strengthening’

The root *iš-* ‘to set in motion’, from which the feminine substantive *ižā-* is derived (see above, p. 211ff.), also underlies the root noun *iš-*. Together with its Vedic cognate *iṣ-* it goes back to an IIr. root noun **iṣ-* which probably has the basic meaning of ‘impulse; strengthening’.⁴⁵ HUMBACH considers the two nouns *iš-* and *ižā-* to be semantically very close, nearly synonymous. For that reason, he suggests that there is semantic overlap between the two lists of personified females in Y 38.2, and that two originally independent lists have been combined. Variations such as *īlāyās padé* and *īlās padé* suggest that the two nouns may be interchangeable in Vedic.⁴⁶ The Av. noun *iš-* also appears to have a ritual connotation in:

Y 50.4 *aṭ vā yazāi stauuas mazdā ahurā*
hadā ašā vahištācā manayhā
xšaθrācā yā išo stāṇhaṭ ā paiθī
ākā arədrəṇḡ dāmānē garō sərəaošānē

Praising, I want to worship you, O Wise Lord,
 along with truth, best thought
 and rule by which one wants to step onto the path of strength.
 I want to be heard in the House of Welcome before the efficacious ones.

The ‘path of strength’ (*išo ... paiθī*) in Y 50.4 could be interpreted as an IIr. metaphor for the connection established between the human and divine worlds by means of the ritual. Thus here the noun *iš-* could denote a gift that changes hand during that ritual. Such a metaphor is probably also implied in the expression Y 53.2 *dāṇhō arəzūš paθō* ‘the straight paths of gift-giving’.⁴⁷

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 205, however, points out a semantic difference between Av. *ižā-* and *iš-*. While *ižā-* is a ritual technical term, *iš-* appears to have a more general meaning which is not confined to ritual contexts. Such is the case, for

45 SCHINDLER, *Wurzelnomen*, p. 11, cf. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 205f.

46 HUMBACH 1957–1958a, p. 44f.; WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 236.

47 Cf. HUMBACH 1957–1958a, p. 47.

instance, in Y 28.7, where it denotes a divine gift and, as in Y 38.2, occurs after *aši-* ‘bestowal, reward’:

Y 28.7 *dāidī ašā tām ašīm vaṇhāuš āiiaptā manahō*
dāidī tū ārmaitē vīštāspāi išām maibiiācā

Grant, O Truth, this reward, the wages of good thought!
 Grant indeed, O Right-mindedness, strength to Vishtaspa and me!

In Y 28.9, the divine beings themselves are addressed as ‘strengthenings’ or ‘reinforcements’ for the worshippers:

Y 28.9 *anāiš vā nōiṭ ahurā mazdā ašəm cā yānāiš zaranaēmā*
manascā hūiaṭ vahištām yōi vā yōiṭāmā dasāmē stūtām
yūžām zəuuīštiiāṇhō išō xšaθrəm cā sauuaṇhām

O Wise Lord, may we not anger you, truth or best thought, with these entreaties,
 we who have positioned ourselves while offering praises to you.
 You (are all) our swiftest reinforcements and ruling powers.

HUMBACH 1957–1958a, p. 46, compares the use of *iš-* referring to persons (here divine beings) to the similar use of *ižā-* and *ārmaiti-* in Y 49.5, quoted above, p. 214. There are, however, differences, because in Y 28.9 the divine beings are ‘reinforcements’ for the worshippers whereas in Y 49.5 *ižā-* refers to human beings. This implies that *iš-* is a divine gift, whereas *ižā-* is a human gift to the deity. Moreover, in Y 29.9, where the instr.sg. of *iš-* constitutes the first term of the compound **ižā.xšaθriia-*, the noun probably denotes a divine gift ‘who has rule through strength’, as an epithet of the ‘herdsman’ desired by the cow:

Y 29.9 *yām ā vasāmī *ižā.xšaθrīm*

whom I wish to be one who has rule through strength.

7 *āzūiti-* ‘libation’

Being a *ti*-abstract from the root Av. *zu*, Ved. *bu* ‘to pour’, the basic meaning of Av. *āzūiti-* and its Vedic cognate *ābūti-* is that of an action noun ‘libation’. Both terms are inherited from the IIr. ritual language and are usually considered to denote the pouring out of clarified butter. As an explicative genitive of *māθrām taš* ‘to coin a mantra’, Av. *āzūiti-* occurs in a formulaic expression going back to the IE poetic language⁴⁸ in

Y 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš ahurō māθrām tašaṭ ašā hazaošō*
mazdā gauuōi xšuuīdām cā

In harmony with truth the Wise Lord has produced for the cow both this mantra of libation,⁴⁹ and the milk.

48 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 204, fn. 32; SCHMITT, *Dichterspr.*, p. 297, fn. 1712.

The passage states not only that Ahura Mazdā has placed the milk in the cow but also that he is the author of the sacred formula recited when the milk-product, clarified butter, is used as a libation for ritual purposes. Since in Y 29.7 both the milk and the formula of *āzūiti-* are said to be divine creations, *āzūiti-* could be considered as a divine gift in the list of Y 38.2.⁵⁰ In Y 16.8 *āzūiti-* and *xšuuīd-* ‘milk’ are also objects of worship.

8 *frasasti-* ‘glory’

The Av. noun *frasasti-* has an exact equivalent in Ved. *prásasti-*. The latter denotes both the ‘glorification’ offered by human beings to the deity and the ‘glory’ given as a gift by the gods to human beings.⁵¹ The Vedic use of *prásasti-* ‘glorification’ with regard to a deity corresponds to that of YAv. *frasasti-* in the extremely common expression *yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastaiiaēca* ‘for worship, praise, gratification and glorification’. In addition, in Y 49.7 *frasasti-* is said to be bestowed by a human being on another person. While there is no Av. evidence for *frasasti-* being conferred by the deity, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 206, suggests that it could denote a divine gift in Y 38.2.

9 *parəndi-* ‘abundance’

While Y 38.2 is its only OAv. attestation, the noun *parəndi-* occurs in YAv. once as an appellative in A 3.4, but otherwise as the name of a deity. Her name is linked with that of *aši-* ‘granting, bestowal, reward’ in several places (Y 1.13, Yt 8.38, 10.66, Vyt 8), in all of which *aši-* is mentioned first, as it is in Y 38.2. Av. *parəndi-* corresponds to Ved. *púrandhi-*.⁵² The YAv. forms with *pār°* must be considered as having been corrupted by vulgate pronunciation, because the etymological equation with Ved. *púrandhi-* only justifies Av. *par°*.⁵³ In earlier explanations *parəndi-* was segmented as Ir. **p̥r̥Ham-dʰi-*, but NARTEN, *YH*,

49 Here NARTEN interprets the gen. *āzūtōiš* as an abstract action noun ‘libation’ rather than ‘clarified butter, ghee’. On the different explanations that have been provided for this form see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 204 with fn. 42. According to BOYCE 1970a, pp. 31–33 and *HZ*, I, p. 154 with fn. 40, there is no evidence for an offering of butter to the fire in Iranian ritual. She interprets Y 29.7 as evidence for the oblation of fat from a sacrificial animal. That *āzūiti-* could refer to such fat emerges from Vd 13.28, which says of a dog’s food: *parō xšuuisca āzūitišca gāuš mat* ‘milk and fat with meat (shall be brought) forth’.

50 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 204.

51 GRASSMANN, 882. On the IE ideology of ‘glory’, see SCHMITT, *Dichterspr.*, p. 85.

52 BARTHOLOMAE 1892, p. 184 and *AirWb.* 889.

53 NARTEN, *Am.Sp.*, p. 68, fn. 8. OETTINGER 1986, p. 127, fn. 44, suggests that the YAv. lengthening is due to the vowel’s position in the antepaenultima syllable. DE VAAN, *Av.Vowels*, p. 481 with fn. 607, posits the stem as *pārəndi-* and refers to “isolated forms” that exhibit “a lengthening of **a* in initial syllable in front of a sequence of short vowels” (p. 62f., where, however, *parəndi-* is not adduced). He explains variant readings with *-ənd-* as caused by the desire “to give the text a more OAv. appearance”.

p. 209, following a personal communication from K. HOFFMANN, more convincingly proposes to reconstruct an IE preform $*p_lh_1-h_2and^bi-$. The first term of the compound is the root noun $*p_lh_1-$ 'plenty', while the second is a form with suffix $-i$ attached to an action noun corresponding to Ved. *ándhas-* 'herb', Greek *ἄνθος* 'flower' etc. from the IE root $*h_2and^b$ 'to flower'. The expression is therefore translated by NARTEN as "Segenfülle" and WATKINS as 'bloom of plenty'.⁵⁴ It would appear to be a metaphor for 'abundance'.

54 WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 236 with fn. 7.

Y 38.3

¹*apō at yazamaidē*^{1a}
⁺*maēkaiiñtīscā*² ⁺*hābauñtīscā*³
frauuazayhō ahurānīš^{3a}
ahurahiiā ⁺*hauuapayhā*⁴
*hupərəθβāscā*⁵ *vā*⁶
*huuōyžəθāscā*⁷
*hušnāθrāscā*⁸
ubōibiiā^{8a} *ahubiiā cagāmā*⁹ ∴

- 1 Y 38.3–5 recur in Y 67.5–7; cf. Y 63.3
 1a *yazamaidē* G
yazamaide Mf4 (y), K5 J2
yaz° J6
y° J5
 2 *maēkaiñtīscā* G Pt4 Mf4, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1
 K4; K11
mēkaiñtīscā Mf1
maēkaiñtīscā K5
mē.kaiñtīscā J2
maikaiiñtīscā L2; Lb2; L13 J7, J5; [M25]
maekaiiñtīscā L1 O2 B2
maikaiñtīscā C1
maikaiiñtīscā H1 J6
 3 *hābauuñtīscā* Pt4 Mf4, J3; [M25]
hā. bauuñtīscā Mf1; Bb1
hāebaiñtīscā K5
hābauuñtīscā G J2; J7
hēbauuñtīscā Mf2; S1
hē. bauuñtīscā Jp1 K4; L1 O2 B2
hābauuñtīscā S2; Lb2
hābauuñtīscā C1
hā. buuñtīscā K11, J6 L13
hā. buuñtīscā H1
hābauuñtīscā J5
 3a *ahurānīš* G, all mss. except:
ahura. nīš J6
 4 *hauuapayhā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3;
 Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, Dh1; K11
hauua. payhā K5
huuapayhā S2, L1 O2; H1 J6 L13 J7
huuō. payhā C1
huua. payhā J5
 5 *hupərəθβāscā* G Mf4, K5 J2; C1
hupərəθβāscā S1
hupərəθβā. scā J6
hupairiθβāscā J7; [M25]
hupərə. θβāscā J5
 6 *vā* G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3; Jp1; L2; H1
 J6 (the words *vā* to *hušnāθrāscā* in
 marg.), J5
vā K4; S2, L1; C1, L13 J7; [M25]
 7 *hauuōyžəθāscā* Pt4
huuō. yžəθrāscā Mf4 (r del.)
huuōyžəθāscā G Mf1, S1; C1
huuō. yžəθāscā K5 (r added sec.m.) J2;
 Jp1 K4; Dh1; P6
huuō. gažəθāscā J3
huuō. xžəθrāscā Mf2
huuō. yažəθrāscā L2; K11
huuō. yžəθrāscā S2, L1; H1 J6 L13 J7
huuō. gaža. θrāscā J5
 8 *hušnāθrāscā* G Pt4 Mf4, S1 J3; K4; L3
huš. nāθrāscā K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1
hušnāθrāscā L2; C1, J6, P6
hušnāθāscā Dh1
huš. nāθrāscā S2, L1 O2; H1 L13 J7
hušnā. θrāscā J5
 8a *ubōibiiā* G Mf4; C1, J5
ubōi. biiā K5; J6
ubōibii... J2
 9 *cagāmā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5, J3; Mf2; L1
 L3; C1, J6 J7
jagāmā J2
cayāmā S1; J5
cigāmā B2; Lb2

We worship
 the tasty¹ and sap-providing² waters,
 the lordly ones⁴ who move swiftly³
 by the Lord's⁵ skill⁶.
 (We worship) you, who are easy to cross⁷,
 smoothly flowing⁸
 and with good places for bathing⁹,
 (you who are) a gift¹⁰ for both existences.

1 ⁺*maēkaiiantīšcā* 'tasty'

From a grammatical point of view, this hapax legomenon can only be a nom. acc.pl.fem. of the present participle. The form edited by GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 133, *maēkaiantīš°*, however, is phonetically untenable because in the entire paradigm of the thematic present participle the root final tectal stop *-k-* is usually palatalized to *-c-* before the suffix *-ant-* (< **-ent-*). KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, pp. 131–132, n. 8, and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 210f., therefore convincingly argue that the *Yasna sāde* mss. reading *maēkaiiantīš°* is to be preferred. The emendation is accepted by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 147, and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137 (**maēkaieintīš°*).

Such a form could be interpreted as a denominative *maēkaiia-* (< **mojkā-je/o-*) derived from a substantive **maēka-* or **maēkā-*. The meaning of the word thus depends on whether the underlying root is considered to be Proto Iranian **majk* 'to taste' or **majk* 'to make a sudden movement'. Both roots are continued in Middle Persian as *mēz-*, the former in ¹*mēzīdan*, NP *mazīdan* 'to taste, suck, sip; to crop with the lips' (from *mizīdan*),⁵⁵ the latter in ²*mēzišn* 'blinking, twinkling'.⁵⁶ The connection with ¹*mēzīdan*, NP *mazīdan* is favoured by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1104 (who, however, translates *maēkañt-* as 'hervorsickernd, quellend'), KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 131 ('gouter') and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125 ('tasty'). By contrast, HERTEL, *Neujahrsopfer*, p. 113, fn. 5, and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 211, who translates the word as 'funkelnd', opt for a connection with ²*mēzišn* and Lat. *micāre* 'to make a sudden movement or series of movements', 'to dart, quiver, flicker, flash, glitter'.⁵⁷ KELLENS/PIRART, however, leave both this and the next word, ⁺*hābuuantīš°*, untranslated.⁵⁸

Because of the lack of contextual parallels, the root underlying this hapax legomenon has to be decided on semantic grounds. A clue could be provided by the

55 STEINGASS, p. 1224; HORN, *Neupers. Etymologie*, p. 219; HÜBSCHMANN, *Pers. Studien*, pp. 98, 137.

56 MACKENZIE, *Pahl. Dict.*, p. 56.

57 ZEHNDER in *LIV*², p. 429, n. 2, rightly considers it unlikely that Lat. *micō*, *-āre* is a denominative (**micā-je/o-*) because it forms a perfect *micuī*. The verb is either a frequentative **mikh₂-āje-*, or a **-je/īo-*present **mikh₂-jē-*.

58 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137, II, p. 277, III, p. 144.

water's epithet *frauuazah-* 'swiftly travelling', which, as suggested below, p. 230, describes the movement of the refreshing rain. If such is the case, 'tasty' fits the context better than 'blinking, twinkling' because the first epithet, *maēkaiiant-*, refers to the water consumed by human beings and animals, while the second, **hōbūuānt-* (on which see below), praises it for providing sap for the plants. The two epithets thus characterize the rain as sustaining the life of both flora and fauna.

2 **hōbūuāntīščā* 'and sap-providing'

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 133, edits the form *hōbūuāntīščō*, which is the reading of the Pahlavi *Yasna* ms. J2. However, since there is probably no epenthetic *i* before *-nt-*, the reading *hōbūuāntīščō* of the mss. S2 and Lb2 is to be preferred. This second hapax legomenon of the stanza has been identified by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 211f., as the participle of a thematic present stem *hōbūua-* (< **habya-*), a formation with suffix *-ya-*.⁵⁹ The Av. root *hab* corresponds to Ved. *sab* which underlies the first term of the compound *sabar-dūh-* 'yielding sap', an epithet of the milk-giving cow. Further afield, it probably belongs to OHG *saf* and English *sap*.

3 *frauuazāhō* 'moving swiftly'

The hapax legomenon *frauuazah-* is a possessive compound with preverb *fra* 'forward'. The second term could then be **uuazah-* 'journey' or **uuazah-* 'vehicle' (corresponding to Ved. *vāhas-* 'vehicle'), yielding the literal meanings 'whose journey is excellent' and 'whose vehicle is at the front' respectively. In both cases a looser translation would be 'swiftly travelling'. In combination with substantives rather than preverbs, **uuazah-* 'vehicle' provides the second term of the proper name *daēnāuuazah-* 'whose vehicle is the religion' (Yt 13.117) and of the adjective *ašauuazah-* (Y 10.1), *ašauuāzah-* 'whose vehicle is truth' (of Haoma, Y 10.14). The compound *ašauuāzah-* has a phraseological parallel in RV 8.6.2 *ṛtasya vāhasā* 'with the vehicle of truth'.⁶⁰

In Younger Avestan, the verb *fra-vaz* usually describes a movement through the air. For instance, it is used of Mithra when he emerges from his heavenly abode to visit the earth. The god drives forth (*fra-vaz*) on his chariot (*vāša-*) from the House of Welcome (*garō nmāna-*, Yt 10.124) across the seven regions

59 Against interpreting the stem *hōbūuānt-* as an adjective with suffix **-yant-* attached to a root noun *hab-*, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 124, objects only on the grounds that the syntactic coordination with the pres. part. *maēkaiiant-* speaks in favour of a parallel formation, i.e. a participle from the thematic present stem *hōbūua-* proposed by NARTEN. More importantly, however, an adj. with suffix **-yant-* is excluded because the fem. should be formed with the zero grade suffix **-yat-ī-*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1807, who reads **hōbauuāntīščā*, suggests the fem. participle of a thematic present stem **hōbauua-* and compares the Ved. participle *sam-bhāvant-*. As rightly stated by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 211, however, BARTHOLOMAE's explanation is unlikely because in Av. it is not *hō-* that corresponds to Ved. *sam-*, but *hām-* or *hām-*.

60 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 217, fn. 74; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 269; MAYRHOFFER, *IPNB*, p. 34.

(*karšuuar-*, Yt 10.133). It is also applied to the Fravashis, who ‘move forward most swiftly’ (Yt 13.26 *rəñjištā frauuazəmnanəm*) to the aid of truthful men (Yt 13.39), to Tishtrya (Yt 8.35), to heavenly bodies such as stars (Yt 13.58) and to the wind (Yt 8.33) and birds (Yt 10.119). On one occasion the verb describes the action of the Mazdayasnians when they ‘turn towards’ medicine (Vd 7.36).

It is therefore likely that *frauuazah-* in Y 38.3 also describes the movement of water through the air, rather than in the stream implied by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 219. In particular, it characterizes the water’s movement from the sky to the earth in the form of rain. Such a meaning also agrees with that of the preceding epithets **maēkaiiantīscā* **hābuuantīscā* ‘tasty and sap-providing’, which articulate the beneficial effect which rain has on nature. The interpretation proposed here is supported by the Pahlavi version. While *frauuazayhō* is not translated but only transcribed, it is glossed as *wārānīg* ‘rain(y)’. By contrast, the second half of the stanza, in which the waters are addressed directly in the vocative, praises the ones on earth in the form of lakes and rivers. This emerges from their three epithets ‘easy to cross, smoothly flowing and with good places for bathing’.

4 *ahurānīš* ‘lordly ones’

The form *ahurānīš* constitutes the only Avestan attestation of a formation in *-ānī-*. By contrast, in the Vedic language *-ānī-* is a productive suffix. It is usually attached to the proper name of a man or god to denote the woman, usually the wife, belonging to that person, e.g. *indrānī-* ‘wife of Indra’, *varuṇānī-* ‘wife of Varuṇa’, *purukūtsānī-* ‘wife of Purukutsa’.⁶¹ This is also the function of the suffix in the second, indirectly attested Av. formation in *-ānī-*, **mašiiānī-* ‘wife of Mashya’, reconstructed from Pahlavi *m’sy’nyd*.⁶² Mashya and Mashyānī are the personal names of the first human couple in Iranian mythology. Although Av. *mašiiā-* is otherwise used only as an appellative noun ‘mortal, man’, it functions as a proper name when underlying the feminine formation **mašiiānī-*. In fact, the latter does not denote a women belonging to any ‘mortal’, but a specific mythological figure, the wife of the first man.

Accordingly, *ahurānīš* in Y 38.3 is usually considered to characterize the waters as the ‘wives of Ahura’.⁶³ If Ahura refers to Ahura Mazdā, however, such a mean-

61 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 213f. with references. Forms like RV *ūrjānī-* ‘genius of strengthening’ from *ūrj-* ‘strengthening’ and *udakānī-* ‘genius of water’ (KāthGS 20.2) from *udaka-* ‘water’ show that *-ānī-* could also be attached to appellative nouns to denote the spirit (genius) of an earthly phenomenon. In that case, *ahurānī-* would mean **‘genius of the lord’*.

62 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 214 with fn. 69 and references.

63 See the survey by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 212f. This view is also adopted by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 144, and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 124. KELLENS/PIRART, who consider NARTEN’s analysis to be “inutilement sophistiquée” and maintain the traditional sense ‘wife of ...’, accept the interpretation of THIEME 1960, p. 309, who translates the expression *ahurānīš ahurahiia* Y 38.3 (68.10) as ‘[wives] of Ahura, [daughters] of Ahura’ and connects it directly with the statements of RV 5.83.6d and 5.63.3d, quoted below, p. 231f.

ing is in conflict with the rest of the Avesta, where the waters are not perceived as his wives. Rather, in Y 37.1–2 and elsewhere they are presented as one of his material creations whose beneficial characteristics are praised in Y 38.3–5. This semantic problem is compounded by the fact that *ahurānīš* is a plural form and refers to a multitude of female beings. By contrast, the Vedic formations in *-ānī-* occur only in the singular and denote one particular person, human or a deity, the latter being conceived in anthropomorphic terms. This situation indicates that it is problematic simply to transfer the meaning of Ved. forms in *-ānī-* to Av. *ahurānīš*.

NARTEN, who addresses these problems in two publications,⁶⁴ argues that *ahurānī-* must originally have had the meaning ‘the woman who belongs to a lord (*ahura-*)’, ‘wife of a lord’, denoting one particular woman associated with one particular male being. Like *mašīia-* underlying *mašīiānī-*, *ahura-* is used in Av. as an appellative noun, but should have functioned as a proper name when the derivative *ahurānī-* was formed. On this basis, a divine couple **ahura-* and **ahurānī-* may be reconstructed for the Proto-Iranian pantheon, just like, for instance, *vāruṇa-* and *varuṇānī-* in Vedic. This implies that in Proto-Iranian **ahura-* could function as the personal name of a god, although HALE, *Ásura* has shown that there is no Vedic or Avestan support for the assumption of a distinct Indo-Iranian group of gods referred to as **ásura-*.

According to NARTEN, the Pre-Zoroastrian term *ahurānī-*, a morphological relic (“ein morphologisches Relikt”) in Y 38.3, lost its original meaning in Zarathustra’s system. The word was reinterpreted in the sense of an ordinary appellative noun ‘female being of divine nature, divine woman’ (“Herrin, Gebieterin”), perceived as a feminine formation besides the masculine appellative noun *ahura-* ‘lord’ (not a personal name). It is only in this function of an appellative noun that *ahurānī-* could also be used in the plural. As an epithet, it characterizes the deified waters, who are also addressed as drink-providing milk-cows in the same context (Y 38.5).⁶⁵ Most importantly, such semantic re-interpretation of an old term is seen as parallel to that of the underlying noun *ahura-* ‘lord’ when used in the plural. The plural *ahurānīhō* in the Gathic formula *mazdāscā ahurānīhō* ‘O/the lords and the Wise one’ (Y 30.9, 31.4), implies beings such as *aša-*, *armaiti-* etc., while in Proto-Iranian, and further back in Indo-Iranian, it probably referred to deities such as **mitra-* addressed as *asura-/ahura-* in both Vedic and Avestan.⁶⁶

Close association of the waters and the gods, referred to as *ásura-*, emerges from the two Vedic passages adduced by THIEME in support of his view that OAv. *ahurānī-* denotes the ‘wife of Asura’.⁶⁷ Both passages are about rain:

64 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 214–216 and 1996, p. 76f.

65 NARTEN 1996, p. 76f.

66 NARTEN, *AmSp.*, p. 58f.

67 THIEME 1960, p. 308f. BOYCE, *HZ*, II, p. 51, suggests that the waters are presented as wives of Varuṇa in RV 2.32.8 and 7.34.22, though neither passage makes such a statement. Instead, they just include the name of *Varuṇānī* amongst other deities.

RV 5.83.6 *divó no vṛṣṭīm maruto rarīdhvam prá pinvata vṛṣṇo áśvasya dhárāḥ | arvān eténa stanayitnúnéhy apó niṣiñcānn ásurah pitá nah ||*

O Maruts, grant us the sky's rain, let the showers of the stallion stream forth!
Come here with this thunder, while the lord, our father, is pouring down the waters!

RV 5.63.3 *samrájā ugrá vṛṣabhá divás pátī pṛthivyá mitráváruṇā vícarṣaṇī | citrébhir abhraír úpa tiṣṭhatho rávaṃ dyāṃ varṣayatho ásurasya māyáyā ||*

You two rulers, powerful bulls, lords of heaven (and) earth, all-encompassing
Mitra and Varuṇa,
you two initiate the thunder⁶⁸ with flashing thunderclouds, you two make the
sky rain by the magic power of a lord.

As argued convincingly by HALE, *Ásura*, p. 47, in RV 5.83.6 *ásura-* refers to the rain god Parjanya, who is praised by that hymn. Parjanya is also understood by Sāyaṇa to be implied by *ásura-* in RV 5.63.3, but HALE, *Ásura*, p. 51, argues in favour of GELDNER's interpretation that the expression *ásurasya māyáyā* has a general sense 'by the magical power which an *asura-* possesses' and that *ásura-* refers to Mitrāvaruṇā, to whom the hymn is dedicated.⁶⁹ At any rate, both passages testify to the idea that rain is produced by the power of a divine 'lord' (*ásura-*).

As argued above on p. 230, the first half of Y 38.3 praises the water which falls through the air (*frauuazah-*). The context in which *ahurānīš* occurs refers specifically to the waters descending from the sky in the form of rain which vitalizes nature, in contrast to that on earth collected in rivers, lakes and the sea. If interpreted in the light of the two Rigvedic stanzas just quoted, *ahurānīš* describes the rain as being provided by the divine 'lord'. From a synchronic point of view, it refers to the waters sent from the sky in order to sustain life on earth. Ahura Mazdā achieves this 'through his skill' (**hauuapaṇhā*, see below, p. 236). The beneficial characteristics of water are summarized at the end of Y 38.3 by the word *cagəman-*, which probably denotes an essential, divine provision coming from Ahura Mazdā, see below, p. 238. Accordingly, *ahurānīš* does not denote the wife of Ahura Mazdā but the waters' association with him as their source.

5 *ahurahiiā* 'of the lord'

From a syntactic point of view, *ahurahiiā* as a possessive genitive could belong either with the following **hauuapaṇhā* 'by the skill of the lord' or with the preceding *ahurānīš* 'the lordly ones of the lord'. The latter interpretation appears to

68 Literally *úpa tiṣṭhatho rávaṃ* means 'you approach the thunder' after GRASSMANN, 1597, 1599 (*upa-sthā* 'herangehen an, beginnen'). What is meant here is that the two gods trigger off thunder with thunderclouds which are bright with flashes of lightning.

69 In RV 10.30.1 the waters are said to be 'the great creation of Mitra and Varuṇa' (*mahīm mitráśya váruṇasya dhāsīm*).

be supported by the YAv. expression *ahurānī- ahurahe*, with the YAv. gen. replacing the OAv. form. Accordingly, BARTHOLOMAE interprets Y 38.3 *ahurānīš ahurahiiā* as an inherited formula meaning ‘those descended from Ahura of Ahura’, and KELLENS/PIRART translate ‘ô épouses, (filles) du Maître’.⁷⁰

The YAv. phrase *ahurānī- ahurahe* constitutes an expression in which, with the exception of Y 68.6 and 14, *ahurānī-* is always followed by the genitive *ahurahe*. Since apart from one plural form in Y 68.10, *ahurānī-* occurs in the singular, it functions as the proper name of a water deity. All attestations occur in formulae praising the waters. Two of them are in FrW 7, a passage partly quoted in the Pahlavi commentary of N 48 (= N 30.10).⁷¹ Otherwise the phrase is found exclusively in the “Ritual of the Waters” (*āb zōhr*) extending from Y 62.11 to Y 70, with all attestations occurring in Y 68, apart from the one in Y 66.1.

HUMBACH suggests that the YAv. phrase *ahurānī- ahurahe* is the direct continuation a Proto-Iranian expression **ahurānī- ahurahja*, denoting the name of a deity ‘Ahurāni of the Ahura’, which is independent of the same phrase in Y 38.3. He argues that the latter is an “elaboration” of the Proto-Iranian expression insofar as in Y 38.3 the genitive *ahurahiiā* syntactically qualifies not *ahurānīš*, to which it originally belonged, but the following *hauuapaṇhā*. His translation of the verse *frauuazaṇhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā *hauuapaṇhā* is: ‘the Ahurānīs who flow forth owing to the artful work of the Ahura’.⁷²

While his interpretation that the genitive *ahurahiiā* in Y 38.3 belongs with the following word **hauuapaṇhā* ‘by his skill’ is supported by the syntactic parallel of Y 37.2, see below, p. 236, it is unlikely that the YAv. expression *ahurānī- ahurahe* is independent of the *ahurānīš ahurahiiā* in Y 38.3. This is indicated by the fact that nearly the entire *hāiti* 38 (Y 38.2–5) is repeated in Y 68.21, which belongs to the chapter containing virtually all the YAv. attestations of the phrase. Moreover, the process of reinterpretation of Y 38.3 can be traced by way of the only YAv. plural attestation in Y 68.10:

Y 68.10 *yō vō āpō vaṇhīš yazāite*

ahurānīš ahurahe

vahištābiiō zaoṭrābiiō

sraēštābiiō zaoṭrābiiō ...

Y 68.11 *ahmāi raēšca xarənasca*

(To the one) who worships you, the good waters,
the lordly ones of the lord,
with best libations,
with most beautiful libations ...
to him (give) wealth and glory!

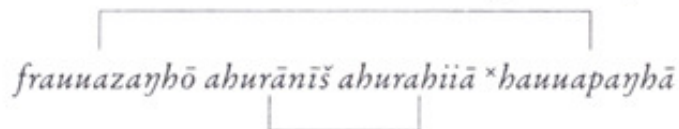
70 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 286, 292f., n. 6, 295, and *apud* WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 68 ‘die von Ahura stammenden des Ahura’; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137, III, p. 144.

71 KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, pp. 132–133 with fn. 516.

72 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125, I. p. 147.

The expression *ahurānīš ahurahe* functions here in apposition to *āpō vaŋ^hīš* ‘the good waters’. As suggested by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 217f., this could be a reflex of the syntactic reinterpretation of *ahurānīš ahurahiiā* as an apposition to *apō* in Y 38.3. She argues that the YAv. veneration of the waters by the expression *ahurānī- ahurahe* is directly based on Y 38.3. A deity *ahurānī- ahurahe* was derived from Y 38.3 by way of a syntactic reinterpretation of the gen. *ahurahe* as patronymic and *ahurānī-* as a proper name ‘*ahurānī-*, (daughter) of Ahura’. NARTEN further claims that the model for such a reinterpretation was provided by the expression *ātar- ahurahe mazdā* ‘the fire, (son) of Ahura Mazdā’. The fact that in YAv. *mazdā* was not added to the expression *ahurānī- ahurahe* indicates its indebtedness to Y 38.3.

According to NARTEN’s syntactic analysis of Y 38.3c, the passage has a chiasmic structure in which two phrases, *frauuazaŋhō ahurānīš*, on the one hand, and *ahurahiiā *hauuapaŋhā*, on the other, mirror one another insofar as *frauuazaŋh-* ‘moving swiftly’ and *hauuapaŋha-* ‘skill’ each describe a characteristic, while *ahurānī-* and *ahura-* denote the owners of the respective qualities:



The syntactic relationship between the two parts of the expression is that *ahurahiiā *hauuapaŋhā* ‘by the Lord’s skill’ denotes the reason for the ‘lordly ones moving swiftly’ and highlights the dependence of the waters on their creator.⁷³ By praising the waters, the text also venerates Ahura Mazdā’s creative skills.

According to this analysis, *ahurānīš ahurahiiā* in Y 38.3 is a stylistic collocation of two words which syntactically form no phrase but a figure of etymologizing stem repetition, also classified as *adnominatio* or *paronomasia*. Being a figure of adorned speech, it involves two words of relaxed (i.e. loose) equivalence, which are repeated in partial iteration. In LAUSBERG’s definition,

the relaxation applies to the form of the word and relates to both the auditory composition of the word-form and its inflection. In the relaxation of the phonetic composition and the inflection of the form, there is a play on the contrast between the slight degree of change to the word-form and the great degree of change in the resulting semantic alteration. All word-form alterations are intended at the same time as semantic alterations. ... The *annominatio* “paronomasia” is a (pseudo-)etymological play on the slightness of the phonetic change on the one hand and the interesting range of meaning which is created by means of the change on the other.⁷⁴

⁷³ NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 216, 218.

⁷⁴ LAUSBERG, *Literary Rhetoric*, p. 285, §637, cf. also p. 292, §648.6. On paronomasia (*adnominatio*), cf. also LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.*, II, p. 709; SCHWYZER, *Gr.Gr.*, II, p. 700.

Examples from Latin includes the verse Ter. *Hau.* 77 *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*. The adnominatio not only applies to the central pair of the chiasitic construction in Y 38.3, but also to the outer one insofar as the first two syllables of *frauuā-* and *hauuā-* rhyme with each other.

The stylistic figure of etymologizing stem repetition created by the central pair in the chiasitic construction of Y 38.3 led to a syntactic reinterpretation in which the closely similar pair became viewed as a noun and dependent genitive. This resulted in the creation of a YAv. water deity *ahurānī- ahurahe*. Moreover, some indication for the artificial nature of the YAv. expression is found in the redundant genitive. Words with suffix *-ānī-* are not usually followed by a genitive denoting the person to whom the female belongs, since the male is expressed by the noun underlying the formation in *-ānī-* (see above, p. 230 with fn. 61). BARTHOLOMAE's attempt to translate the expression as 'Ahurānī, (daughter) of Ahura' is semantically unsatisfactory. This is because the YAv. phrase continues the play of etymologizing stem repetition of two words which, in the passage in Y 38.3 from which it derives, do not form a syntactic phrase.

If the YAv. phrase *ahurānī- ahurahe* is directly dependent on Y 38.3, the veneration of *ahurānīs* in the Xanthos inscription indicates acquaintance with the Avesta in Anatolia during the 4th century BCE. A plural form, translated by Greek νυμφῶν 'nymphs', has been identified by HUMBACH 1981 in the expression *Xšaθrapatai ... Ahurānīs* 'O Xšaθrapati, O Ahurānīs!' in the Aramaic version of a trilingual inscription discovered in the Letō sanctuary at Xanthos in Lycia and dating from the 4th century BCE. The attestation testifies to the wide expansion of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta at that time.⁷⁵

6 **hauuapaṇhā* 'by his skill'

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 134, edits a form *hauuapaṇhā* with J2 and other mss., which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1785, interprets as acc.pl.f. of an adj. *hauuapaṇha-* 'performing good deeds' ('gute, schöne Werke verrichtend') characterizing the waters. By contrast, KELLEN/PIRART suggest that the form belongs with the possessive compound *huuapah-* 'whose deeds are good'. Emending **huuapaṇhō*, a voc.pl.f. describing the waters and syntactically coordinated with *frauuazaṇhō*, they translate 'qui véhiculez et avez du savoir-faire'. Since *huuapah-* only occurs elsewhere as an epithet of Ahura Mazdā, as an alternative possibility they also consider the interpretation of **huuapaṇhō* as gen.sg.m. agreeing with the preceding *ahurahiiā*.⁷⁶ The emendation, however, is not convincing because it involves a greater change to the transmitted text and, as noted by NARTEN, *YH*,

75 On the inscription cf. BOYCE, *HZ*, III, p. 476, who interprets *ahurānīs* as 'wives of Ahura', i.e. of Apām Napat, and Xšaθrapati as an epithet of Mithra.

76 KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137, II, pp. 327, 333, III, p. 144. KELLEN, *TVA*, I, p. 137, fn. 3, however, adds that he personally prefers the reading **hauuapaṇhā* and translates 'ô épouses du Maître, qui véhiculez grâce au savoir-faire du Maître'.

p. 172, fn. 16, the attestations of the adj. *huuapah-* do not have variant readings with *hauu°*. Furthermore, the stylistic device of word initial rhyme *frauua- ... hauua-* in Y 38.3 suggests that *hauua-* is original, see on the stylistic analysis of this line above, p. 234.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 172, argues convincingly that the variants in *-ā* are influenced by the ending *-ā* of the forms following **hauuapayhā* in Y 38.3 and that the reading of K5 *hauua.payhā* is to be preferred. The latter is an instr.sg. of the thematic stem *hauuapayha-* ‘skill, skilfulness’, of which an instr.pl. is attested in Y 37.2:

Y 37.1 *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām*
yā gāmcā ašāmcā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vāyḥiš
raocāscā dāt būmīmā
vīspācā vohū
 Y 37.2 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapayhāišcā*

In this way we now worship the Wise Lord,
 who has created the cow and truth,
 (who) has created the waters and the good plants,
 (who) has created light and the earth
 and all that is good
 by his rule, greatness and skills.

Y 38.3 and 37.2 exhibit a parallel syntactic structure: Y 38.3 *ahurahiiā *hauuapayhā* is parallel to Y 37.2 *ahiiā ... hauuapayhāiš°*, and in both attestations, *hauuapayha-* characterizes Ahura Mazdā as the creator of the spiritual and material worlds. The parallel construction of the two passages also suggests that in Y 38.3 *ahurahiiā* belongs with *hauuapayhā* rather than with the preceding *ahurānīš*, see above, p. 232ff.

7 *hupərəθβa-* ‘easy to cross’

Although this epithet of the waters is, like the following two, a hapax legomenon, its form is transparent. It is a compound of *hu-* ‘good, well’ and a gerundive consisting of the suffix **-tʰa-* attached to the zero grade root *par* ‘to cross’ (< **hu-pr-tʰa-*). Usually the root of such forms is in the full grade, but NARTEN, *YH*, p. 218f., demonstrates that *hupərəθβa-* is not morphologically isolated because there are two other Av. instances of adjectives in **-tʰa-* from zero grade roots in *-r*, *fra-mərəθβa-* ‘who is to die’, for example. A derivative from *hupərəθβa-* with the suffix **-ia-* is found in YAv. *hupərəθβiia-*, attested in Yt 16.3 as an epithet of ‘water’ (*āfš*).

8 *huuōyžāθa-* ‘smoothly flowing’

This hapax legomenon, for which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1857, proposes an untenable explanation, is analysed more convincingly by NARTEN, *YH*,

pp. 219–221, as a compound with *hu-* ‘good’ (which also provides the first term of the preceding and following hapax legomena) and *vayžaθa-*, a form with the suffix *-aθa-*. As to the underlying root **vayž-*, she suggests that it is an *s*-extension of IIr. **uagʰ-* ‘to flow’, which is continued in Ved. *ogha-*, *aughá-* ‘flood’. The latter is usually connected with IIr. **uazʰ-* ‘to travel’.⁷⁷ NARTEN also suggests that the meaning of the compound ‘well, smoothly flowing’ (‘gut fließend’) could imply that the waters of the stream neither dry up nor become too violent, but flow in just the right manner. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 333, consider the adj. as “obscure” and so offer neither discussion nor translation. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 147, does not comment on this hapax, but his translation ‘who are well flowing’ indicates that he, like the present writer, accepts NARTEN’s analysis, which yields a semantically satisfactory translation.

9 *hūšnāθra-* ‘whose places for bathing are good’

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 219, suggests that the meaning of this hapax legomenon is probably ‘whose places for bathing are good’ (‘gute Badestellen habend’), rather than the ‘providing good baths’ proposed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1841 (‘gutes Waschen, Baden gewährend, worin sichs gut badet’). Her analysis is accepted by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 331, while HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 147, translates ‘good to swim in’.

10 *cagəmə* ‘(divine) provision’

KELLENS/PIRART and HUMBACH interpret the hapax legomenon *cagəmə* as a verbal form. While the former suggest a 1pl.inj. root aor.act. ‘nous apportons un cadeau’,⁷⁸ the latter proposes the 1pl. of an unreduplicated perf.act. ‘we extend’.⁷⁹ Both explanations, however, are semantically unsatisfactory because Y 38.3 praises the waters not as a human gift but as Ahura Mazdā’s creation beneficial for nature. Moreover, there are also morphological problems. HUMBACH supports his assumption of an unreduplicated perfect stem *cag-* with reference to the hapax legomenon Y 46.2 *caguuā*, which he translates as ‘extending’ and, with BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 576, interprets it as the nom.sg. of a perfect participle stem *caguuah-*. However, apart from *vaēd-/vid-* ‘to know’, unreduplicated perfects are not found in Avestan.⁸⁰ As indicated by KELLENS/PIRART, *caguuā* could be the nom.sg. from a stem *caguuant-* with the suppletive suffix

77 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 277.

78 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 144, II, p. 240.

79 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 125f., I, p. 147: ‘we present’. However, he appears to have subsequently given up this interpretation because HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA, p. 57, translate *cagəmə* as a noun ‘support’, but without comment. Already in 1972 SCHINDLER, *Wurzel-nomen*, p. 60, renders Gathic **cag-* as ‘Gewährung, Hilfe’ and *YH cagəman-* as ‘Hilfe, Gabe’.

80 KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 404 with n. 2.

*-*uab-*, cf. OAv. nom.sg. *drəguuā* (< *-*uās*) from the stem *drəguuant-* ‘deceitful’.⁸¹ Since the suffix *-*uant-* forms adjectives from nominal and pronominal stems,⁸² the underlying *cag-* is a root noun.

The suffix *-man-* is usually attached to verbal roots, but occasionally also to nouns, e.g. in Ved. *aryamán-*, Av. *airiīaman-* ‘host, patron’.⁸³ The noun *cag-man-* could then be a derivative in *-man-* attached to a nominal stem *cag-*, although a verbal root *cag* is also conceivable.⁸⁴ According to BARTHOLOMAE’s morphological analysis, which is accepted by NARTEN, *cagāmā* is the nom.sg. of a neuter *n*-stem *cagāman-*.⁸⁵ The underlying stem *cag-* is also found both in the Gathic compound *cagədō* Y 51.20, which is probably the gen.sg. of a root noun *cagə-dā-*, and in OP **pati-cagna-* ‘reproduction, copy (of a document)’ which is continued in Middle Iranian (Pahlavi and Sogdian) and as a loan word in Armenian.⁸⁶

The noun *cagāman-* is usually translated as ‘gift, present’. While there are many and well attested words for ‘gift’ in Avestan, such as *rāiti-*, which is even applied to the waters in Y 38.5, the one used here, *cagāman-*, is likely to have a special connotation. The two Gathic cognates *caguuant-* and *cagədā-* both govern the noun *rafəδra-* ‘help, support’, and denote its provision (Y 46.2 *rafəδrām caguuā*, Y 51.20 *rafəδrām cagədō*). In both cases the agent is Ahura Mazdā. Therefore, in Y 38.3 the noun *cagāman-* is likely to describe the waters as a divine provision. More precisely, it could have the specific connotation of an essential provision, because the presence or absence of water is beyond human control and without it life on earth is not possible.

In conclusion, the epithets, seven altogether and each a hapax legomenon, provide the various names with which the waters are venerated. They consist of two lists each comprised of three names, and are summarized by a further one at the end. The first three, *maēkaiiant-* ‘tasty’, *həbuuant-* ‘sap-providing’ and *fauuazah-* ‘travelling swiftly’, characterize the rain, see above, p. 230. The second group, consisting of *hupərəθβa-* ‘easy to cross’, *huuōyzaða-* ‘smoothly flowing’ and *hūšnāθra-* ‘with good places for bathing’, describes the water collected in earth’s lakes, streams and seas. The beneficial nature of such water is summarized by the last name, *cagāman-*, a ‘gift’ in the sense of an essential, divine provision for both existences, the spiritual and the material.⁸⁷

81 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 240; KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 214, fn. 2. On the nom.sg. of IIr. stems in *-*uant/mant-* see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.*, II, p. 555f.

82 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AIGr.*, II.2, p. 872.

83 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AIGr.*, II.2, p. 764; MAYRHOFER, *EWAIa*, I, p. 121.

84 Cf. BENVENISTE 1934, p. 183, who posits the verb *cag* ‘accorder, assurer, offrir’.

85 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 576; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 221, fn. 85.

86 On Y 51.20 *cagədō* see KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 214f., and on OP **pati-cagna-* BENVENISTE 1934, pp. 180–185.

87 On the literary composition of Y 38.3, see above Introduction, pp. 12–17.

Y 38.4

+uitī¹ yā² vā² vaṇ^hhīš³
 ahurō mazdā⁴ +nāmam⁴ dadāt⁵
 vaṇhudā^{5a} hīiat⁵ vā⁶ dadāt^{6a}
 tāiš⁷ vā⁷ yazamaidē^{7a}
 tāiš^{7b} friiṇmahī⁸
 tāiš⁸ nōmaxīiāmahī⁹
 tāiš⁸ išūidīiāmahī¹⁰ ∴

- 1 ūitī G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1; S2;
 H1 J6 L13 J7
 uitē K5
 uitī S1; L2
 ūiti K4
 ūitī Dh1, L1 O2 L3 Bb1
 utī C1
 ūtī K11
 uuitī J5
- 2 yā. vā G Pt4 Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; J6 (y)
 yāvā Mf4; C1, J5 (y)
 yā. vī K5 J2
- 3 vaṇhīš Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; K11, J6
 vaṇhāuš K5 J2, S1 J3; C1
 vaṇuhīš G L2, S2; H1 L13 J7, J5 P6
 vaṇhuīš L1
- 4 nāmam all mss., except:
 nāmā G J3
 nā. mām J6
- 5 dadāt G Mf4, K5 J2; J6
 dadā Mf2
 daḍāt C1, J5
 P.V. divides after this word, S1 J3 after
 the following
- 5a vaṇhudā⁵ G Mf4, K5; J6
 vaṇhudā⁵ C1
 vaṇuhudā⁵ J5
- 6 vā⁶ G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Jp1; L1;
 C1, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 vā Mf2 K4; L2, L3; K11, P6; [M25]
- 6a daḍāt Mf4; C1, J5

- dadāt G K5 J2; J6
- 7 vā Pt4 Mf4, J2; K4
 vā⁶ G Mf1, K5, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2, L1;
 C1, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
- 7a yazamaide Mf4 (y), K5
 yazamaidē G J2
 y^o J5
- 7btāiš G, all mss. except:
 tāiš tāiš C1
- 8 friiṇ. mahī Pt4; L2, S2, B2 Bb1; J6 J7,
 J5 P6
 friiṇmahī G (Additions and Correc-
 tions) Mf4 S1; L1; H1
 fr...iṇmahī Mf1 (at ... an erasure and
 qn sec.m.)
 fraiṇ. mahī K5 J2; L13
 fraiṇ. mahī J3
 fraiṇmahī Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1
 friiṇmahī G O2 L3
- 9 nōmaxīiāmahī G Mf4, K5
 ...axīiāmahī J2
 nōmahīiāmahē Mf2
 nōmaxīiāmahē Jp1 (in this above the ē
 an ī is written) K4
 nōma. xīiāmahī C1
 nōma. xīiā. mahī J6, J5
- 10 išūidīiāmahī G Pt4 Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Mf2
 Jp1 K4; L2, L1 L3; C1 (š)
 išūidīiā. mahī Mf4
 išūidīiāmahī H1 J6 L13
 išūidīiā. mahī J5

Thus¹, with these names which
 the Wise Lord assigned² to you, O good ones,
 when he was making² you into providers of good (things)³,
 with these (names) we worship you,
 with these (names) we please⁴ (you),
 with these (names) we pay homage (to you),
 with these (names) we bring (you) refreshment.

1 **uitī* ‘thus’

While in the Younger Avestan texts the mss. consistently have the form *uiti*, the readings of the three OAv. attestations veer, amongst other variants, between *ūitī* and *uitī*. For instance, the important codex of the Persian Pahlavi *Yasna*, Pt4, has *ūitī* in Y 38.4, but *uitī* in Y 39.3 and Y 45.2. GELDNER, *Avesta* consistently edits the form *ūitī* in the OAv. and *uiti* in the YAv. texts and these forms are accepted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 386f. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 145, however, rightly point out that also in the Older Avesta the reading *uitī* is better attested. The latter form is to be preferred because it is justified not only palaeographically but also etymologically. Av. **uti* belongs with Chr.Sogd. *yty /iti/*, Manich.Sogd. *’ty*, both of which represent **ati* < **uti*.⁸⁸ In Y 38.4 the adverb **uitī* ‘thus’ refers back to the epithets of the waters listed in the preceding stanza.

2 *dadāt* ‘he assigned (names); he was making (you) into’

While the construction of the second Y 38.4 occurrence of *dadāt* ‘he rendered, made into’ with a double accusative indicates that the underlying root is IIr. **dhā* ‘to set, place’, rather than *dā* ‘to give’ (see below, p. 241), it is the comparative evidence from other IE languages which allows one to identify the same root in the expression *nāmam dadāt* ‘he assigned names’. The phrase is paralleled not only by Vedic *nāman- dhā* ‘to assign, award, attach a name (to someone)’ and the compounds *nāmadhā-* ‘name-bestower’ and *nāmadhēya-* ‘name, title, appellation’, but also by Greek *ὄνομα τίθεσθαι*, Lat. *nōmen indere* and Hitt. *šum-an daiš* ‘he assigned a name (to someone)’.⁸⁹ All of them continue an inherited IE idiomatic expression ‘to assign a name to someone’.

The verb *dadāt*, denoting Ahura Mazdā’s creative activities, is an injunctive formed from the present stem *dadā-*. By contrast, in Y 37.1 and Y 44.3 and 5 the same action is expressed by the (root) aorist stem *dā-*. Like Vedic and Greek, Old Avestan distinguishes the categories of imperfective and perfective aspect, which are marked by the present and aorist stems respectively. In the imperfective aspect, an action is perceived as it evolves or is repeated, while in the perfective aspect it is presented in its entirety. A verb unmarked by any suffixes is allocated to one of the two categories by virtue of its root meaning. If the root meaning is iterative or durative, such as ‘to go’, the verb belongs to the imperfective aspect and forms a root present. If, however, it is punctual or complexive, such as ‘to set, place’, the verb is allocated to the perfective aspect and forms a root aorist. If then such a verb is to denote an action in the imperfective aspect,

88 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 809 with references, and TREMBLAY 2005, p. 3f., who notes that the equivalent of Ved. *iti* is “wanting” and “has fallen into abeyance in Avestan”.

89 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 226, fn. 105; SCARLATA, *Wurzelkomposita*, p. 254f., MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 786 with references.

e.g. ‘to set repeatedly’, the present stem needs to be morphologically characterized either by reduplication or by affixes attached to or within the root. For instance, the root Av. *dā* ‘to set’, forms a reduplicated present stem *dadā-* ‘to place repeatedly’, which denotes the imperfective aspect and contrasts with the root aorist stem *dā-* ‘to set, place’ of the perfective aspect.⁹⁰

In Y 38.4, the function of the present stem form *dadāt*, as opposed to that of the aorist *dāt* in Y 37.1 etc., is to present Ahura Mazdā’s actions in progress. The phrase *van̥hudā hīiat vā dadāt* ‘when he was making you into providers of good (things)’ constitutes the backdrop against which Ahura Mazdā assigned to the waters the seven names listed in Y 38.3. As suggested by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 225f., the present stem in the phrase *nāmam dadāt* has iterative function and expresses the idea that Ahura Mazdā granted the seven names to the waters one by one.

3 *van̥hudā* ‘providing good (things)’

The form *van̥hudā* poses three problems which are discussed by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 222–225: whether the form of the stem is *van̥hudāh-* or *van̥hudā-*, which case the form represents syntactically and whether the root underlying the compound’s second term is Ir. **dhā* ‘to set’ or **dā* ‘to give’. The first two questions are interconnected because the specification of the case depends on the identity of the stem posited. If it is *van̥hudāh-*, the form can only be nom.sg. and thus characterizes the agent of the sentence, Ahura Mazdā. Such is the analysis of BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1349, and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 147, who translates ‘the Wise Ahura, giver of (what is) good’.

As already noted by BAUNACK, p. 380, however, elsewhere this epithet is applied not to Ahura Mazdā but to the cattle breeder (Y 58.4) and the spiritual and material venerable ones (*yazata-*, Y 1.19, Y 16.9). Moreover, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 225, observes that if *van̥hudā* was nom.sg.m., it would be the only epithet characterizing Ahura Mazdā in Y 38.3–5, which contains a series of attributes in the acc. pl. describing the waters. She convincingly argues that, if the stem underlying the form is posited as *van̥hudā-* rather than *van̥hudāh-*, then the form is acc.pl.f. and has predicative function besides the acc. object *vā* ‘you’, which refers to the waters. The verb *dā* ‘to render’ (= Ved. *dhā*) is thus constructed with a double accusative in the phrase Y 38.4 *van̥hudā hīiat vā dadāt* ‘when he (i.e. Ahura Mazdā) made you (i.e. the waters) into providers of good (things)’.

As to the root underlying the second term of the compound, it is difficult to determine whether it is **dhā* ‘to set’ or **dā* ‘to give’ because in Vedic both *vasudā-* ‘giving what is good’ and **vasudhā-* are attested, the latter indirectly

90 HOFFMANN 1970a, pp. 27–31 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 529–532]. The linguistic term for “root meaning” is “verbal character” (“Verbalcharacter”), see GARCÍA-RAMÓN 1998, p. 141f. with fn. 11 (references).

in the superlative *vasudhātama-* ‘best at providing good (things)’. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 224, argues that in the latter the syntactic relationship between the first and second terms is that of an affected, rather than effected, object, i.e. ‘best at providing good (things)’ rather than *‘best at creating good (things)’.⁹¹ Accordingly, also in Avestan the syntactic relationship between the first and second terms should be that of an affected object, even if the underlying root was **dhā*. It is also possible that two compounds of **vasu-* ‘good’ with **dā* ‘to give’ and *dhā* ‘to set, place’ have merged in Avestan. The meaning of *van̄hudā-* is therefore ‘providing good (things)’ and that of its antonym *akō.dā-* ‘providing bad (things)’, an epithet of the daēvas in Y 12.4.

4 *friiṇmahī* ‘we please’

The four verbs of the second part of Y 38.4 form two pairs: *yazamaidē*, *friiṇmahī*, on the one hand, and *nəmaxiiāmahi*, *išūidiiāmahi*, on the other. This is indicated by the syntactic combination of *nəmaxiiāmahi* and *išūidiiāmahi* in other passages as well, particularly Y 36.5 and 39.4, the latter attestation being preceded by *yazamaidē*. By contrast, Y 38.4 constitutes the only Av. occurrence where the verbs *yaz* and *frī* are juxtaposed. That it continues an IIr. liturgical formula, however, emerges from syntactic parallels in the *Rigveda*, where *yaj* is found adjacent to the verb *prī* in five out of the latter’s thirteen attestations. A reflex of the list of verbs in Y 38.4 is found in Vd 20.5, where the (secondary) full grade form *frīnāmahi* occurs instead of YH *friiṇmahī*.⁹² The active form *friiṇmahī* ‘to please someone’ is constructed with a direct accusative object. By contrast, the middle forms, attested in the *Gathas* (Y 29.5 and 49.12), have intransitive-reflexive meaning and are found with an indirect dative ‘to be pleasant to someone’. In Younger Avestan, the uncompounded verb is a petrified liturgical term and only collocates with other semantically similar verbs.⁹³

The form *friiṇmahī* occurs instead of the expected **frinmahi* (< **pri-n-H-masi*), a nasal infix present from the root *frī* ‘to please’. According to HOFFMANN, **frinmahi* was originally pronounced **frīṇmahī* because of the na-

91 The affected object is some external thing or person towards which the action is directed, e.g. ‘to eat bread’, ‘to love one’s brother’. It has an existence independent of the verb’s action. The effected object is the result towards which the verbal action proceeds, e.g. ‘to build a house’, ‘to light a fire’, see, for instance, PALMER, *Latin Language*, p. 287f.; E. A. HAHN, “Partitive Apposition in Homer and the Greek Accusative”, in: TAPA 85 (1954), pp. 197–289, here p. 252.

92 According to KELLEN, *Verbe av.*, p. 181, Vd 20.5 is “très exactement copié sur Y 38.4”, but the list of verbs in Vd 20.5 is different, the only other verb in common being *nəmaxiiāmahi*. The latter, however, is the only occurrence of this verb outside the YH, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 229. While imitating Y 38.4, Vd 20.5 also exemplifies that in YAv. times passages from the YH were modified and adapted to different literary contexts; cf. above, p. 200f. for another instance in Y 13.1.

93 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 226–229.

salizing influence of *-nm-* on the preceding vowel *-i-*. Subsequently, due to the slow-chanting, liturgical recitation of the OAv. texts (see above, p. 84f.), **friṇmahī* became **friiṇmahī*. Such a form is supposed to have been written **friiṇmahī* in the Sasanian Archetype. However, instead of *ṇ* most extant manuscripts write *q*, as is also the case with the form *friiṇmahī*. The phonetic development of *friiṇmahī* is seen as parallel to that of *hūuṇmahī* ‘we impel’ in Y 35.5 (< **hu-n-mahi* < **su-nH-masi*), where the OAv. *hūuṇmahī* represents the **hūuṇmahī* of the Sasanian Archetype, which phonetically denotes a form with nasalized *u* **hūuṇmahī* < **hūnmahī*,⁹⁴ see above, p. 80, Y 35.5 no. 2.

HOFFMANN’s proposal that *-iiq-* and *-uuq-* in *friiṇmahī*, *hūuṇmahī* represent a nasalized *-i-* and *-u-* before *-nm-* is considered unlikely by LUBOTSKY 1981, p. 81. With reference to OAv. *ṇman-* ‘breath, soul’ (< IIr. **HanH-man-*) and *duuṇman-* ‘cloud’ (< IIr. **d^huanH-man-*), he argues that “the group *ṇnm* always represents in the *Gāthā*’s *ṇnm* < **anm*”. Interpreting *-ṇn-* in *friiṇmahī*, *hūuṇmahī* as indicating the vocalization of **-ṇ-* before another nasal, LUBOTSKY explains *friiṇmahī* and *hūuṇmahī* along the same lines as *duuṇman-*: as OAv. *duuṇman-* “is to be read /dvanman-/”, so “*hūuṇmahī* and *friiṇmahī* represent /hu(ʼ)anmahī/ and /fri(ʼ)anmahī/ with *-an-* from *ṇ* in the position before *m*.” DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 394, who adopts the explanation offered by LUBOTSKY, reconstructs the following development: IIr. **priHṇmasi* > PrIr. **friHanmasi*, continued and spelt in OAv. as *friiṇmahī*. The postulated IIr. form **priHṇmasi* is explained as the result of a remodelling from earlier **pri-nH-masi* by the introduction of the root form **priH-*. Since the vocalization of IE **n̥*, **m̥* > **an*, **am* before vowels, *i*, *u*, and *m*, found in both Vedic and Avestan, is a common Indo-Iranian sound change,⁹⁵ the remodelled present **priHṇmasi* as reconstructed by DE VAAN for *friiṇmahī* should belong to the pre-IIr. stage when vocalic nasals were still in existence. Accordingly, DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 244f., adopts NARTEN’s implicit suggestion (YH, p. 228, fn. 112) that the replacement of *pri-* by *prī-* (or in laryngealist terms **priH-*) was of Indo-Iranian date.

From a synchronic point of view, it is impossible to establish with any degree of certainty whether the sequence *-ii/uuṇnm-* in *friiṇmahī*, *hūuṇmahī* is a reflex of a nasalized *-i-* and *-u-*, as postulated by HOFFMANN, or of **-ṇ-* before *-m-*, as argued by LUBOTSKY and DE VAAN. However, while the zero grade 1pl. does not offer any indication whether it goes back to **frinmahī* (< **pri-nH-masi*) or to **friHanmasi* (< **priH-ṇ-masi*), other forms of this verb’s paradigm, such as the 1sg. *frīnāmī* and the secondary 1pl. *frīnāmahi*, are clearly from the

94 HOFFMANN 1958, p. 13 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, p. 70]; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, pp. 66, 217. For a further instance of OAv. *q* = *ṇ* graphically representing a nasalized *ṇ*, see below, p. 248, on *mātəṛqšcā*.

95 See AiGr., I, pp. 10–12, § 8; REICHEL, *Aw. Elementarbuch*, p. 62, § 118; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 90.

stem *frīnā-* (← **pri-na-H-*).⁹⁶ This suggests that the 1pl. *frīīqnmahī* derives from **pri-n-H-masi*, rather than **priH-ŋ-masi*, and that the phonetic processes as proposed by HOFFMANN apply.

Moreover, LUBOTSKY's criticism that HOFFMANN's explanation "is not supported by the Gathic material" is unjustified because from a historical point of view the phonetic structure of both *qnmān-* and *duuqnmān-* is different from that of *frīīqnmahī*, *huuqnmahī*. The former continue an IIr. sequence **-anHm-* of a full grade root with the vowel *-a-*, while the latter go back to zero grade forms involving the vowels *-i-* and *-u-*. The sound sequence *-qnm-* in OAv. *duuqnmān-* supports, rather than militates against, HOFFMANN's explanation because in this word, too, the nasalization in *-qnm-* is due to slow chanting that characterizes the oral tradition of the OAv. texts. For, as argued by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 231, the original OAv. form may well have been **dyānman-*. The latter accounts both for the YAv. form *dunman-* (< **dyūnman-* < **dyānman-* < **dyānman-*) and for the spelling of the OAv. form as *duuqnmān-*, in which *q* represents *ḡ* that was nasalized before *nm* in the liturgical tradition of the Older Avesta.

96 The Gathic trisyllabic middle participle *frīnəmna-* (Y 29.5) is inconclusive with regard to the position of the laryngeal. Being formed from the secondary thematic stem **frīna-*, it could go back to either **prin-H-a-mna-* or **priH-n-a-mna-*. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 229, fn. 120, suggests that the thematic stem *frīna-* originated from the 1sg.pres.act. *āfrīnāmi*, which could be either thematic or athematic. In addition, there is evidence that the matrisation of *nā*-presents developed already in Indo-Iranian, see KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 181f. On long *-ī-* in the root syllable see DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 244f.

Y 38.5

*apascā vā*¹
*azišcā*² *vā*¹
*mātarqšcā*³ *vā*
agəniā
*drigudāiiāyḥō*⁴ *vīspō.paitīš*⁵
*+āuuāocāmā*⁶
vahištā sraēštā^{6a}
*auuā*⁷ *vā*⁸ *vaṇḥiś*⁹ *rātōiś*¹⁰
*darəgō.bāzāuš*¹¹ *nāšū*¹² *paitī*¹³
*viiādā*¹³ *paitī.səṇḍā*¹⁴
*mātarō jītaiiō*¹⁵ ∴

¹⁶*yeḡhē hātqm* [(= Y 27.15) *āat yesnē paitī*
vaṡḡhō mazdā ahurō vaēḡā ašāt hacā
yāḡḡamcā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide* ∴ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>vā</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6, J5
<i>vā</i> L1</p> <p>2 <i>azišcā</i> G, all mss. except:
...<i>zišcā</i> J2
<i>āzišcā</i> K4
<i>aziscā</i> J6, J5</p> <p>3 <i>mātarqšcā</i> Pt4 Mf4 (corr. from <i>mā°</i>), S1
<i>mātirqšcā</i> Mf1 (<i>i</i> is a correction by erasure of <i>a</i>)
<i>mātarqšcā</i> K5 J2, J3; L3 Bb1
<i>mātarqšcā</i> G Mf2 Jp1 K4
<i>mātarqšcā</i> L2
<i>māḡḡarqšcā</i> S2, L1; J7, J5
<i>māḡḡarqšcā</i> C1
<i>mātarqšcā</i> H1 J6 L13</p> <p>4 <i>drigudāiiāyḥō</i> G Pt4, S1 (Mf1, J2 in Y 67.7)
<i>darəgudāiiāyḥō</i> Mf4, K5
<i>drigu.dāiiāyḥō</i> Mf1
<i>darəgudāiiāyḥō</i> J2
<i>drəgudāiiāyḥō</i> J3; Dh1 S2, L1 O2; H1 J6 L13
<i>drəgudāiiāyḥō</i> Mf2 Jp1 K4
<i>drəgō.dāiiāyḥō</i> L2; C1
<i>darəgudāiiāyḥō</i> K11, J7
<i>darəgudāiiāyḥō</i> J5</p> <p>5 <i>vīspō.paitīš</i> G Mf4 Mf1, K5, S1; Mf2; L2, S2, L1; J6, P6
<i>vīspōpitīš</i> J2
<i>vīspō.paitīš</i> J3; Jp1 K4; O2 B2 Bb1; C1 Lb2, H1 L13 J7, J5</p> | <p>6 <i>āuuāocāmā</i> Pt4, K5 J2, S1; Mf2 Jp1 K4
<i>auuōcāmā</i> Mf4 Mf1, J3; L2, L1 O2 B2 L3 Bb1
<i>auuāocāmā</i> G Dh1; Lb2, H1 L13 J7, J5 P6
<i>auuō. cāmā</i> C1
...<i>uuāocā. mā</i> J6</p> <p>6a <i>sraēštā</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>sararaestā</i> J5</p> <p>7 <i>auuā</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>auuā</i> L3; C1
S1 J3 divide before this word</p> <p>8 <i>vā</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>vī</i> K4</p> <p>9 <i>vaṇḥiś</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4
<i>vaṇḡhūš</i> K5; C1
<i>vaṇḡhīš</i> J2
<i>vaṇḡhīš</i> G S1; L1 L3; K11, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5</p> <p>10 <i>rātōiś</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>ratōiś</i> K5 J2</p> <p>11 <i>darəgō.bāzāuš</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, J3; Mf2; L2, L1 L3; H1 J6 L13
<i>darəgō.bāzūš</i> Mf1 (<i>ā</i> sec.m. above <i>u</i>); Jp1 K4
<i>darəgō.bāzāš</i> S2
<i>drəgō.bāzāuš</i> C1
<i>darigō.bāzāš</i> J5
S1 defective</p> <p>12 <i>nāšū</i> G Mf4 (followed by ∴); C1, J6
<i>nāšū</i> K5 J2</p> |
|---|---|

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>nāišū</i> Mf2 | <i>paiti. sōṇdā</i> K5 J2; H1 |
| <i>nāšō</i> Jp1 K4 | <i>paiti. sōṇdā</i> Mf2 |
| <i>nāšū</i> J5 | <i>paiti. sōṇdā</i> J5 |
| 13 <i>paiti. viiādā</i> G Mf4; J6, J5 | 15 <i>jītaiiō</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1 |
| <i>paiti. viiādā</i> K5 | <i>zī. taiiō</i> J6 |
| <i>pait...viiādā</i> J2 | <i>zītiō</i> J5 |
| <i>paiti. vaiiādā</i> C1 | <i>jītahe</i> [K7c] |
| 14 <i>paiti. sōṇdā</i> G Pt4, S1 J3; Jp1 K4; C1, J6 | 16 Y 4.26 |
| L13 J7 | <i>yejhe</i> Mf4, K5 J2; J6, J5 |
| <i>paiti. sōṇdā</i> Mf4 (<i>sōṇdā</i> superscr.) | <i>yejhē</i> G C1 |

We call upon¹ you as the waters,
 (we call upon) you as milch cows²,
 (we call upon) you as mother-cows³,
 O prize cows⁴,
 who care for the destitute⁵, provide drink for everyone⁶,
 O best, most beautiful ones!
 Enjoying far-reaching⁷ achievements⁸
 because of your generosity, O good ones,
 I want to facilitate⁹
 your pleasant¹⁰ distributions¹¹,
 O living mothers!

We worship those male beings in whose [= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

1 **āuuaocāmā* ‘we call upon’

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 134, edits a form *auuaocāmā*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1331, followed by BAUNACK, p. 381, rightly interprets as a spelling for *ā-uuaocāmā*. The latter reading is attested in several good mss. and preferred by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 44, and subsequent editors. It is the only Av. occurrence of the compound verb *ā-vac*,⁹⁷ which in Vedic is attested with a single, but not a double, acc. and has the meaning ‘to call someone, invite’, as shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 237f. With a double accusative, the verb may be rendered as ‘to call upon someone as something’.

According to NARTEN’s, *YH*, p. 236, proposed syntactic analysis of the first half of Y 38.5 (*apasā* to *sraēštā*) the three times repeated *vā* ‘you’ is the direct object of the verb **āuuaocāmā* while *apas°*, *azīš°* and *mātərəš°* are predicative accusatives. The latter are connected with *cā* and denote the various names of the waters. While *apas°* is literal and addresses the waters as the element, the

97 BARTHOLOMAE’s second attestation, Y 36.6 *auuācī*, is probably an augmented passive root aorist, see Y 36.6 no. 5 *barəzištəm* **barəzəmanəm* (above, p. 153 with fn. 108), and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 167.

other two names are personifications: 'we call upon you as waters etc.' By contrast, the fourth name, *agəniīā*, like the following four adjectives, is neither connected by *-cā* nor occurs besides *vā*. For that reason, it is likely to be vocative 'O prize cows!'.⁹⁸

By contrast, according to KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 145, although the verb *ānuuacāmā* governs a double accusative, they consider *vā* 'you' to be its direct object and the three substantives *apascā*, *azīšcā* and *mātəṛqšcā* as appositions to the pronoun. The predicative acc. would be the five attributes *agəniīā* to *sraēštā*. Such a syntactic analysis yields the following English version of their French translation:

We say of you, waters, milch cows, mother cows, that you are exuberant, that you nourish the destitute, that you provide drink for everyone, that you are very good and very beautiful.⁹⁹

This interpretation, however, is problematic because the Vedic parallels suggest that the meaning of *ā-vac* is 'to call upon, invite', see above, p. 246, rather than that of the uncompounded verb *vac*, which is 'to say that someone is something'. Moreover, *agəniīā* is probably not an adjective but a substantive, see below, p. 250.

2 *azī-* 'milch cow'

The noun *azī-*, which is attested five times in OAv. and three times in YAv., corresponds to Vedic *ahī-*, and both denote milk-yielding animals, especially cows. Apart from Y 38.5, where it occurs on its own, *azī-* is used as an epithet mainly of the cow (*gauu-*) but once of the mare (N 85). NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 232–234, argues convincingly that the concept attached to the expression *gauu- azī-* is not primarily that of a pregnant cow,⁹⁹ but of its milk-yielding ability. This emerges particularly from Y 38.5, where *azī-* 'milch cow' is a metaphor for the waters. The *tertium comparationis* between the waters and the cow is the liquid state of the former, on the one hand, and the milk yielded by the cow, on the other.

3 *mātəṛqšcā* 'and as mother-cows'

The acc.pl. of *mātar-* 'mother', *mātəṛqšcā*, derives from IIr. **mātṛy̯ns*. The ending **-y̯ns* is an IIr. innovation because in other IE languages the acc.pl. ending goes back to IE **(t)r̥ns*, e.g. Greek acc.pl. *πατέρας, μητέρας* 'fathers, mothers'. In Indo-Iranian, the inflection of the stems in *-(t)ar-* was remodelled on the analogy of the *i-* and *u-* stems. Thus, the acc.pl. in **(t)r̥ns* was analogous to

98 'Nous disons de vous, eaux, Vaches pleines et mères, que vous êtes exubérantes, que vous nourrissez le nécessiteux, que vous abreuvez chacun, que vous êtes très bonnes et très belles' (KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137).

99 Such a concept seems to be implied when *azī-* is rendered 'fertile', e.g. by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, pp. 37f., 126.

IE **-ins* and **-uns* for both m. and f. stems (Gothic *gastins*, Grk. dial. πόλινς). While **-ins*, **-uns* and **-yns* are continued in Av. as *-īš*, *-ūš* and *-əraqš* for both m. and f. (OAv. *ašīš*, OAv., YAv. *gairīš*, OAv. *xratūš*, OAv. *nəraqš*, YAv. *nəṛəš*), the endings were further remodelled in Vedic to *-īn(s)*, *-ūn(s)* and *-ṛn(s)* after *-ān(s)* of the *a*-stems. Moreover, on the analogy of the opposition *-ān*: *-āh* in the acc. pl. of masculine *a*- and feminine *ā*-stems, special feminine forms *-īh*, *-ūh* and *-ṛh* were created. Such analogical processes in Vedic led to the opposition in the acc.pl. of *pitṛn* ‘fathers’ for the masculine and *mātṛh* ‘mothers’ for the feminine stems in *-(t)ar*.¹⁰⁰

The OAv. forms in *-əraqš*, YAv. *-əṛəš* have been variously explained by different scholars. DE VAAN starts from an IIr. acc.pl. **mātṛnš*, but assumes that **ṛ* “simply never became [əṛ] in this position”.¹⁰¹ He suggests that the IIr. form was continued in Avestan as **mātṛnš* “at the time of the canonization of OAv.” and that by means of “a subsequent YAv. development”, **mātṛnš* became **mātrāš*. DE VAAN further argues that manuscript support for the postulated form **mātrāš* is found in the YAv. form *mātrāš* attested by the mss. K5 and J2 in the Pahlavi translation of Y 38.5 as well as in the variant reading *māṭṛāscā* in the Avestan text of Y 38.5. Considering the latter form as *lectio difficilior*, he explains it as evidence for an original **mātrāšcā* which was corrupted because of its “association with *māṭṛa-*”. He suggests that in other ms. traditions the cluster *-tr-* was “relieved” by inserting an anaptyctic vowel, and that this led to variant readings such as *māṭəraqšcā*.¹⁰²

DE VAAN’s explanation of the acc.pl. *māṭəraqš*°, however, is unconvincing because neither an OAv. form **mātṛnš*° nor an emended form **mātrāšcā* is supported by any manuscript readings or Avestan sound laws. There are no conceivable (plausible) phonetic processes by which **mātṛnš*° developed to **mātrāš*°, a form which is not attested either. Rather than being *lectio difficilior*, the variant reading *māṭṛāscā* is more likely to be *lectio facilior* for a hapax legomenon no longer understood. At any rate, *-tr-* would not be preserved in this position but would become *-ṛr-*. That instead of becoming *-ṛr-*, the cluster *-tr-* between vowels was “relieved” by an anaptyctic vowel is an *ad-hoc* assumption. The development resulting in *-ṛr-* thus leaves the other variant readings with *-təṛ-* and *-tar-* unexplained.

More convincing is HOFFMANN’s and NARTEN’s reconstruction of the phonetic processes which led to OAv. *-əraqš* and YAv. *-əṛəš*. According to them, IIr. **-ṛnš* became **-əṛNš* in Proto-Avestan. The symbol *N* denotes a postuvular nasal. The latter is a resonant of which *ə* is the vocalic variant. In the Old Avestan language at the time the texts were composed, IIr. **mātṛnš* should have become

100 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.*, III, pp. 159f., § 79; 208f., § 115.

101 DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 512. According to BEEKES, *Grammar*, p. 93, IIr. **ṛ* is continued in Avestan as a vowel.

102 DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, pp. 519–522.

mātārNš*. When anaptyctic *-ə-* developed in Post-Avestan times, the uvular nasal in **-ərNš* became vocalic **-ərǝš* (mātārǝš*). Such was the pronunciation of the form at the time of the Sasanian Archetype where the sound *ǝ* was graphically represented by *ǝ*, a special Av. letter for the vocalic variant of the uvular nasal. The letter *ǝ* is in fact written in some mss., e.g. Mf4, but considering *ǝ* as a purely graphic variant of *q*, GELDNER generalized the latter in his edition of the Avesta, while REICHEL, *Aw. Elementarbuch*, p. 28, uses only the former. Thus, according to HOFFMANN and NARTEN, the reading *mātərǝšcā* stands for *mātərǝšcā*. Crucial support for their theory that the OAv. spelling with *q* = *ǝ* graphically represents a nasalized *ǝ* is derived by the two scholars from the fact that in the YAv. texts the nasalized sound *ǝ* is represented by the letter *ǝ*. This explains the spelling of, for instance, the acc.pl. of *nar-* ‘man’ as *nərǝš* in OAv., but *nərǝš* in YAv.¹⁰³

The concept of ‘mother-cows’ as a metaphor for the ‘waters’ has equivalents in Vedic. For example, the waters freed by Indra are addressed as ‘mothers’:¹⁰⁴

RV 8.89.4 *ārṣantv ápo jávasā ví mātáro*

The waters, the mothers shall flow with speed!

The waters are imagined as ‘mothers’ (*jānitriḥ* RV 10.30.10) who have teats (*úddhar* 10.30.11). The latter are a metaphor for the rain clouds from which the Marut draw water (*duhānty úddhar divyāni* ‘they milk the heavenly udders’ RV 1.64.5), while the rain is perceived as the ‘sky’s milk’ (*diváh páyas-* RV 5.63.5).

4 *agəniia*^o ‘O prize cows!’

The Av. hapax legomenon *agəniia-* is a morphologically transparent gerundive form from the Av. root *jan* ‘to hit (repeatedly), to kill’.¹⁰⁵ It means ‘not to be killed’. The Vedic equivalent *ághnya-*, which refers likewise to the cow but occasionally also to the bull, shows that the term is inherited from the IIr. ancestor language. Originally an epithet of the cow or bull, it characterizes those

103 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 229–231; HOFFMANN/NARTEN, pp. 72–75. For two further instances of OAv. *q* = *ǝ* graphically representing a nasalized *ǝ*, see above, p. 242f. on *friiǝnmahī* and *huuǝnmahī*.

104 Other passages include RV 8.96.1, 10.17.10, 10.91.6.

105 Other etymologies include that by BAILEY 1957, pp. 44–49, and PISANI 1976, who connect *agəniia-* with the homonymous root IE **g^{wh}en* ‘to swell, abound’, continued, for instance, in Ved. *ā-banā-* ‘swelling, distended’, Grk. *ἀφνειός* ‘rich in’, *εὐ-θενέω* ‘to thrive, flourish’. However, all Iranian continuants of this root are uncertain, see MAYRHOFFER, *EWAia*, I, p. 184. Moreover, although BAILEY’s semantic interpretation of the term *agəniia-* as ‘exuberant’, implying an abundant supply of milk, is appealing, the equation with Grk. *ἀφνειός* is only apparent because the initial *ǝ-* of the latter is metrically long, e.g. in Hom. Il. 2.825, whereas the short initial *a-* of both Av. *agəniia-* and Ved. *ághnya-* suggests a privative form. NARTEN 1971, p. 121, rightly objects that one would expect an IIr. compound with *ā-* rather than such a form, and that attempts to reconstruct an IE **o-* prefix are not convincing.

exemplars, which are too good to be slaughtered but are kept instead for breeding and the production of milk.¹⁰⁶ In Y 38.5, the term is a metaphor for the waters that are a source of good provisions for the material world in the same way that cows yield abundant milk. The image of cows as a figure for water has, as shown by NARTEN 1971, pp. 131–134, a parallel in the Vedic oath formula *ápo agnhyá* ‘the waters, the prize cows’ and therefore goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. The comparative evidence thus allows the reconstruction of an IIr. poetic formula **āpas agniīās** which was a metaphor of the heavenly waters perceived as valuable cows.

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 199, I, p. 137, interpret Y 38.5 *agəniīā* as an adjective with predicative function, agreeing in gender and number with the three preceding acc. plurals: ‘nous disons de vous, eaux ... que vous êtes exubérantes’.¹⁰⁷ HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 148, also considers *agəniīā* as an adjective but interprets it as an attribute of the preceding *mātarāš*^o. He translates: ‘We address You (as) the waters, and (as) the fertile (cows), and (as) the mother(-cow)s, who are not to be killed’. While there are no other attestations of *agəniīa-* in Avestan, however, Vedic *ághnyā-* functions not as an adjective but only as a substantive denoting the animal, the ‘valuable cow’ or ‘valuable bull’. For that reason, Av. *agəniīā-* is more likely to be a feminine noun. Furthermore, as noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 236f., *agəniīā* is syntactically different from the three preceding names insofar as it is neither connected by *-cā* nor followed by *vā*. There remain then only two possible syntactic interpretations of *agəniīā*. It is either acc. pl. and functions as an apposition of *vā*: ‘we call upon you as the waters, (we call upon) you as milch cows, (we call upon) you as mother cows, (you) the prize cows’,¹⁰⁸ or it is the syntactically more plausible voc. pl. ‘(you) O prize cows!’.¹⁰⁹ Being a substantive in the voc. pl., *agəniīā* is qualified by the following two possessive compounds which, as adjectives, agree with it in case, gender and number.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 237, further observes that the passage states that the waters may be invoked both by their ‘natural’ name (*apō*) and by various names for cows, the most precious of which is *agəniīā-*, while their qualities as divine beings are denoted by the superlatives *vahišta-* ‘best’ and *sraēšta-* ‘most beautiful’.

5 *drigudāiiāhō* ‘caring for the destitute’

The stem *drigudāiiāh-*, of which *drigudāiiāhō* is a voc. pl. qualifying *agəniīā* (see above), is a possessive compound consisting of *drigu-* ‘poor, needy, destitute’ and *dāiiāh-* ‘refreshment, nourishment, strengthening’ (= Ved. *dhāyas-*).

¹⁰⁶ NARTEN, *YH*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁷ The translation of KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 135, is quoted in full above, p. 247 with fn. 98.

¹⁰⁸ NARTEN 1971, p. 134.

¹⁰⁹ NARTEN, *YH*, p. 237. In the index, however, *agəniīā* as well as the following two compounds are listed as acc. pl. f. (*YH*, pp. 304, 307, 310).

The form has a morphological parallel in Y 29.2 *gaodāiiab-* ‘caring for the cow’, and which equals Ved. *gódhāyas-*.¹¹⁰ The adjective *drigudāiiab-*, an epithet of the prize cow (*agəniā-*) as a metaphor for the waters, expresses the idea that it is the needy, destitute people who are looked after by divine provision. The adjective OAv. *drigu-*, YAv. *driyu-* is the term for a social class characterized by the “depressed state or status” of persons who lack power, prestige and possessions, and who are in need of care and protection.¹¹¹ In Y 34.5, the singer refers to himself as a *drigu-* who is in need of Ahura Mazdā’s protection, and in the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer, the deity is said to be the ‘herdsman’ (*vāstar-*) of the destitute (Y 27.13). Furthermore, as pointed out by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 240, the good follower of the religion is presented not as strong and heroic, but as one who, being ‘powerless’ (*anaēša-*) and ‘destitute’ (*drigu-*), is in need of Ahura Mazdā’s care and protection. That he becomes strong as a result of the divine care is implied in Y 38.5 by the expression *və vanʰhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī* ‘enjoying far-reaching achievements because of your generosity, O good ones’.

6 *vīspō.paitīš* ‘providing drink for all’

While some interpreters consider the relationship of the two terms of the compound *vīspō.paitīš* to be that of an adjective and a noun ‘possessing all types of drink’, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 241, following BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1468, convincingly argues that the logical relationship between the two terms is the same as that in *drigudāiiab-*, i.e. ‘providing drink for all’.

The form *vīspō.paitīš* is a corruption of *vīspō.pītiš*. The correct form is preserved in the ms. J2, both in the Av. text (*vīspōpitiš*) and in its Pahlavi translation, where the word is transcribed in Av. letters as *vīspōpitiš*. Original *vīspō.pītiš* became **vīspō.pāitiš* with dissimilation of *-ī-* to *-ā-* before epenthetic *-i-*, and was subsequently spelt *vīspō.paitīš*, presumably under the influence of *paiti-* ‘lord, master’.¹¹²

7 *darəgō.bāzāuš* ‘long-armed, far-reaching’

The interpretation of the second sentence of Y 38.5 hinges on the morphological and syntactic analysis of the compound *darəgō.bāzāuš*, which equals Epic Skt. *dīrghabāhu-* ‘whose arms are long’. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 695 with n. 2, considers the form to be a gen.sg. agreeing with the preceding *rātōiš*. Denoting ‘long-armed offering’ (“langarmige Opferspende”), the expression would characterize the sacrifice (*rāiti-*) whose long reach brings it to the attention of the gods. In the Gathas *rāiti-* denotes ritual offerings presented by human beings,

110 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 240 with fn. 165; MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, pp. 478, 788.

111 BAILEY 1973, pp. 16–19; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 238 with fn. 158 and references.

112 See NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 241 with fn. 166 and 233, fn. 135. As a second instance of the presumed development of *-ī-* to *-ā-* before epenthetic *-i-* she adduces (*gəuš*) *fraunaitiā* in Vd 9.38 which occurs instead of the expected **fraunītiā* ‘mounted (cow)’, cf. Ved. *prá-vīta-*.

but in its other two occurrences in the YH (Y 40.1 and 4) it refers to Ahura Mazda's largesse.¹¹³ HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 126, while accepting BARTHOLOMAE's syntactic analysis of *darəgō.bāzāuš* as a gen.sg., rightly interprets *rātōiš* as referring to divine gifts and translates 'of (Your) long-armed munificence'.

The rendering of *darəgō.bāzāuš* as a gen.sg. rests on the assumption that *°āuš* is a corruption of *°aoš*. Such a view appears superficially legitimate because, as shown by NARTEN 1969, variant manuscript readings with *°āuš* instead of *°aoš* are common in other attestations of *u*-stem genitive singulars. In Y 38.5, however, there are no variant readings in *-aoš*. Similarly in Y 67.8, where the whole of Y 38.5 is quoted, the mss. only have variants in *-āuš* and *-uš*, but not in *-aoš*. There is, therefore, no manuscript support for the supposed gen./abl.sg. **darəgō.bāzaoš*.

Moreover, NARTEN argues that the noun *bāzu-*, when uncompounded, forms a nom.sg. *bāzuš* and a gen.sg. *bāzaoš*. However, as the second term of a compound its nom.sg. is *°bāzāuš* and gen.sg. *°bāzuuō*, e.g. nom.sg. *uyra.bāzāuš* 'having strong arms' in Yt 10.75 and gen.sg. *auruša.bāzuuō* 'having white arms' in H 2.9. This is so because *bāzu-* as a simplex follows the proterokinetic inflectional pattern where the accent shifts between the root and the suffix, whereas when compounded its inflection is hystero-kinetic and the shift is between the suffix and the case ending. As part of a compound, therefore, *bāzu-* does not form a gen./abl. *°bāzaoš*. Both the manuscript evidence and the inflectional pattern of *bāzu-* thus support NARTEN's convincing conclusion that *darəgō.bāzāuš* can only be nom.sg.¹¹⁴

This interpretation of *darəgō.bāzāuš* is in agreement with its second Av. attestation, where the same form clearly functions as a nom.sg. In Yt 17.22, the goddess Aši praises Zarathustra for his bodily beauty:

Yt 17.22 *srīrō ahi zaraθuštra*
hukərətō ahi spitama
huuascuuō darəyō.bāzāuš

"You are handsome, O Zarathustra,
 you are well-built, O Spitama,
 with good calves, long arms."

While in Y 17.22 *darəgō.bāzu-* describes the appearance of Zarathustra's limbs, in Y 38.5 its meaning is probably metaphorical, since it could characterize a person of great importance and influence. If the following loc.pl. *nāšū paitī* forms part of the metaphor, the entire expression literally means 'long-armed in achievements' and describes a person successful in obtaining things which are

113 HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 52.

114 NARTEN 1969, p. 234 and YH, p. 242f. KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, II, p. 255, III, p. 145, also interpret the form as a nom.sg. On the two types of declension see KUIPER, *Notes*, pp. 40–44.

not within easy reach.¹¹⁵ From a semantic point of view, *darəgō.bāzu-* contrasts markedly with *drigu-* ‘destitute’, which forms the first term of the compound *drigudāiiab-* at the end of the opening sentence in Y 38.5. It is also stated, however, that the person characterized as *darəgō.bāzu-* ‘long-armed, far-reaching’ is so because of the generous gifts of the waters (*vā ... rātōiš*).

8 *nāšū +paitī* ‘in achievements’

The adverb *paitī*, which GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 134, edits as part of a compound *paitī.viiādā*, has been recognized by NARTEN as a postposition governing the locative *nāšū*.¹¹⁶ BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1056f., follows GELDNER 1887, p. 411, in deriving the hapax legomenon *nāšū* as ‘need, disaster’ (“Not, Unglück”) from *nas* ‘to perish, disappear’. More convincingly, GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 180, proposes a connection with the homonymous verbal root *nas* ‘to reach, obtain’ and analyses *nāšū* as the loc.pl. of the root noun *nās-* ‘what is attained, obtained’, therefore ‘share’. While retaining the etymology, KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 293, rightly objects that the passive meaning postulated by GERSHEVITCH is improbable. NARTEN defines the meaning of *nās-* more precisely as that of an action noun ‘obtaining, attainment, achievement’ (“Erreichung”). She interprets the expression *darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū paitī* ‘long-armed in achievements’ as a metaphor for ‘successful’ and considers the possibility that it was derived from the sporting language in which it denoted the winning of the prize at stake.¹¹⁷ The phrase may be translated more freely as ‘enjoying far-reaching achievements’.

9 *auuā* ‘I want to promote, facilitate’

The interpretation of the form *auuā* as the preverb ‘towards’, equalling Vedic *áva* ‘down, away’, requires the assumption of the verb’s ellipsis, since all the other words in the sentence are clearly nominal forms. Accordingly, BAUNACK, p. 381f., adds the verb ‘to go’: ‘(come) down!’, while BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1331, adds *vaocāmā* from *ā-uuaocāmā* ‘we call upon’ of the first sentence in Y 38.5. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 126, also adds the verb *vaocāmā* but segments *auuā* as representing *ā vā* ‘so we do’, considering that *ā* is the preverb representing

115 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 244 with fn. 175. On the importance in Vedic and Avestan of the concepts of wide space and broadness implying power and prosperity, see GONDA 1956, p. 154f., who points out that the epithet ‘long-armed’ is especially used of persons with authority, such as kings and other powerful individuals.

116 NARTEN *apud* KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 211, and *YH*, p. 246f. NARTEN’s segmentation is accepted by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 126, whereas the comments by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 146, are inconclusive in spite of the fact that *paitī* is well attested as a postposition of a locative, e.g. in Y 51.22 *yesnē paitī* ‘at the worship’.

117 NARTEN *apud* KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 293, and *YH*, p. 247f. On the ‘prize at stake’ (*mīžda-*) as a technical term derived from the IIr. sporting language, see Y 41.4 no. 1 *zaēmācā* ‘may we obtain’ and Y 40.1 no. 4 *mīždām *mauuaidīm* ‘the prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me’.

ā-uuaocāmā. He does not commit himself regarding *vā*, but presumably views it as the enclitic emphasizing particle (*AirWb.* 1305f.). Any interpretation involving a verb in the plural, however, is incompatible with the analysis of *darəgō.bāzāuš* as a nom.sg., since this requires a singular subject. Accordingly BARTHOLOMAE and HUMBACH consider *darəgō.bāzāuš* as a gen.sg., but, as argued above on pp. 251–253, such a view is improbable.

Elaborating on a suggestion by HOFFMANN, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 243, retrieves a subject in the singular by analysing *auuā* as a regularly formed 1sg.pres. subjunctive of the root *auu* ‘to help, promote, facilitate’.¹¹⁸ Such an interpretation involves a 1st plural subject *āuuaocāmā* being followed by a 1st sg. one *auuā* ‘I want to help, promote’. While the former, plural, subject refers to the worshippers, the second, singular, one denotes an individual. A comparable switching of number is also found in *Y* 35.7, where a series of verbal forms in the 1st plur. are followed in *Y* 35.8 by the 1st sg. *ādā* ‘I say’, see *Y* 35.8 no.1 *ādā*, above, pp. 91–93. Moreover, the latter is followed in *Y* 35.9 by the compound 1st plur. *frauuaocāmā* ‘we proclaim’ from the same verb *vac* which precedes *auuā* in *Y* 38.5.

NARTEN suggests that, like *ādā* in *Y* 35.8, *auuā* in *Y* 38.5 has authoritative character. This emerges from its position at the very end of the chapter, where it is preceded by a series of verbal forms in the 1st plur. Such a quality is also present in the otherwise different context of the only finite verbal form of *auu* in the *Gathas*, *Y* 44.7:

Y 44.7 *azēm tāiš θβā fraxšnī auuāmī mazdā*
spəntā mainiiū vīspanəm dātārəm

With these I support you in anticipation,¹¹⁹ O Wise one,
(you who are) the creator of all (things) through the bounteous spirit.

NARTEN points out that in *Y* 44.7 the speaker’s importance is indicated by the personal pronoun *azēm* ‘I’ and his abilities are emphasized by the attribute ‘in anticipation’ (*fraxšnī-*). In *Y* 44.7 the object of the verb *auu* ‘to help someone’ is a person (Ahura Mazdā). This is not the case in *Y* 38.5, where the verb governs the accusatives **viiādā paitī.səndā* ‘pleasant distributions’. While these are the only Av. instances of the verb *auu*, its Vedic equivalent *av*, which is much better attested, is also used with an impersonal object. Apart from numerous examples where the gods are invoked to ‘help’ the ‘chariot’ (*ratha-*) of the singer, NARTEN adduces *RV* 7.67.5, where the *Aśvin* are exhorted:

RV 7.67.5c *vīśvā aviṣṭam vāja ā púramdhīs ... ||*

You two (*Aśvin*) expedite all bounties at the contest!

118 This morphological analysis is accepted by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 225 and III, p. 145 (who also consider a 1sg.ind.), although they regard it as “une pure conjecture” which they adopt only because of the lack of a viable alternative.

119 The form *fraxšnī* is here interpreted as the instr.sg. of a stem *fraxšni-*, see HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt*, pp. 258–262.

While the gods are usually the agents in such situations, in RV 8.54.1 it is the singers (*kārú-*) who prepare the offering:

RV 8.54.1 *té stóbhanta úrjam āvan ghṛtaścútam ... ||*

Praising, they [i.e. the poets] expedited the refreshment dripping with ghee.

A human being is the agent in Y 38.5 as well, where the 'I' desires to 'promote' the 'pleasant distributions'. This person is characterized by the attribute *darəgō. bāzāuš* as someone who is 'long-armed' in achievements and able to obtain objects which are not within easy reach (see above, p. 252f.). In Yt 17.22 *darəgō. bāzāuš* is one of Zarathustra's epithets and in Y 40.1, the 'I' provides the model of the ideal recipient of the 'prize' (*mīžda-*) which Ahura Mazda has allocated to 'someone like me' (**mauuaiθīm*, see Y 40.1 no. 4 below, pp. 289–291). This cumulative evidence suggests that the subject of the form *anuā* could be either Zarathustra or someone like him.

10 *paitī.səṇdā* 'pleasant'

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 835, derives the hapax legomenon *paitī.səṇdā* from a verbal root ²*sand* 'to bring about' which, however, has subsequently been shown to be non-existent.¹²⁰ As already suggested by SPIEGEL and later argued for by HUMBACH and GERSHEVITCH, *paitī.səṇdā* belongs with MP *passand* 'pleasure, liking', NP *pasand*.¹²¹ The adjective ^o*səṇda-* is derived from Av. *sand* 'to appear' (= Ved. *chand* 'to seem, to seem good, to please') and corresponds to Ved. *chānda-* 'pleasing, alluring, inviting'. Moreover, a privative formation *āsəṇda-* (i.e. *asəṇda-*) 'unpleasant' is attested in the hapax legomenon Y 51.14 *āsəṇdā*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1560, equally erroneously connects with his verbal root ²*sand*.

11 **viiādā* 'distributions'

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 134, edits a compound *paitī.viiādā* which he interprets as syntactically parallel to the following *paitī.səṇdā*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 834–835, who also reads *paitī.viiādā*, translates the noun as 'retributing, retaliating' ("wieder heimzahlend, Vergeltung ühend") and connects it with uncompounded YAv. *viiādā-* 'retribution, reward'.¹²² The latter meaning is based on his interpretation of *viiādā-* as a compound involving *ādā-*, which he further considers to be a compound with *dā* 'to give'. Being an eschatological term,

120 HUMBACH 1952 [1957], p. 30, fn. 30, after an oral communication by K. HOFFMANN. More references are given by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 245.

121 SPIEGEL, *Commentar*, II, p. 311f.; HUMBACH 1956c, p. 304, fn. 1, *Gathas*, II, p. 91; GERSHEVITCH, *Mithra*, p. 180.

122 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1478: "Vergeltung für Verdienst, Belohnung, Dankabstattung".

it would denote the 'retribution' at the Last Judgement.¹²³ Semantically more convincing, however, is HUMBACH's explanation, which posits the meaning of *ādā-* as 'offering' ("Verleihung, Darbringung") and analyses it as a root noun of the compound verb IIr. **ā-d^hā* 'to bestow'.¹²⁴ Accordingly, NARTEN segments the compound *viiādā-* as **yi-ā-d^hā-* 'gift-dispensing' ("Gabenverteilung").¹²⁵

NARTEN interprets the 'distributions' as gifts to the waters, as is indicated by her translation

Fördern will ich, ihr Guten, aufgrund eurer Gabe,
langarmig bei Erreichungen
die willkommenen Anteile (für euch),
ihr lebendigen Mütter.¹²⁶

This interpretation also emerges clearly from her summary of content of chapter 38 (YH, p. 27), according to which the speaker ('I') promises to provide for the waters the 'pleasant shares' which they deserve. In particular, NARTEN, YH, p. 34f., suggests that these 'shares' could either refer to ritual offerings accompanying the worship of the waters, or metaphorically denote the recited prayers of praise addressed to the waters by the worshippers. In her view, the old ritual terms, such as *ižā-* 'invigoration' and *āzūiti-* 'libation', do not refer to literal ritual offerings either in the *Gathas* or in the YH. Rather, they are used metaphorically for the human veneration and strengthening of Ahura Mazdā resulting from them. The latter, metaphorical interpretation appears to be supported by the fact that barely any ritual action accompanies the Yasna liturgy during the recitation of the *Yasna Haptanbhāiti*.¹²⁷ A third possibility is to interpret the 'pleasant distributions' as referring to gifts provided by the waters. In that case, **viiādā² paitī.sāṇdā²* refers back to the waters' presents (*cagēmā*) and pleasant provisions praised in Y 38.3–5.

123 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 320: "Vergeltung, Heimzahlung, insbes. beim Schlussgericht", see NARTEN, YH, p. 267.

124 HUMBACH 1957a, p. 89, fn. 22; see the discussion of *ādā-* by NARTEN, YH, pp. 267–270.

125 NARTEN *apud* KELLENS, *Noms-racines*, p. 211, and YH, p. 246. KELLENS/PIRART, TVA, III, p. 146, consider *viiādā²* and *sāṇdā²* as "désespérés" because the stem of *viiādā²* is uncertain and its analysis as *vī-ā-dā-* "qu'une conjecture". Without suggesting a morphological alternative, they consider *viiādā²* as "un terme désignant une parole rituelle" and *sāṇdā²* as the acc.pl. of a neuter substantive *sāṇdah-* equalling Ved. *chāndas-* 'hymn of praise', but do not translate the words *nāšū paitī vīiādā² paitī.sāṇdā²* (TVA, I, p. 137, II, pp. 265, 316).

126 NARTEN, YH, p. 44.

127 The only ritual action is when the *rāspī* offers sandalwood and frankincense to the fire at the beginning of Y 36, see KOTWAL/BOYD, *Yasna*, p. 112f. On the question of animal sacrifice, see below, p. 258f., Y 39.1 no. 2 *gōuš uruūānəmčā tašānəmčā* 'the cow's soul and (her) maker'.

Yasna 39

Y 39.1

iḍā āt̥¹ yazamaidē^{1a}
gəuś uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā^{1b}
ahmākəṇḡ^{1c} āat̥^{1d} urunō
pasukanəmcā
yōi nā jījīšəntī²
yaēibiiascā^{2a} tōi ā³
yaēcā³ aēibiiō ā aṇhən

- 1 *āt̥* Pt4; L2; J6 L13 J7, J5
āt̥ G Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1
 L3; C1 K11; [K8]
at̥ H1
 1a *yazamaidē* G
yazamaide Mf4
yazamaide K5 J2
yaz° J6
y° J5
 1b *tašānəmcā* Mf4
tašānəmcā G K5 J2; C1
tašānəm. cā J6
tasā. nəmcā J5
 1c *ahmākəṇḡ* G Mf4
aṇā. kəṇḡ K5
amākəṇḡ J2
ahmāikəṇḡ C1
ahmā. kəṇḡ J6
ahmāi. kəṇḡ J5

- 1d *aat̥* Mf4
āat̥ G K5; J6, J5
 2 *jījīšəntī* G Mf4; J6
jījīšəntī K5 J2
jījīšənte Jp1 K4
jījīšənti C1
zījīš...nti J5
 2a *yaēibiiascā* G Mf4 K5
yaēibiiascā C1
yeibiiascātōi J6
yebiiascā J5
 3 *ā ∴ yaēcā* Mf4
ā. yaēcā G Mf1, J2, S1; Jp1
āiiaēcā K5; K4; H1
ā. iiaēcā J3
ā. yaēcā C1
ā. yeicā J6
ā. yecā J7
āiiaecā J5
 S.V. divides after *ā*

In this way we now¹ worship
 the cow's soul and (her) maker².
 Now we worship our own souls
 as well as those of the domestic animals
 which desire to gain our support³,
 (the animals) for which⁴ people here indeed⁵ (shall be available)
 and which⁴ indeed⁵ shall be available⁶ for people here,

1 *iθā āt* ‘in this way now’

The beginning of the third and last chapter of the *yazamaidē*-formulae, which constitute the three central *hāiti*- of the YH, is marked, like that of the first (in Y 37.1), with the words *iθā āt* ‘in this way now’ (see Y 37.1 no. 1 *iθā*, above, p. 155f.). In Y 37.1 Ahura Mazdā is praised as the creator of the cow and truth among other things, while in Y 39.1 it is the cow’s soul and her maker which are eulogized. In addition, the souls of the worshippers, of domestic and harmless wild animals and of all truthful men and women are also venerated (Y 39.1–2). The concluding *yazamaidē* section in Y 39.3, praising the Amesha Spentas, begins with the same formula but with the word order inverted *āt iθā yazamaidē*, see below, p. 272f.

2 *gəuš uruuānəmcā tašanəmcā* ‘the cow’s soul and (her) maker’

The theme of Y 37.1, where Ahura Mazdā is worshipped as the creator of the cow, is resumed in Y 39.1–2. The prominent position of *gəuš uruuān-* at the beginning of Y 39 has been interpreted as indicating that this section of the YH is a formula directed to the sacrificial animal’s soul which is released in the blood sacrifice. Thus, BOYCE assumes that *gəuš uruuān-* is the “divinity which is the sum of the soul of sacrificed animals” and that Y 39.1–2 is “that part of the Zoroastrian liturgy which once accompanied the central act of the blood sacrifice” when the *zōt* partook of a little of the sacrificial animal’s roasted meat.¹

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 249f., objects that Y 39.1–2 does not support such a theory when interpreted in the light of the *Gathas*. The expressions *gəuš uruuān-* and *gəuš tašan-* are particularly noticeable in the so-called “Lament of the Cow”-hymn, Yasna 29. There, as well as in its other Gathic occurrences, NARTEN argues, the cow is not presented as a sacrificial animal but as a ‘milch cow’ (*gauu-azī-*, see Y 38.5 no. 2 *azī-*, above, p. 247). This emerges clearly from Y 29.5, where the human soul is portrayed in supplication beside that of the animal:

Y 29.5 *at vā ustānāiš abuuā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā*
mā uruuā gəušcā aziiā hiiat mazdəm duuaidī fərasābiiō
nōit arəžəjiōi frajiāitiš nōit fšuiientē drəguuasū pairī

With hands outstretched, my soul and that of the milch cow were endearing themselves to the Lord with intensity,² as the two of us exposed the Wise one to our questions³: “Is there any survival either for the right-living one or for the cattle-breeder among the deceitful ones?”

1 BOYCE, *HZ*, I, pp. 117, 150 and 1970b, p. 68f.

2 The form *abuuā* is interpreted here with HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 15, *Gāthās*², II, p. 36f., as the instr.sg. of OAv. *abuuā-*, YAv. *ay^hbā-* ‘vital energy, fervour’. HUMBACH’s explanation is accepted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 227, fn. 111.

3 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 103, edits the form *fərasābiiō*, a dat./abl.pl. of the well attested stem *fərasā-* ‘question’. GELDNER’s reading is accepted by HUMBACH, *Gathas*, II, p. 16, INSLEY, *Gāthās*, p. 28, and KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 109, II, p. 270, cf. KELLEN,

The juxtaposition of the human being and the animal in both Y 29.5 and 39.1 highlights the view that both are perceived as Ahura Mazdā's creations in need of divine protection against the rage and destruction (*aēšma-*) from which each suffers.⁴ Because of this parallel, NARTEN suggests that Y 39.1–2 is the liturgical counterpart and interpretation of the “drama” unfolding in Y 29 with the soul of the cow as protagonist.

The two scholar's different interpretations, however, are not incompatible with one another. On the one hand, it is clear from the *Gathas* and the YH that providing care and pasture for the cow is one of the major requirements for the followers of Zarathustra. On the other, Vedic, YAv., Middle Persian, Greek and Armenian texts amply testify to the practice of animal sacrifice in the pre- and post-Gathic periods. While textual evidence in the *Gathas* for OAv. ritual practice continues to be difficult to interpret,⁵ there is no reason to reject the assumption of animal sacrifice as part of the OAv. ritual.⁶ Indeed, in Zoroastrianism the ritual provides the only legitimate context for killing a domestic or harmless wild animal according to prescribed rites designed to protect the beast and minimize its suffering.⁷ According to the Pahlavi texts, the purpose of such rites was to limit destruction to the physical life of the animal and to set its spirit free to depart to the hereafter.⁸

3 *jījišəntī* ‘they desire to gain’

The form *jījišəntī* is the 3pl. of the desiderative stem *jījiša-* from the root *ji* ‘to win’. NARTEN has shown that such a stem refers to the ‘desire to gain’ one's daily sustenance, especially food, and prosperity, see Y 35.8 no. 2 *jījišəm* ‘the desire to gain’, above, p. 94. In Y 39.1, the form *jījišəntī*, which governs the pronoun *nā* ‘us’ as direct object, probably has the semantic connotation of ‘daily sustenance’ insofar as the domestic animals desire that ‘we’, i.e. the worshippers, take

Noms-racines, p. 303f., fn. 2. By contrast, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1002, reads with the mss. Pt4 and Mf1 *fərasābiiō* and posits a stem *fəra-sāh-* ‘request, wish’ (‘Bitte, Wunsch’), for which Y 29.5 would be the only attestation. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 121, II, p. 38, gives up his earlier view, reads with BARTHOLOMAE *fərasābiiō* and adduces YAv. support for a stem *fəra-sāh-* meaning ‘order’.

4 PANAINO 2004a interprets Y 39.1 in the light of the Vedic concept of *ātmayājīn-* (attested in Vedic prose, ŚB 11.2.6.13, and in Manu's Lawbook 12.91) and suggests that the consecration of the worshippers' own souls implies a symbolic offering by which “the human soul can be put in motion on the ritual path and rise to heaven” (p. 249).

5 Cf., for instance, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 32f., KELLENS, *Zoroastre*, p. 47f.; BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 216, fn. 96.

6 See BOYCE 1970a, p. 31f. and *HZ*, I, p. 214f.; HUMBACH 1977, esp. pp. 23–29; KELLENS, *Zoroastre*, p. 50. On the meaning of *yaz*, see Y 37.1 no. 2 *yazamaidē* ‘we worship’, above, pp. 156–162.

7 SHAKED 2001, p. 585f.; DE JONG 2002; MACUCH 2003.

8 BOYCE 1970a, p. 31 and *HZ*, I, pp. 149, 214–216; MACUCH 2003, p. 170 with fn. 25.

care of them.⁹ That the cow has to ‘choose’ (*fra-uuar*) between a herdsman and a non-herdsman, is stated in Y 31.9–10:

Y 31.9 *θβōi as +ārmaitiš θβā ā gāuš tašā as xratūš*
maniiδuš mazdā ahurā hiiat axiiāi dadā paθqm
vāstriiāt vā āitē yā vā nōit anhat vāstriiō

Yours was right-mindedness¹⁰; as¹¹ maker of the cow yours indeed¹² was the intellectual faculty of the spirit¹³, O Wise Lord, so that you could design a path for her, and she could join either the herdsman or whoever might not be a herdsman.

Y 31.10 *at hī aiiā frauuaratā vāstrīm axiiāi fšuiiantəm*
*ahurəm ašauuanəm vanhōuš *fšāyhīm mananhō*

Of the two, she chose for herself the cattle-breeding herdsman, a truthful lord, a bondsman of good thought.

The fact that in Y 31.9–10 the choice is put to the cow as to whether it wishes to be looked after by a herdsman or a non-herdsman suggests that not only human beings but also animals have free will. The verses could then provide a Gathic antecedent of the concept of moral responsibility of animals in Middle Persian sources studied by SHAKED 2001. When interpreted in the light of the above Gathic passage, Y 39.1 states that the domestic animals (*pasuka-*) desire to be looked after by ‘us’, the latter referring to the good herdsmen committed to ‘good thought’ (see below, p. 266). That ‘we’, i.e. the worshippers, have committed ourselves to the care of the cow, is stated explicitly at the beginning of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* in Y 35.3. Moreover, Y 35.6 affirms that each person, man or woman, knows what is good and should put it into practice and also make it known to others. The worshippers (‘we’) know that the veneration of the Wise Lord and the pasture of the cow is best for ‘you’ – presumably those present during the ritual.

4 *yaēibiiascā ... yaēcā* ‘(the animals) for whom ... and who’

Each of the last three lines of Y 39.1 begins with a relative pronoun. While it is clear that the first one in *yōi nā jijišəntī* ‘which desire to gain our support’ refers to the ‘domestic animals’ (*pasukanqm*^o) whose souls are venerated together with those of the worshippers, the referents of the second and third relative pro-

9 NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 121–124.

10 GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 111, edits the form *ārmaitiš* with the mss. K5 and J2, but BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 336, rightly prefers the reading *ārmaitiš* of Pt4 Mf1 and many other mss.

11 *gāuš tašā* ‘as maker of the cow’ here has a predicative syntactic function, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 250.

12 *ā* ‘indeed’ is the emphatic postpositive particle (= Ved. *ā*) which emphasizes pronouns, see DUNKEL 1982, p. 100, and Y 39.1 no. 5 *ā* ‘indeed’, below p. 267.

13 On the elsewhere attested collocation of *xratu-* and *mainiiu-*, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 250 with fn. 6.

nouns are subject to debate. BAUNACK, p. 337, and BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 300, and *apud* WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 69, interpret them as both referring to the domestic animals (*pasukanam*^o), while the demonstrative pronouns *tōi* and *aēibiiō* denote the worshippers ('us'):

Y 39.1 *ahmākēng āaṭ urunō*
pasukanamcā
yōi nā jijišəntī
yaēibiiascā tōi ā
yaēcā aēibiiō ā aṇhən

Now (we worship) our own souls
 as well as the souls of the domestic animals
 which desire to gain our support,
 (the animals) for which these [i.e. we] (shall be available)
 and which shall be available for these [i.e. us].¹⁴

Against this interpretation NARTEN, *YH*, p. 251, objects that it is syntactically difficult for the demonstrative pronouns *tōi* and *aēibiiō* to refer to the 1st plur. personal pronoun *nā* 'us'. NARTEN's objection is justified because if the dem. pronouns did refer to the 1st plur. personal pronoun, the latter would also be expected in the second and third relative clauses:

*(the animals) for whom we here indeed (shall be available)
 and who shall be available for us here indeed.*

NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 276, refers the second relative pronoun, *yaēibiiascā*, to the possessive adjective *ahmākēng* 'our', denoting the worshippers' souls, and the third one, *yaēcā*, to the domestic animals (*pasukanam*). A free English rendering of his German translation would read as follows:

we worship our own souls and those of the domestic animals that desire to
 nourish¹⁵ us,
 (we worship our own souls), for whom [i.e. us] these [i.e. the animals] (shall be
 available)
 and (we worship the souls of the domestic animals) who [i.e. the animals] shall
 be available for these persons [i.e. us].¹⁶

14 WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 69: 'für welche diese [wir] und welche für diese [uns] da sind'. BAUNACK, p. 337, translates: '[und] für welche die Menschen ebenso sorgen sollen, wie sie für die Menschen'.

15 NYBERG's translation of *jijišəntī* as 'nourish' (also BOYCE, *HZ*, I, p. 117, who regards it as indicating animal sacrifice, see above, p. 258f.) is based on BAUNACK, p. 355, and BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 502f. The latter connect the form with Ved. *jínóti*, *jínvati* 'impels, quickens', but NARTEN, *YH*, p. 121, rightly objects that the factitive meaning of the Vedic verb arises from the nasal formation (of IIr. **jī* 'to live'), while no nasal suffix is found in the Av. form, on which see above, p. 259f.

16 NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 276: 'So preisen wir jetzt die Seele des Stieres und den Schöpfer des Stieres, unsere eigenen Seelen und die der Haustiere, die uns nähren wollen – [die Seelen] derer, für welche sie da sind, und derer, die für sie da sind'.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 251f., proposes that both relative pronouns *yaēibiias*^o and *yaē*^o refer to *nā*^o 'us', while the two demonstrative pronouns denote the domestic animals:

(we worship) our own souls
as well as those of the domestic animals
that desire to gain us,
(us), for whom these [i.e. the animals] (shall be available)
and who [i.e. we] shall be available for these [i.e. the animals].¹⁷

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 147, object to NARTEN's interpretation on the grounds that *nā*^o cannot be the referent of the two relative pronouns because one would expect a verb in the 1st plur. instead of the 3rd plur. *aṇhən* 'they shall be'. Furthermore, they argue that two relative clauses linked by *-cā* cannot have the same, undifferentiated referent noun (*nā*^o). They maintain that the co-ordination is only justified if the antecedent is differentiated into sub-groups, each of which is referred to, respectively, by one of the relative pronouns.¹⁸ Accordingly, they propose that *nā*^o 'us' comprises three social groups of human beings. The first, the support of which the domestic animals desire to gain, is denoted by *nā*^o 'us' and consists of the priests performing the ritual. The second, referred to by the relative pronoun *yaēibiias*^o and for whom the animals are available, is composed of the animals' owners, called 'lords' (*ahura-*), while the third group, referred to by *yaē*^o and who themselves are available for the animals, consists of the herdsmen or cattle-breeders (*vāstriia-* or *fšuiiant-*). The two verse lines thus mean, according to KELLENS/PIRART, that the animals desire to gain both the favour of their owner, so that they are available for him, and that of their herdsman so that the latter is available for them.¹⁹ An English rendering of their French translation runs as follows:

... of the domestic animals
which desire to gain our favour,
the favour of those for whom [i.e. the owners of the animals] they [i.e. the animals] are available
and the favour of those who [i.e. the herdsmen] are available for them [i.e. the animals].²⁰

17 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 252: 'unsere Seelen und (die) der Haustiere, die uns zu gewinnen wünschen, (uns,) für die sie und die für sie da sein sollen'. Her analysis is accepted by HUM-BACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 127, who draws attention to a similar expression of reciprocity in Y 40.3 *ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənaṇhō*, see Y 40.3 no. 5, below, p. 297f.

18 "Deux relatifs coordonnés par *°cā* ne peuvent représenter un même antécédent que s'ils font une distinction entre deux groupes composant un antécédent duel ou pluriel."

19 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 147: "En paraphrasant: 'ils cherchent à gagner la faveur de leur propriétaire, de telle sorte qu'ils sont là pour lui, et celle de leur pâtre, afin qu'il soit là pour eux'."

20 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 137: "... des animaux domestiques qui cherchent à gagner notre faveur, la faveur de ceux à la disposition de qui ils sont et la faveur de ceux qui sont à leur disposition'."

KELLENS/PIRART's rule regarding the referent noun (or: nucleus) of syntactically co-ordinated relative clauses applies to some restrictive relative clauses. For instance, in Y 45.1 'you' is divided into two sub-groups:

Y 45.1 *aṭ frauuaxšiiā nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā*
yaēcā asnāt yaēcā dūrāt iśaḍā

I shall now proclaim. Give ear now, listen now,
 O you who approach from near and (you who approach) from far!

In addition, a single nucleus may be qualified by a series of co-ordinated relative clauses which have the syntactic function of multiple attributes,²¹ for instance:

RV 1.27.7 *yām agne pṛtsú mārtyam āvā vājeṣu yām junāḥ |*
sā yāntā śāsvatīr iśaḥ ||

Any mortal, whom you help in battles, O Agni, whom you boost in contests,
 that one obtains continuous refreshments.

RV 3.22.2 *agne yāt te divī vārcaḥ pṛthivyām yād óṣadhīṣv apsv ā yajatra |*
yénāntárikṣam urv ātatántha tveṣāḥ sā bhānúr arṇavó nṛcákṣāḥ ||

O Agni, this shining, restless, men-watching light is your energy which (is) in heaven (and) on earth, which (is) in the plants and in the waters (and) by which you, O venerable one, have diffused through the air.

Although in the two Vedic examples, both of which represent a fairly common type, the relative clauses are not connected by a conjunction, they stand asyndetically in syntactic parallel and refer back to a single nucleus (*mārtyam* 'mortal', *vārcaḥ* 'energy, shine'). As pointed out by HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe*, p. 543, this type of relative construction is to be distinguished from that in which several syntactically parallel relative clauses refer to different nuclei.

The examples just quoted are restrictive relative clauses. In non-restrictive relative constructions, however, a series of relative clauses may have the function of appositions to the nucleus.²² For instance,

RV 10.14.3 *mātalī kavyaír yamó āngirobhir býhaspátir řkvabhir vāvṛdhānāḥ |*
yámś ca devā vāvṛdhúr yé ca devān svāhānyé svadhāyānyé madanti ||

Mātalī made strong by the Kavyas, and Yama by the Āngiras, and Bṛhaspati by the Ṛkṣans –

both those whom the gods made strong and those who strengthen the gods:
 some rejoice in the sacrificial call, others in the sacrificial drink.²³

Here two relative clauses co-ordinated by *-ca* and introduced by relative pronouns in different cases are in apposition to the nucleus consisting of the pendent

21 HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe*, p. 542f.

22 On the distinction between restrictive (German: restriktiv) and non-restrictive (German: appositiv) relative clauses see HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe*, pp. 508–513.

23 Translation by DONIGER O'FLAHERTY, *Rig Veda*, p. 43.

nominatives *mātalī* ... *yamó* ... *bṛhaspátir*.²⁴ Two parallel relative clauses are in apposition to a single nucleus in

RV 3.35.9 *yám ābhajo marúta indra sóme yé tvám ávardhann ábhavan gaṇás te | tébhīr etám sajósā vāvaśānò 'gnéh piba jihváyā sómam indra ||*

Drink, O Indra, this soma with the tongue of Agni while lowing²⁵ in harmony with the Marut,
to whom you, O Indra, gave share in the Soma (and) who strengthened you
(and) became your troop.

If the relative clauses in Y 39.1 are interpreted as non-restrictive rather than restrictive, they function syntactically as multiple appositions. Accordingly, the co-ordinated relative pronouns in Y 39.1 could refer to a single, undifferentiated nucleus without implying different sub-groups. The question remains, however, whether *nā* 'us' or *pasukanam* 'domestic animals' is the referent noun. If it is *nā*, as proposed by NARTEN, the problem is not only the 3rd plur. finite verbal form of the relative clause, but also that, of the three co-ordinated relative clauses, the referent of the first (which clearly refers to *pasukanam*) is different from that of the other two. In NARTEN's interpretation, the first clause stands apart, only the second and third being connected by the conjunction *-cā*. The syntactic parallelism of the three, however, suggests that they form one unit and refer to a single nucleus.

BAUNACK's and BARTHOLOMAE/WOLFF's interpretation, in turn, involves the problem of the 1st plur. personal pronoun being resumed by demonstrative pronouns (representing the 3rd person plur.). Such a change of person, however, could be meaningful and imply different groups of people. A distinction between 'we', on the one hand, and 'they', on the other, in addition to the group constituted by 'you', is also found at the beginning of the YH. 'We' are those who have recognized and committed themselves to what is good:

Y 35.3 *taṭ at̐ *varəmaidī ahurā mazdā*
aṣā srīrā
*hīiaṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā *varəzimācā*
*yā hātqm *šīiaoṭṭananqm vahištā xīiaṭ*
ubōibīiā ahubīiā

O Wise Lord, because of beauteous truth
we have certainly chosen this:
that we may think, speak and perform those
existing actions which may be best
for both existences.

24 HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe*, p. 648f.

25 The perfect participle *vāvaśāná-* is ambiguous and could either belong to the root *vaś* 'to wish, desire' or to *vāś* 'to low', see KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, pp. 478–480.

That – besides the worship of Ahura Mazdā – the ‘best’ human action is the care for the cow emerges both from Y 35.7 and from Y 35.4, where all human beings (‘they’) are urged to commit themselves to the same cause:

Y 35.4 *gauuōi +ad-āiš*
tāiš śīiaoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš
fraēšiiāmahi
rāmācā vāstrāmācā dazdiiāi
surunuuatascā asurunuuatascā
xšaiiaṇtascā axšaiiaṇtascā

For the benefit of the cow by (doing) these,
 (namely) these best actions,
 we urge
 those who listen and those who do not,
 those who rule and those who do not
 to provide peace and pasture.

The demonstrative pronoun *aēibiiō* in Y 39.1 could refer to the group of people that is denoted by the same form in Y 35.6:

Y 35.6 *yaθā aṭ utā nā vā nāiri vā*
vaēdā haiθīm
aθā haṭ vohū
+taṭ.āθ-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi
fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō
yōi iṭ aθā vərəziiṇ
yaθā iṭ astī

Just as now a man or a woman
 knows what is real,
 so (do they know) what is really good.
 Therefore let them now also put it into practice
 and let them make it known to those
 who shall practise it in the way
 that it really is.

That ‘what is really good’ (*haṭ vohū*) includes the care for the cow is stated in Y 35.7:

Y 35.7 *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vā mazdā*
yasnāmācā vahmāmācā
vahištām amāhmaidī
gāušcā vāstrām
taṭ aṭ vā vərəziiāmahi
fracā vātōiiāmahi
+yā.tā isāmaidē

For we recognized
 that the worship and praise

of the Wise Lord alone
 and the pasture of the cow is best for you.
 It is precisely this that we shall practise for you
 and make (it) known
 as much as we can.

The stanzas Y 35.4–7 involve groups of people addressed as ‘you’ and referred to as ‘they’. The worshippers would like them to commit themselves to pasturing the cow. All domestic animals desire to be looked after by the worshippers (*nā* ‘us’ Y 39.1) because the latter have pledged themselves not only to their care (Y 35.3) but also to ‘good thought’ (Y 31.9–10, quoted above, p. 260). ‘We’ are effectively the first choice of the animals. Yet the need to look after them applies not only to the worshippers but to all human beings, whether present or otherwise, in the same way that the interdependence between domestic animal and human being affects everybody. From this point of view, the last two lines of Y 39.1 generalize by emphasizing the fundamental and mutually dependent relationship between human beings and their domestic animals. All three relative pronouns thus refer to the latter, *pasukanam*, and the syntactic structure of the three relative clauses is A Bcā Ccā,²⁶ in which the last two lines co-ordinated by *-cā* could have a slightly adversative connotation:

Y 39.1 *ahmākēṅg āaṭ urunō*
pasukanamcā
yōi nā jījīṣṇṭī
yaēibiiascā tōi ā
yaēcā aēibiiō ā aṇhān

Now we worship our own souls
 as well as those of the domestic animals
 which desire to gain our support,
 (the animals) for which people here indeed (shall be available)
 and which indeed shall be available for people here.

According to the interpretation proposed here, what is differentiated in Y 39.1 is not the group signified by the referent of the relative pronouns, as suggested by KELLENS/PIRART, but the ones denoted, respectively, by the personal and demonstrative pronouns. While *nā* clearly refers to ‘us’, i.e. the worshippers, the demonstrative pronouns *tōi* and *aēibiiō* could refer to human beings in a more general sense. The latter were already mentioned in Y 35.4–7. This would not only mean that the domestic animals’ “first choice” is ‘we’, but would also explain their desire to gain ‘us’ (and not others). However, since ‘we’, the worshippers, or the “in-group”, are not able to look after *all* domestic animals, here (as in Y 35.4–7) other human beings are urged to do the same. The motivation for tending the animal is not only to provide it with good living conditions, but,

26 Parallels for the pattern A Bcā Ccā are listed by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 240.

as stated in the final two relative clauses, a reflection of the fundamental mutual interdependence of the two groups.²⁷

5 *ā* ‘indeed’

The adverb *ā* occurs twice in Y 39.1, in each of the last two lines. KUIPER and KELLENS/PIRART interpret both instances as preverbs of the verbal form *aṇhən*, the first *ā* being elliptic for *ā aṇhən*.²⁸ This, however, is improbable because elsewhere there is no evidence for a verb *ā-ah*, *ā-as* either in Avestan²⁹ or in Vedic. In Y 28.11, *yāiš ā aṇhuš pouruiō bauuat*, adduced as a parallel by KELLENS/PIRART, *ā* is either the preverb of *bauuat* or, more likely, the emphatic particle ‘indeed’.³⁰ More convincing, therefore, is BAUNACK’s interpretation of the Y 39.1 double *ā* as a postpositive particle emphasizing the preceding demonstrative pronouns. The same particle is probably also found in Y 36.1 *yā ā axtiš ahmāi yām axtōiōi dāṇhē* ‘(the most bounteous spirit) which indeed (is) harm for the one whom you consign to harm’.³¹

6 *aṇhən* ‘they shall be available’

The last two lines of Y 39.1 emphasize the reciprocal dependence between domestic animals and human beings. Not only do animals depend on human care but human beings also rely on them for their own survival and well-being. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 147, suggest that the function of the subjunctive is to express “consécutivité implicite” in the sense of the animals’ desire to influence their carers so that the latter are available for them: “ils cherchent à gagner la faveur de leur propriétaire, de telle sorte qu’ils sont là pour lui, et celle de leur pâtre, afin qu’il soit là pour eux”. More likely, however, is NARTEN’s, *YH*, p. 252, suggestion that the form *aṇhən* is a prescriptive subjunctive. Support for the latter interpretation derives from Y 35.6, where *varəziiān* ‘they shall practise’ probably has the same syntactic function, see above, pp. 87–90 and 265.

27 For another instance of reciprocity, see Y 40.3 no. 5 *ahmā.rafənanhō*, below, p. 297f. Reciprocity is also an important feature in the Pahlavi texts. For instance, in *Zādspram* 1.23 mutual assistance between the creatures of Ohrmazd is said to be one of three components that contribute to the Renovation (*frašgird*).

28 F.B.J. KUIPER: “On Yasna 30.7c”, in: K.M. JAMASPASA (ed.), *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1964, p. 86, fn. 3; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 147 (but without reference to KUIPER).

29 DUNKEL 1982, p. 102, n. 41, rightly rejects KUIPER’s suggestion on the grounds that “the combination *ā+ah* never occurs in the Avestan corpus”.

30 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 29, n. 5.

31 BAUNACK, p. 384; DUNKEL 1982, p. 100; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 252 with fn. 9.

Y 39.2

*daitikanqmcā*¹
*aidiūnqam*² *hiiaṭ*
urunō yazamaidē^{2a}
*aṣāunqam*³ *āaṭ*⁴ *urunō yazamaidē*^{2a}
*kudō.zātanqmcīṭ*⁵
*narqmcā nāirinqmcā*⁶
*yaēṣqam*⁷ *vahehīš*⁸ *daēnā*⁹
*vanaiṇtī*⁹ *vā vānghan*¹⁰ *vā +vaonarə*¹¹ *vā* ∴

- 1 Y 39.2 recurs in Y 63 of the Vendidad
Sāde and in Yt 13.154
daitikanqmcā G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5; K4
(Mf2 in Y 63)
daidikanqmcā J2, J3; Mf2; Dh1, L1 O2
L3
daiṭikanqmcā S1; C1
daitikanqā Jp1
daiḍakanqmcā L2 K10, S2, Bb1; J6 L13
daiḍikanqmcā B2; K11, H1 J7, J5 P6
- 2 *aidiūnqam* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4;
L1; C1
adiūnqam K5 (pr.m. corr. from *ada*°, ii
written above the second a) J2
āidiūnqam S1 J3; L2, S2, O2 B2; H1 J6
L13 J7, J5
- 2a *yazamaidē* G
yazamaide Mf4, K5 J2
y° J5
- 3 *aṣāunqam* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3; (Mf2
in Y 63); L2, S2, L1 O2 B2 L3 Bb1;
K11, H1 L13 J7
aṣaonqam K5; Jp1; C1
aṣānqam Mf2
aṣaōnqam K4 (*aō* is written above *āu*)
aṣāñqam J6, J5
- 4 *āaṭ* G Mf4, J2, J3; C1, J6, J5
ā.aṭ K5
- 5 *kudō.zātanqmcīṭ* G K5 J2; C1
kudōzātanqmcīṭ Mf4
kudōzātanqmcīṭ S1; Mf2
- kudō.zātanqam.cīṭ* J6
kudō.zātañqmcīṭ J5
- 6 *nāirinqmcā* G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J5
nāirinqam Mf2 (*cā* sec.m.)
nairanqmcā Jp1
nāiranqmcā K4
nāirīanqmcā S2; L13
nāirīanqam.cā J6
- 7 *yaēṣqam* G Mf4; C1 (y)
yaēṣqam K5 (sec.m. superscr.) J2
aeṣqam L2, L1 O2 L3
yaeṣqam J6, J5
- 8 *vahehīš* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1; (Mf2 in
Y 63); L2, L1 O2 L3
vahihīš K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1, H1 J6
L13 J7, J5
vahīš S2; C1 Lb2; [M25]
- 9 *vanaiṇtī* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1 J3; (Mf2 in
Y 63); L2, L3; K11, H1 J6 L13, J5
vanaiṇtē K5
vanaiṇtī J2; C1; J7
vanaiṇtīm Mf2 Jp1 K4
- 10 *vānghan* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; L2, Dh1, L1
O2 L3 Bb1; C1
vayghan K5 J2, J3
vānghan S1
vānghan Mf2 Jp1 K4; S2; K11, H1 J6 L13
J7, J5
- 11 *vaonarə* Mf4, K5, all mss. except:
vaonarē G J2; C1

and (we worship) the souls¹
 of the wild animals,
 insofar as they are harmless.
 Now we worship the souls of the truthful ones,
 men and women,
 wherever they may have been born²,
 whose very good beliefs
 prevail, will prevail or have prevailed³.

1 *urunō yazamaidē* ‘we worship the souls of ...’

The syntactic structure of Y 39.1–2 has been recognized by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 252f., as consisting of two *yazamaidē* sections, the first of which is

Y 39.1 *iṭā āt yazamaidē*
gōuś uruuānāmcā taśānāmcā

In this way we now worship
 the cow’s soul and (her) maker

and the second

Y 39.1 <i>ahmākēṅg āat urunō</i>	
<i>pasukanāmcā</i>	+ three relative clauses
Y 39.2 <i>daitikanāmcā</i>	+ one attribute
<i>urunō yazamaidē</i>	

Now we worship
 our own souls,
 and (we worship) the souls of the domestic animals ...
 and of the wild animals

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 253f., suggests that the source of the extending of the sentence over two stanzas is Yt 13.154 in which a quotation of Y 39.2 begins with *daitikanāmcā* and ends with its last words *vaonarā vā*. This YAv. quotation could have been the reason why the first three lines were considered to be part of Y 39.2, rather than Y 39.1, to which they belong syntactically.

2 *kudō.zātanāmcīt* ‘wherever they may have been born’

After venerating their own souls and those of domestic and harmless wild animals, the worshippers now turn to the praise the souls of all human beings, provided they are truthful. The hapax legomenon *kudō.zātanāmcīt* characterizes the truthful ones as those whose origins are not confined to the local community. As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, pp. 255–257, the addition of the particle *-cīt* gives special emphasis to this adjective. The truthful men and woman, whose souls are worshipped, are explicitly described not as coming from the worshippers’ own local community or land, but as possibly having been born anywhere.

Their birthplace being irrelevant, what matters is that they are committed to truth. Thus, after the veneration of the worshippers' own souls and those of domestic and wild animals in Y 39.1–2, this penultimate *yazamaidē* formula encompasses, in a universal manner, all truthful human beings, while the final *yazamaidē* section is dedicated to the bounteous immortals (Y 39.3).

3 ⁺*vaonarə* 'they have prevailed'

The word final glide *-ə* is usually spelt *-ā* in OAv. and *-a* in YAv. when it forms part of an ending, e.g. Y 36.6 *huuarā*.³² In Y 39.2, however, the 3rd plur.perf. of *van* 'to prevail, be victorious' is spelt *vaonarə* in Mf4, K5 and most other mss., the form *vaonarā* being found only in J2 and C1. While GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 135, edits *vaonarā*, NARTEN, *YH*, p. 256, n. 17, rightly prefers the better transmitted *vaonarə*, as do KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 139, III, p. 147, KELLENS 1987b, pp. 169, 173, n. 2, and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 148. In the context of Y 39.2 *vaonarə* is the expected form because it is followed by the enclitic particle *vā* 'or', which is unaccented in Vedic.

32 Accordingly, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 237, and KÜMMEL, *Perfekt*, p. 660, write all forms of the 3rd pl.perf. as ending in *-arā* in OAv. and in *-ara* in YAv.

Y 39.3

$\bar{a}\bar{t}^1 i\bar{\vartheta}\bar{a}^2 yazamaidē^{2a}$
 $vanhūścā^3 i\bar{t}^{3a} van^{\bar{v}}hīścā^4 i\bar{t}^{4a}$
 $spəntəṅg aməṣəṅg^{4b}$
 $yaunaējiiō^5 yaunaēsuuō^6$
 $^7yōi vanhəuš \bar{a}^8 manayhō^8 śiieṇtī^9$
 $yāscā^{10} +uitī^{11} ∴$

- 1 $\bar{a}\bar{t}$ Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1; C1 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 $\bar{a}\bar{t}$ G K5 J2, S1
- 2 $a\bar{\vartheta}\bar{a}$ Mf4; L2, L1
 $i\bar{\vartheta}\bar{a}$ G K5 J2, S1; C1, J6
 $ya\bar{\vartheta}\bar{a}$ J3; O2 L3
- 2a $yazamaidē$ G
 $yazamaide$ Mf4 (y), K5 J2
 yaz° J6
 y° J5
- 3 $vanhīścā$ Pt4 Mf4 (u above η), J3
 $vanhūścā$ G K5 J2, S1; C1
 $vanhūścā$ J6, J5
- 3a $i\bar{t}$ G, all mss., except:
 $i\bar{a}\bar{t}$ J5
- 4 $vanhīścā$ Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; S2; C1
 $van^{\bar{v}}hīśi\bar{t}$ K5 J2
 $vanuhīścā$ G S1; H1 J7, J5
 $vanhuīścā$ L1 B2
 $vanuhīścā$ J6
- 4a $i\bar{t}$ G, all mss., except:
 $ya\bar{t}$ J5
- 4b $aməṣəṅg$ Mf4; J6
 $aməṣəṅg$ G K5
 $aməṣəṅg$ C1
 $aməṣəṅg$ J5
- 5 $yaunaējiiō$ G Mf4 (y), S1
 $yaunujiiō$ K5
 $yaunaēciiō$ J2
 $yaunajiiō$ J3

- $yaunaējaiiō$ Jp1
 $yaunaējaiiō$ C1
 $yaune. jiiō$ J6
 $yaunaējiiō$ J5
- 6 $yaunaēsuuō$ G Mf4, K5 J2
 $yaunaēsiiō$ Jp1 K4
 $yaunaesaiiō$ C1
 $yaunesuuō$ J6 (the first *uu* superscr.)
 $yaunaesuuō$ J5
- 7 cf. Y 4.4
- 8 $\bar{a}. manayhō$ G Mf4, K5 J2; J6
 $\bar{a}manayhō$ J3; L1 B2; C1, J5; [M25]
- 9 $śiieṇtī$ Pt4 Mf4
 $śiieṇtī$ G Mf1; Mf2; L2, L3; P6
 $śiiaṇtī ∴$ K5 J2, J3; Jp1 K4
 $śiieṇtī$ S1; B2; H1
 $śiiaeṇtī$ Dh1; J6
 $śiiaeṇtī$ S2, O2; K11 Lb2, L13 J7
 $śiiaṇtī$ L1; C1
 $śiieṇte$ J5
- 10 $yāscā$ Pt4 Mf4 (y), K5, S1 J3; Jp1 K4; L2, L1 L3; C1 (y), H1 J6 (y) L13 J7, J5
 $yaosca$ J2
 $yāscā$ G P6
- 11 $uitī$ Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J3; L2; C1, J6
 $uiti$ K5 J2; L1 B2; K11, H1 L13 J7
 $uuiti$ S1
 $ūitī$ G Mf2 Jp1 K4
 $ūitī$ Dh1, O2
 $aoiti$ J5
 cf. Vr 9.4

Finally¹ in this way we worship
 the good bounteous immortals²,
 both male and female,
 who live forever, who thrive forever,
 (the male ones) who are on the side of good thought
 and (the female ones) who (are) as well.

1 *āt* ‘finally’

Together with the Ved. adverb *āt* ‘then, further, so’, Av. *āt* is inherited from the IIr. parent language. The particle is not found in the *Gathas* but occurs ten times in the YH³³ and frequently in Younger Avestan, where it is always spelt *āat*.³⁴ In nine of its YH attestations *āt* is an enclitic particle ‘now’ and occupies the second position in the sentence, for instance in the formula *iθā āt yazamaidē* in Y 37.1 and 39.1. By contrast, in Y 39.3 the same formula occurs with inverted word order: *āt iθā yazamaidē*. The latter position of *āt* agrees with that of YAv. *āat* and its Ved. cognate *āt*, both of which usually occupy the initial position and function as connectives. Vedic *āt* may link either words or sentences. Particularly in an enumeration, it may mark the final element such as, for instance in

RV 7.66.11 *ví yé dadhúḥ śarādam māsam ād āhar yajñām aktúm cād ícam |
anāpyām váruṇo mitró aryamā kṣatráṃ rájāna āśata ||*

Who have instituted autumn, month and day, sacrifice, night and the hymn,
Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman have obtained the inaccessible rule.

When connecting sentences, at the end of a series of actions Ved. *āt* may indicate the concluding one. For instance, RV 1.6.1–4 narrates a sequence of events which begin at night when the stars are still shining (1.6.1c). The singers yoke the sun-horse, identified with Indra’s two dun-coloured horses (1.6.2), and the sun is born at dawn (1.6.3–4):

RV 1.6.1 *yuñjānti bradhnám aruṣám carantam pári tasthúṣaḥ |
rócante rocanā diví ||*

They yoke the reddish sun-horse, which moves around those who are stationary.
The lights shine in the sky.

RV 1.6.2 *yuñjānty asya kāmā hárī vípakṣasā rátthe |
śónā dhṛṣṇú nṛvāhasā ||*

They yoke his two beloved duns to either side of the chariot,
the red, courageous ones, conveying men.

33 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 259, refers to a total of eleven attestations of *āt* in the YH, of which ten are in second and one in the initial sentence position. According to her glossary (p. 305), however, the attestations are only ten, with nine in second (Y 35.6 (2×), 35.8, 35.9, 37.1, 38.1, 39.1 (2×), 39.2) and one in the initial (Y 39.3) position.

34 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 325, 303–307. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 257f., convincingly explains the YAv. form *āat* (< *āt*) as having been caused by special intonation in the initial sentence position. Subsequently the initial sentence form *āat* was generalized and also written in the few YAv. attestations where it occurs in non-initial position. Moreover, it intruded into the transmission of the Older Avesta, where *āat* occurs either as a variant reading besides *āt* or occasionally even as the only form.

RV 1.6.3 *ketúm kṛṇvānn aketāve péso maryā apeśāse |*
sám uṣádbhīr ajāyathāḥ ||

Providing shape to the shapeless, colour to the colourless, O men,
 you [i.e. the sun] were born together with the dawns.

RV 1.6.4 *ād áha svadhām ánu púnar garbhatvám eriré |*
dádhanā náma yajñīyam ||

Finally, indeed, they have once more produced his birth³⁵ according to their
 custom,
 bestowing on themselves a venerable name.

That Av. *āt* has the same function in Y 39.3, emerges from its position at the end of a series of *yazamaidē* formulae, which extend from Y 37.1 to Y 39.4. The adverb *āt* introduces the last but one, sixteenth section before the concluding praise of Ahura Mazdā in Y 39.4 and may therefore be rendered as ‘finally’.³⁶

Furthermore, NARTEN offers an explanation why *āt*, although obviously inherited from IIr., is found in the YH but not in the *Gathas*. Rather than indicating difference in authorship or time and place of composition, it could be due to the fact that the YH belongs to a literary genre other than that of the *Gathas*. She suggests that while the latter are poetry governed by strict conventional, metrical rules, the literary style of the YH allows for features reflecting the spoken language. As is the case with the enclitic emphasizing particle *at*, when *āt* functions as an enclitic, which would be common in the YH but rare in YAv. and the RV, this could be a stylistic device of that spoken, non-metrical language.³⁷

2 *spəntāṅ aməšāṅ* ‘bounteous immortals’

The plural *spəntāṅ aməšāṅ* is the second OAv. attestation of this expression besides the singular *spəntəm aməšəm* in Y 37.4. The latter occurrence characterizes *aša-* ‘truth’, who occupies the second position in a series of names, beginning with Ahura Mazdā in Y 37.1 and ending with *ārmaiti-* in Y 37.5. By

35 The noun *garbhatvá-* ‘impregnation’ is a hapax legomenon. GELDNER, *Rig-Veda*, I, p. 7, comments on RV 1.6.4 that what is meant is clear from AV 13.2.25: Rohita (= the sun) enters the womb and is born again. He suggests that the metaphor refers to the first birth of the sun from a rock cave, a process which repeats itself daily with each sunrise. At sunset the sun becomes an embryo again.

36 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 259, fn. 29: ‘und nun noch, schließlich’. KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 148, rightly observe that the initial sentence position of *āt* in Y 39.3 is unique in the YH. However, they therefore analyse it as *ā at*, *ā* being a preverb of *yazamaidē* and *at* the enclitic emphasizing particle. While this is not impossible, it is unlikely because all the other attestations of *yazamaidē* in the YH are without the preverb *ā*. Moreover, the interpretation of initial *āt* as a sentence connective is not, as they claim, an *ad-hoc* assumption but is well supported by YAv. and Vedic parallels.

37 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 259. On *at*, see Y 35.3 no. 2 *at* ‘certainly, precisely’, above, p. 71f.

contrast, in Y 39.3 no individual names of Amesha Spentas are mentioned. Instead, the term appears to refer to them in a comprehensive manner, encompassing all those divine spiritual beings who in the *Gathas* are referred to by the plural *ahurān̥hō*.³⁸

The adjectives *vanhūšcā īt* and *vanhīšcā īt* and the pronouns *yōi* and *yāscā* explicitly mark the Amesha Spentas as being comprised of both male and female beings. NARTEN deduces that this marking was used because at the time the YH was composed only the masculine *aməša-* existed. At the time there was no feminine form **aməšā-* and in fact one never developed. She concludes that this lack implies that in Y 37.4 the expression *spəntəm aməšəm* is masculine and functions as an apposition to the neuter *ašəm*: ‘we worship Truth, ... the bounteous immortal’.³⁹

38 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 261f. BOYCE 1970a, p. 37 with n. 87, distinguishes two uses in the YH: in Y 37.4 the singular attestation “appears also to be applied particularly to the seven great Gāthic divinities” while in Y 39.3 the more “general sense” comprises a greater number of Amesha Spentas. BOYCE interprets the latter passage as indicating that the limitation of the Amesha Spentas to the number seven “was a theological development within Zoroastrianism”.

39 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 260f.

Y 39.4

¹yaθā tū² ī² ahurā³ mazdā³
 mēñghācā⁴ vaocascā dāscā varāścā⁵
 yā vohū^{5a}
 aθā tōi dadāmahī⁶
 aθā cīšmahī^{6a}
 aθā θβā⁷ āiš⁷ yazamaidē^{7a}
 aθā nēmaxiiāmāhī
 aθā išūidiiāmāhī^{7b}
 θβā mazdā ahurā ∴

yaθā tū ī ... °tā° (= Y 39.4) ... mazdā ahurā (du bār) ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Y 39.4–5 also in Y 13.5–6
 2 tū. ī G J2; J6
 tūī Mf4, S2, L1 O2; C1 K11, H1 J7, J5
 tē.ī K4
 ī deest J3
 3 ahura. mazdā Pt4 Mf1, K5 (mazdā superscr.), J3; Mf2; L2 L3; H1 J6 L13 J7; [M25]
 ahura. mazdā Mf4; C1 (abbr.: ahura mazdā ... tā ... θβā mazdā ahurā)
 ahura. mazdā J2; J6
 ahuramazdā G in “Additions and Corrections”; S1; H1 in the rep.
 ahurā. mazdā G Jp1 K4
 ahurahe. mazdā J5
 4 mēñghācā G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; L2, Dh1, L1 O2 L3
 mēñghācā Mf1
 mēñghācā S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; H1 J6 L13
 mēñghācā J7
 mēañghācā J5</p> | <p>J5 abbreviates vaocascā ... θβā mazdā ahurā
 5 varāścā G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 varāścā J3
 varāscā S1
 vārāścā B2; Lb2
 5a vohū G K5 J2
 vōhū Mf4
 6 dadāmahī G Mf4, K5
 dadāmahī J2
 dadāmahe Jp1
 6a cīšmahī G Mf4
 cīšmahī K5 J2
 7 θβā. āiš G Mf4
 θβā. θβāiš J3; K11 (pr.m.)
 θβā deest J2
 7a yazamaidē G
 yazamaide Mf4 (y), K5 J2
 7b išūidiiāmāhī G Mf4
 išūidiiāmāhī K5 J2</p> |
|---|---|

As indeed¹, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practise²
 these (things) which (are) good³,
 so we offer (them) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you⁴,
 so we pay homage,
 so we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.

As indeed, O Wise Lord ... °to° (= Y 39.4) ... O Wise Lord. (Twice).

1 *tū* 'indeed'

Because *tū* occurs in Y 39.4 and eight Gathic passages in sentences with a verbal form in the 2nd sg., BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 654f., erroneously takes it as an OAv. enclitic short form of the personal pronoun *tuuēm* 'you'. STRUNK convincingly argues that no such entity exists and that OAv. *tū* is instead the well-attested enclitic particle, listed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 654, as *'tū* and identical with the Ved. particle *tū, tū* 'now, then, but'. STRUNK identifies three functions of the Ir. particle **tu*. One is connective, another, similar to that of Grk. *δέ*, slightly adversative, while a third is emphatic.⁴⁰ On this basis it may be concluded that in the context of Y 39.4 the particle *tū* probably emphasizes the preceding relative adverb *yaθā* 'as'. Both adversative and connective functions are unlikely here because *yaθā tū* introduces a new section dedicated to Ahura Mazdā.

2 *yaθā ... mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varəščā* 'as you think, speak, create and perform'

The list of four verbs at the beginning of this stanza consists of the familiar triad 'think' (*man*), 'speak' (*vac*) and 'perform' (*varz*) enlarged by 'create' (*dā*).⁴¹ By virtue of these activities, Ahura Mazdā is presented as the source of all that is good (*ī ... yā vohū*). All four verbal forms are aorist injunctives. The aorist presents the action in the perfective aspect, that is after its completion "from outside" and considered as reduced to one point. The function of the injunctive mood is that of mentioning, without reference to time, a well-known fact whose reality is unquestionable for both speaker and hearer.⁴² With regard to Y 39.4, the four injunctives are usually taken as having a preterite meaning, referring to Ahura Mazdā's past and primordial actions. In this sense, WOLFF translates: 'as you, Ahura Mazdā, thought and said and did and performed it, namely what is good, so we dedicate (it) to you ...'⁴³ Such is also the translation of HUMBACH, and KELLEN/PIRART explicitly interpret the injunctives as referring to Ahura Mazdā's original activities ("à une action archétypique du dieu").⁴⁴ If such is the case, the four verbal forms have the same function as the aorist injunctive in

40 STRUNK 1975, pp. 320–324; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 264, n. 46. KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, pp. 167–169, 249, while positing an emphatic particle *tū*, retain BARTHOLOMAE's interpretation of an enclitic nom.sg. *tū* 'you' for most of the Gathic passages.

41 On the meaning of *dā* 'to create' (← 'to set'), see Y 37.1 no. 3 *dāt* 'he has created', above, pp. 162–167.

42 TICHY, *Idg. Grundwissen*, pp. 81, 95; HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 177. On the functional opposition between aorist and present stems, denoting the perfective and imperfective aspects respectively, see Y 38.4 no. 2 *dadāt*, above, p. 240f.

43 WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 69: 'Wie du, du Ahura Mazdāh, es dachtest und sagtest und betätigtest und vollführtest, nämlich das Gute, so weihen wir (es) dir ...'

44 KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 148, I, p. 138; HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149, translates: 'Just as Thou, O Wise Ahura, didst conceive, and pronounce, and create, and work (all) good (things), so we offer (and) commit (them) to Thee ...'

Y 37.1 iḍā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām
yā gəmčā ašəmčā dāt

In this way we now worship the Wise Lord,
who has created the cow and truth.

A different interpretation, however, is put forward by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 263f., who, like BAUNACK, p. 339, translates the four verbal forms as presents. She argues that the injunctives in Y 39.4 do not refer *only* to past actions. Rather, they make a general statement, without any reference to time, about actions which have been performed in the past but which may also be repeated in the future. According to this view, Y 39.4 presents Ahura Mazdā as a continuous source of ‘what is good’. This interpretation derives decisive support from the context of Y 39.4. For NARTEN points out that, in contrast to Y 37.1, the four aorist injunctives in Y 39.4 are followed by five ritual verbs in the indicative present, *dadəmahī* to *išūidiiāmahī*, all of which express the continuing performance of the liturgy. The present stem delineates the action in its imperfective aspect “from inside” as being in progress, while the indicative mood shows that it is taking place “here and now”. In particular, the present indicative of the five ritual verbs denotes the coincidence of word and action: at the same time as articulating them, the worshippers perform the activity signified by the verbs. According to NARTEN their actions are correlated with those of Ahura Mazdā’s: just as in the past, present and future Ahura Mazdā always says, thinks, creates and does what is good, so the worshippers continue both to attribute to him all that is good and to worship him with what is good (*āiš*). She thus concludes that the sentence also means more generally that Ahura Mazdā is duly worshipped when his followers practise what is good.

3 ī ... yā vohū ‘these ... which (are) good’

The object of the four verbs describing Ahura Mazdā’s actions is the expression *ī ... yā vohū* ‘these ... which (are) good’. At the end of the *yazamaidē* sections, the deity is addressed as the author of ‘what is good’. The same point is also made in the first *yazamaidē* formula in Y 37.1:

Y 37.1 iḍā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām
yā gəmčā ašəmčā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā vaṇhīš
raocāscā dāt būmīmcā
vīspācā vohū

In this way now we worship the Wise Lord,
who has created the cow and truth,
(who) has created the waters and the good plants,
(who) has created light and the earth
and all that is good.

The praise of Ahura Mazdā and the statement that he created all that is good frames, at their beginning and end, the *yazamaidē* sections extending from Y 37.4 to 39.3 and venerating his spiritual and material creations. Many of Ahura Mazdā's creations praised in these central chapters are explicitly characterized as 'good': 'truth' is 'best' (Y 37.4), 'thought', 'rule', 'belief', 'joy', 'right-mindedness', are each 'good' (Y 37.5), the 'noblewomen' (*gənā-*) are 'excellent' (*vairiia*, Y 38.1), 'reward', 'strengthening', 'libation', 'glory' and 'abundance' are each 'good' (Y 38.2), as are the 'waters' (*varəhīš*, Y 38.4 and 5) and male and female Amesha Spentas (Y 39.3), while the 'beliefs' (*daēnā-*) of truthful men and women are 'very good' (*vahehīš*, Y 39.2).

Since all these good creations are the work of Ahura Mazdā and since in Y 37.1 he is said to have created 'all that is good' (*vīspācā vohū*), the phrase *ī ... yā vohū* in Y 39.4 may, therefore, refer back to his spiritual and material creations praised in the foregoing sections. This would also explain the insertion into the common formula 'think, speak, perform' of the verb *dā* 'to create':

Y 39.4 *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā*
mānğhācā vaocascā dāscā varəščā
yā vohū ...

As indeed, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practise
 these (things, i.e. his creations), which (are) good ...

According to this interpretation, Y 39.4 highlights the fact that all that has been praised is perfect (*vohu-*) and that Ahura Mazdā is their author. The expression *ī ... yā vohū* in Y 39.4 corresponds to *ī ... yā ... vahištā* in Y 35.3, where the worshippers declare their commitment to think, speak and perform 'what is best':

Y 35.3 *taṭ atə *varəmaidē ahurā mazdā*
ašā srīrā
*hiiaṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā *varəzimācā*
*yā hātəm *šīiaoθənanəm vahištā xīiaṭ*
ubōibīiā ahubīiā

O Wise Lord, because of beautiful truth
 we have certainly chosen this:
 that we may think, speak and perform those
 existing actions which may be best
 for both existences.

4 *θβā āiš yazamaidē* 'by these we worship you'

Within Y 39.4, the seventeenth, and last, attestation of *yazamaidē* in the YH is the third in a series of five verbs denoting the worshippers' own actions and expressing acknowledgment (*dā*, *ciš*), veneration (*yaz*, *nəmaxīia-*) and support (*išūidiia-*) for Ahura Mazdā. The first two verbs, *dadəmahī* and *cīšmahī*, also occur in Y 35.5

in the context of power transfer to the deity,⁴⁵ while the combination of the last two, *nəmaχiiāmahi* and *išūidiiāmahi*, is found, apart from *aθā*, in Y 36.5, where it denotes the worship of Ahura Mazdā ‘with all good thoughts, all good words and all good deeds’. In Y 39.4, the two pairs occur on either side of the verb *yazamaidē*. The latter is preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *āiš* ‘with these’, indicating the means by which Ahura Mazdā is praised. KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 148, interpret *āiš* as representing ‘good thoughts, good words, good deeds’ because this expression follows the combination of *nəmaχiiāmahi* and *išūidiiāmahi* in Y 36.5. They further suggest that *āiš* should be added to these same two verbs in Y 39.4.⁴⁶

The correlative relation established between the two parts of the stanza by *yaθā* ... *aθā* ‘as ... so’, however, rather suggests that the dem. pronoun *āiš* refers back to the expression *ī ... yā vohū* ‘these ... which (are) good’.⁴⁷ The latter constitutes the object of the four verbs denoting Ahura Mazdā’s actions at the beginning of Y 39.4. If, as suggested above, p. 277f., the expression *ī ... yā vohū* in turn refers back to the objects of worship mentioned in the preceding *yazamaidē* formulae and acknowledged as attributable to the deity (*dadəmahī*, *cīšmahī*) and, in addition, corresponds to *ī ... yā ... vahištā* ‘chosen’ by the worshippers in Y 35.3, then Y 39.4 states that the worshippers praise Ahura Mazdā by venerating what he has made:

Y 39.4 ... *aθā tōi dadəmahī*
aθā cīšmahī
aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē
aθā nəmaχiiāmahi
aθā išūidiiāmahi
θβā mazdā ahurā

... so we offer (them, i.e. what has been praised in Y 37.3–39.3) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you,
 so we pay homage,
 so we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.

The worshippers relate their own veneration directly to Ahura Mazdā’s actions in creating the objects of their praise. This causal connection between the actions of the deity, on the one hand, and those of the worshippers, on the other, is expressed by the correlative, reciprocal grammatical relation of *yaθā tū* ‘as indeed’ and *aθā* ‘so’. The latter, being repeated five times, qualifies each of the five verbs describing the worshippers’ actions and relates them back, one by one, to Ahura Mazdā’s actions.

45 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 109. On *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā*, a bipartite formula that is sometimes enlarged by a third verb, see Y 41.1 no. 1 *āuuaēdaiiamahi* ‘we dedicate’, below, pp. 307–309.

46 Cf. also KELLENS 1989b, p. 225f.

47 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 104, fn. 70.

Y 39.5

vaṇhəuṣ^{1a} x^aəētəuṣ¹ x^aəētātā^{1b}

^{1c}*vaṇhəuṣ aṣahiiā 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬀 pairijasāmaidē²*

vaṇhuiiā³ +fsəratuuō³

vaṇhuiiā ārmatōiš^{3a} ∴

yeṇhē^{3b} hātəm [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī

vaṇhō mazdā⁴ ahurō vaēdā aṣāt hacā

yāṇhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide (du bār)⁴ ∴ ∴

1a *vaṇhəuṣ* G Mf4, K5; J6, J5

vaṇhəuṣa C1

1 *x^aəētəuṣ* G Pt4 Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2, L1; H1 J6 L13 J7

x^aəētəuṣ Mf4

x^aəētəuṣ K5 J2

x^aəētəuṣ C1, J6

x^aəitəuṣ J5

1b *x^aəētātā* G Mf4, K5

x^aəētātā C1

x^aəētātā J6, J5

1c In K5 the words *vaṇhəuṣ* to *pairijasāmaidē* are written in marg.

2 *pairijasāmaide* Pt4, J2

pairijasāmaidē G Mf4 Mf1, S1

pairi.jasāmaidē K5, J3; Mf2 Jp1; H1 L13

pairi.jasāmaidē K4

pəri. jasā. maide C1

pairi.jasāmaide J6

pairi.jasā.maide J5

3 *fsəratuuō* Pt4 Mf1; Jp1 K4; C1

fsəratuuō Mf4, J2, J3; Mf2

fəsrəratuuō G K5

fšəratuuō S1; Dh1

fsā.ratauuō H1 J6 L13 J7

fasi. ratauuō J5

3a *ārmātōiš* G, all mss. except:

āramaitōiš J5

3b *yeṇhē* G

yeṇhe Mf4; C1

yeṇhe K5 J2; J6, J5

4 Y 4.26. The formula is here to be recited twice according to H1 J6 L13 J7 Pt4 reckons 5 strophes, each of three lines

We approach you in the relationship of a good relative¹
to good Truth,
to good Joy,
to good Right-mindedness.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

1 *x^aəētəuṣ x^aəētātā* ‘with a relative’s relationship’

The expression *x^aəētəuṣ x^aəētātā* is the stylistic figure of etymologizing stem-repetition or *paronomasia*.⁴⁸ The first syllable of both nouns, *x^aəē-* goes back via PrIr. **h₂u₂i-* to Ir. **su₂i-* which constitutes the first term of the compound Av. *x^aəē-paiθiia-* ‘own’ and OP *uvaiapašiya-*, both from Ir. **su₂i-pat₂-a-* and

48 Another instance of *paronomasia* is the expression Y 38.3 *ahurānīš ahurahiia*, see Y 38.3 no. 5 *ahurahiia* ‘of the lord’, above, pp. 232–235.

literally meaning ‘belonging to someone who is his own lord’. Furthermore, Ir. **syaī-* is also continued in Ved. *svay-ām* ‘own, one’s self’.⁴⁹ Since the suffix *-tāt-* is usually attached to nominal stems,⁵⁰ NARTEN suggests that the noun underlying the abstract noun *xʷaētāt-* is *xʷaētu-*. From a stem **xʷaētutāt-*, the expected instr.sg. **xʷaētutātā* could have become *xʷaētātā* by some sort of syllable haplology (“eine Art Silbenhaplologie”).⁵¹

This is the sole OAv. instance of the abstract *xʷaētāt-*, which elsewhere occurs only once in the YAv. commentary to the *Aṣəm vohū*-prayer, Y 20.1. By contrast, the noun *xʷaētu-* is well attested and – with the exception of Y 20.1 – occurs only in OAv., and always together with other nouns denoting interpersonal relationship, in particular *airiāman-* and *vərəzāna-* ‘community’. In the *Gāthas* and its second YH attestation, Y 40.4, *xʷaētu-* has the collective sense of ‘family, clan’. In Y 39.5, by contrast, the noun probably denotes an individual family member.

From a stylistic point of view, Y 39.5 is composed of four clauses grouped in two pairs. The first is characterized by the anaphoric repetition of *vañhāuš*, the second by that of *vañhuiiā*. Syntactically, the stanza’s verb, *pairijasāmaidē* ‘we approach’ governs both an object, *θβā* ‘you’, i.e. Ahura Mazdā and an instrumental *xʷaētātā* ‘with the relationship, kinship’. The latter has four dependent genitives, and the question arises as to how precisely the genitives relate to the instrumental *xʷaētātā*. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 128, considers all of them to be syntactically parallel possessive genitives and translates as follows:

Y 39.5 *vañhāuš xʷaētāuš xʷaētātā*
vañhāuš aṣahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē
vañhuiiā +fsəratuuō
vañhuiiā ārmatōiš

We attend Thee with the relations of a good family, of good truth, of good enjoyment, (and) of good right-mindedness.⁵²

According to this interpretation, the worshippers declare that they approach Ahura Mazdā as a relative as well as with truth, enjoyment and right-mindedness. However, the assumed syntactic co-ordination of *xʷaētu-* ‘relative, kinsman’, on the one hand, and the three abstract nouns ‘truth’, ‘joy’ and ‘right-mindedness’, on the other, is without parallel and appears unmotivated.

More convincing, therefore, is the interpretation of NARTEN, who also considers the four genitives to be governed by the instr. *xʷaētātā*, but interprets only the first (*xʷaētāuš*) as possessive, and the other three, *aṣahiiā*, *+fsəratuuō* and *ārmatōiš*, as denoting its object. Such analysis yields the following translation:

49 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, II, p. 787f., NARTEN, *YH*, p. 266, fn. 59.

50 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 620f., §463.

51 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 266, who refers to HERTEL, *Erklärung des Awesta*, p. 42. This explanation is accepted by KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 235.

52 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149.

We approach you in the relationship of a good relative
to good Truth,
to good Joy,
to good Right-mindedness.⁵³

NARTEN argues that the expression *x^aaētāus x^aaētātā* is a metaphor expressing the idea that the worshippers consider themselves to be as closely akin to truth, joy and right-mindedness as they are to their own families. The worshippers thus confirm that their relationship to truth, joy and right-mindedness is as inalienable as the blood ties to their own relatives. It is in this state of mind that they approach Ahura Mazdā.

The selection of the three spiritual values ‘truth’, ‘joy’ and ‘right-mindedness’ is motivated insofar as it resumes the praise of Ahura Mazdā’s spiritual creations in Y 37.4–5. Truth is venerated with a longer formula in Y 37.4, while Y 37.5 consists of an enumeration of spiritual qualities which concludes with ‘joy’ (*fsəratū-*) and ‘right-mindedness’ (*ārmaiti-*):

Y 37.4 *aṣəm at vahištəm yazamaidē*
hiiat sraēštəm
hiiat spəntəm aməṣəm
*hiiat *raocōṇhuuat*
*hiiat *vīspā.vohū*

We worship best Truth,
the most beautiful one,
the bounteous immortal,
that is full of light,
that provides all that is good.

Y 37.5 *vohucā manō yazamaidē*
vohucā xšaθrəm
vaṇhīmā daēnəm
vaṇhīmā fsəratūm
vaṇhīmā ārmaitīm

And we worship good Thought,
and good Rule,
and good Belief,
and good Joy,
and good Right-mindedness.

By mentioning the first (*aṣa-*) and last two members of the Y 37.4–5 list, Y 39.5 probably implies the entire catalogue. The inalienable relationship which the worshippers affirm in Y 39.5 that they have to truth, joy and right-mindedness thus applies to all the spiritual creations praised in Y 37.4–5.

53 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 45, translates: ‘Mit der verwandtschaftlichen Bindung eines guten Verwandten an die gute Wahrheit, die gute Befreiungskraft, die gute Gesinnung nahen wir dir’.

Yasna 40

Y 40.1

āhū aṭ paitī¹ adāhū²
mazdā ahurā
mazdāmcā būiricā^{2a} kərəšuuā³
rāitī tōi xrapaitī⁴
ahmat⁵ hīiat aibī
*hīiat mīždəm⁶ *mauuaiθīm⁷ fradadāθā^{7a}*
daēnābiiō^{7b} mazdā ahurā

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 <i>paitī</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3; Mf2; L2, S2, L1 L3 Bb1; C1 K11 Lb2, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5; [M25]
 <i>paiti</i> K5; Jp1 K4</p> <p>2 <i>adā.hū</i> Pt4; C1, H1 J6
 <i>adāhū</i> G Mf4 Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2, L1
 <i>dāhū</i> J2; so too originally K5 L13, in both mss. <i>a-</i> added sec.m.
 <i>aḍāhū</i> J5</p> <p>2a <i>būiricā</i> G Mf4, K5; J6
 <i>buiracā</i> C1
 <i>buuircā</i> J5</p> <p>3 <i>kərəšuuā</i> Pt4 (added sec.m. to the Av. of the first sentence and struck out in the next), Mf4; C1, J6, J5
 <i>kərəšuuā</i> G K5 J2, S1; Jp1
 <i>karəšuuā</i> J3; K4
 S.V. divides after this word, P.V. before it, connecting however <i>kərəšuuā</i> with the first sentence</p> <p>4 <i>xrapaitī</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2 (<i>aṃ</i> del. before <i>xr°</i>), S1 J3; Jp1 K4; L2, L1 B2 L3; C1, H1 J6 J7
 <i>xra. paitī</i> K5; K11</p> | <p><i>xrapaiti</i> Mf2
 <i>ṡrapaitī</i> L13
 <i>ṡarapaitī</i> J5</p> <p>5 <i>ahmat</i> G Mf4, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; C1, J6 L13 J7
 <i>aṃat</i> K5 J2
 <i>ahmāt</i> Mf1; O1
 <i>ahamat</i> J5</p> <p>6 <i>mīždəm</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J6
 <i>mīždim</i> Mf2
 <i>mīiaždəm</i> J5
 cf. Y 41.5</p> <p>7 <i>mauuaiθəm</i> Pt4 Mf4; L1 Bb1; C1, J7
 <i>mauuaeθəm</i> G Mf1, K5 J2, S1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, S2, B2 L3; J6 L13
 <i>mauuaeθr...</i> J3
 <i>amauuaeθəm</i> K11 (the first <i>a-</i> struck out sec.m.)
 <i>mauuaeθəm</i> J6, J5</p> <p>7a <i>fradadāθā</i> G Mf4 K5
 <i>fradaḍāθā</i> C1, J5
 <i>frada. dāθa</i> J6</p> <p>7b <i>daēnābiiō</i> G Mf4, J2
 <i>daenābiiō</i> K5; J6, J5
 <i>daēnābiiō</i> C1</p> |
|--|---|

Here especially during these offerings¹,
 O Wise Lord,
 exercise your wisdom and wealth!²
 Through your generosity there shall take shape³
 – as far as we are concerned –

the prize which you have allocated to someone like me⁴
for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:

1 *adāhū* ‘offerings’

In Y 33.11 the noun *ādā-* might refer to gifts given by the deity to human beings, while in the following stanza, Y 33.12, it is, alongside with right-mindedness (*ārmaiti-*), truth (*aša-*) and good thought (*vohu- manah-*), the ‘good offering’ (*vañhī- ādā-*) made by human beings to Ahura Mazdā:

Y 33.11 *yā səuuištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitiścā*
ašəmca frādaṭ gaēdām manascā vohū xšaθrəmcā
sraotā mōi mərəzdātā mōi ādāi kabiiāicīṭ paitī

You, who are the very strong and wise Lord, and (you who are) right-mindedness, and truth which causes creatures to prosper and good thought and rule, hear me, have mercy on me at any offering!

Y 33.12 *us mōi uzārəšuuā ahurā ārmaitī təuuišīm dasuuā*
spəništā mainiiū mazdā vañhuiiā zauuō ādā
aša hazō əmauuat vohū manahā fsəratūm

Rise up to me, O Lord, receive strength through right-mindedness, O Wise one united with the most bounteous spirit, (receive) swiftiness through good offering, powerful might through truth, joy through good thought!

In Y 40.1, *ādā-* probably denotes human gifts presented to Ahura Mazdā. This is indicated by the position of the demonstrative pronoun *a-* at the beginning not only of the sentence, emphasizing *ādāhū* (‘at these offerings here’), but also of the entire chapter. As suggested by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 269, the phrase refers to the present ritual situation in the same way as the expression *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzənā* ‘with the community of this fire here’ in Y 36.1 denotes the fire in whose presence the worshippers are. The context of Y 40.1, however, does not indicate whether *ādāhū* is comprised of ritual offerings, such as clarified butter, or spiritual ones such as right-mindedness, truth and good thought in Y 33.12, or of both.

2 *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* ‘exercise your wisdom and wealth!’

Y 40.1 provides the only clear attestation in the Avesta where *mazdā-* does not form part of the deity’s name but functions, like its Vedic cognate *medhā-*, as a fem. appellative noun ‘wisdom’. There the acc.sg. *mazdām* looks exactly like that of the deity’s name *mazdām*. The latter acc. occurs four times in the *Gathas* and represents a metrically trisyllabic form *mazdām* (< PrIr. **maz-daH-am* < IE **m̥s-d^heh₁-m̥*).¹ While the number of syllables in Y 40.1 *mazdām*^o cannot

1 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 78.

be established because the verse form of the YH is not isosyllabic,² the corresponding Vedic acc.sg. *medhām* is always disyllabic. The difference between RV disyllabic *medhām* and Gathic trisyllabic *mazdām* indicates that the formation of *mazdā-* as part of the god's name is different from that of the appellative noun 'wisdom'. The name of the god is a compound **m̥ns-d^heh₁-* formed – like *zarazdā-* 'setting one's heart, believing' – with the root noun *dā-* as second term. By contrast, the fem. appellatives Av. *mazdā-*, Ved. *medhā-* 'wisdom' both continue an IE suffixed *ā*-stem **m̥ns-d^hh₁-éh₂-*.³

Y 40.1 *mazdām°* is syntactically linked with *būiri°* by the double enclitic *-cā* 'and'. Both nouns are governed by the verb *kərəšuuā* 'practise, exercise', a 2nd sg.pt.aor.mid. of the root *kar* 'to do, make'.⁴ The phrase looks like a straightforward construction *Acā Bcā*, but a problem arises from the fact that *būiri-* functions elsewhere not as a substantive but, like its Vedic cognate *bhūri-*, as an adjective 'abundant'. KELLENS/PIRART, therefore, interpret *būiri°* as a neuter adjective and the imperative *kərəšuuā* as governing two constructions, each with a double accusative and co-ordinated by *-cā* 'and'. They suggest that the first one is *mazdāmcā ... kərəšuuā* 'make yourself attentive', literally 'turn your attention towards (us)'. The second is supposed to be *būiricā kərəšuuā ... hūiaṭ mīzdām* 'and make abundant the reward which ...'. Their translation of Y 40.1 runs as follows: '... ô Maître Mazdā, sois attentif et rends abondante ... la récompense ...'.⁵

HUMBACH suggests that two grammatically unequal forms are linked in the expression *mazdāmcā būiricā*. While *mazdām°* is the acc.sg. of *mazdā-* 'wisdom', *būiri°* is, like Ved. *bhūri*, an adverb 'much, abundantly, often'. The expression *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* thus exhibits the stylistic figure of a *zeugma*, in which the one verb *kərəšuuā* is used in two different syntactic constructions which are linked by double *-cā*. In the first construction, the verb governs the acc. *mazdām°*, while in the second it is modified by the adverb *būiri°*. Accordingly, HUMBACH translates the phrase *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* as 'gain knowledge and (do it) largely'.⁶

- 2 On the poetic form of the YH, see Introduction I.2, above, pp. 2–5, and WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 20 with fn. 13.
- 3 KUIPER 1976a, p. 29; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, pp. 283, 285; SCARLATA, *Wurzelkomposita*, p. 257.
- 4 The form *kərəšuuā* corresponds to OP *kušuvā* and Ved. *kṛṣvā* (HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN, p. 228).
- 5 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 138, III, p. 149: 'rends-toi attentif', literally: 'tourne ton attention vers (nous)'. As a parallel for the supposed meaning of *mazdām° ... kərəšuuā* 'turn your attention towards us', they adduce RV 1.165.14, but misquote the latter. They translate 'Mānya fait attention à nous' as if the sentence verb was *kar* and its subject *Mānya*. In fact, however, the verb is the compound *ā...kar* 'to bring near' and the subject is not *Mānya* but *medhā*: *ā... asmāñ cakre mānyāsyā medhā* 'the wisdom of *Mānya* has brought us [i.e. Indra and the Marut] close'. The context of the RV passage is thus different from that of Y 40.1.
- 6 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 129. An interpretation involving the rhetorical figure of *zeugma* has already been put forward by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 446, 969, and summarized by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 270.

The expression *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* in Y 40.1 constitutes the first in a series of three imperatives by which the worshippers present to Ahura Mazdā their requests for reward (*mīžda-*) in Y 40.2–3 (*dāidī* ‘grant!’). The imperative *kərəšuuā* serves as an encouragement to Ahura Mazdā to activate his generosity. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 271, suggests that in conjunction with *mazdām°* and *būiri°*, the verb *kar* could have a meaning similar to that of Ved. *kar* in expressions such as *kṛṇuṣvā rādhaḥ* ‘practise, exercise your liberality!’ in RV 1.10.7 and 8.64.1. Alternatively, she considers the possibility that the meaning of the middle form *kərəšuuā* is reflexive as in the case of RV 10.44.4 *ójaḥ kṛṣva* ‘assume strength!’ and 8.46.24 *akṛta śrávaḥ* ‘has acquired fame’. In the latter case, *mazdāmcā būiricā* would denote strengthenings accruing to Ahura Mazdā as a result of human offerings (‘acquire for yourself wisdom and abundance’). But this second possibility appears less likely from a semantic point of view because in Y 40.1 Ahura Mazdā is asked to dispense from his wealth.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 270f., accepts BAUNACK’s, p. 389, interpretation of *būiri* as a substantivized adjective, a view which HUMBACH rejects on the grounds that there is no parallel for *būiri-* being used as an abstract noun. While this is so, there is evidence for other adjectives being used as abstract substantives. For instance, *vohu-* ‘good’ functions in that way in Y 27.14 *aṣəm vohū vahištam astī* ‘truth is the best good’ and so probably does the locative *vañhāu* in Y 31.19. NARTEN’s interpretation is preferable because it not only solves the syntactic problem of the sentence but also yields a meaningful translation. Since enclitic *-ca* co-ordinates two substantives, the phrase is syntactically and semantically straightforward: ‘exercise your wisdom and wealth’.⁷

The nature of Ahura Mazdā’s ‘abundance’ or ‘wealth’ (*būiri-*) could be indicated by its only Gathic attestation Y 31.21, where it functions as an adjective characterizing *sar-* ‘union, communion’:

Y 31.21 *mazdā dadāt ahurō hauruuatō amərətātascā*
būrōiš ā aṣaxiiācā xāpaiθiiāt xšaθrahiiā sarō
vañhāuš vazduuarē manañhō yā hōi mainiiū śiiəoθanāišcā uruuəθō

From his own rich communion with wholeness and immortality,
 truth and rule, the Wise Lord grants
 lasting good thought (to the one) who is his ally through thinking and actions.

When Y 40.1 is viewed in the light of Y 31.21, Ahura Mazdā is requested to bestow on the worshippers from the fullness of his own spiritual characteristics both wisdom (*mazdā-* f.) and all the qualities embodied by the Amesha Spentas. By dispensing from his own ‘rich union’ (Y 31.21 *būrōiš sarō*) with these spiritual beings, he enables the worshippers to participate in that same. Their desire to experience such a union is expressed in Y 40.2 and again at the end of

7 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 46, translates ‘erweise deine Weisheit und Fülle’.

the YH, in Y 41.6, where the Y 40.2 word *haxamā* ‘fellowship’ is replaced by *sarəm* ‘union’:

Y 41.6 *ahiiā huuō nā dāidī*
ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiāicā
taṭ ahiiā
yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā
tauuacā sarəm aṣaxiiācā
vīspāi yauuē

You there, give us from this (prize)
 for both this and the spiritual life,
 (give us) this from this (prize)
 by which we shall attain the following:
 union with you and with Truth
 for all time!

In Y 39.5, the worshippers have expressed their absolute allegiance to Ahura Mazdā and his spiritual creations in terms of kinship to them (see Y 39.5 no. 1 *x^aētāuš x^aētātā* ‘with a relative’s relationship’, above, pp. 280–282). Now, in Y 40 and 41, such commitment entitles them to request the ‘prize’ (*mīžda-*), whose spiritual aspect consists in union (*sar-*) with Ahura Mazdā and his spiritual creations.

3 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī* ‘through your generosity there shall take shape’

From a purely formal point of view the hapax legomenon *xrapaitī* could be either the instr.sg. of an *i*-stem or the 3sg. of a verbal form. The problem of explaining the form and then determining its meaning is compounded by the fact that Av. *xrap* is ambiguous and may correspond to either of two Vedic verbs: ¹*kṛp*, *kṛpate* ‘to lament, implore, long for’ or ²*kṛp*, *kṛp* ‘to take shape’. Neither of the two verbs is found elsewhere in Avestan, but there is evidence for the former in Middle Iranian, e.g. Chor. *krb-* ‘to moan, mumble’.⁸

KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 231, opt for the equation of Av. *xrap* with Ved. ¹*kṛp*. Translating the phrase *rāitī tōi xrapaitī* as ‘by your compassionate generosity’ (‘par ta générosité compatissante’), they interpret *xrapaitī* as an instr. sg. from a stem *xrapaiti-*. This explanation, however, is unconvincing from a morphological point of view because formations in *-a-ti-* are not only isolated in Vedic, but are otherwise not found at all in Avestan.⁹

8 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I, pp. 324, 409; SAMADI, *Chwaresm. Verbum*, p. 103. On the Vedic forms of ¹*kṛp*, *kṛpate* ‘to lament’ see *LIV*², p. 370.

9 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 628. In *TVA*, II, p. 231, KELLENS/PIRART consider *xrapaiti-* to be a fem. substantive *xrapaiti-* ‘compassion’, but in *TVA*, III, p. 149, they regard it as an adjective ‘compatissant’. Verbal nouns in *-ti-* denoting an agent may function as a subst. or adj., see WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.*, II.2, p. 636f. and cf. *jīti-* in Y 38.5 *mātarō jītaiiō* ‘O living mothers!’

More promising is the analysis of *xrapaitī* as the 3sg. of a verbal form. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 537, connects it with Grk. *πρέπω* 'to be conspicuous', but this is excluded because the latter continues IE **prep* (*LIV*², p. 492). The most likely solution is that proposed by NARTEN. Elaborating on a suggestion by GELDNER, she connects the form with Ved. *kalpate*, *kṛpate* 'to take shape' and identifies it as the 3sg.subj.act. of the root aorist, of which the indicative middle may well be attested in the 3pl. RV 4.2.18 *akṛpran*.¹⁰

The morphological identification of *xrapaitī* has a bearing on the syntactic interpretation of the stanza as a whole. KELLENS/PIRART suggest that Y 40.1 consists of a single sentence. An English rendering of their translation reads as follows:

During each of these offerings, O Wise Lord, be attentive and by your compassionate generosity make abundant, as far as we are concerned, the reward worthy of me, which you have instituted ever since for the sake of the consciences, O Wise Lord.¹¹

The syntactic difficulties of this interpretation are pointed out by KELLENS/PIRART themselves (*TVA*, III, p. 149). One of them is that an enclitic *tōi* suggests that the preceding *rāitī* is the first accented word of a new sentence. Furthermore, two vocatives *mazdā ahurā* need to be accommodated in one sentence. As a parallel KELLENS/PIRART refer to Y 39.4. Its syntax, however, is different, because there each of the two vocatives is in one of two correlated clauses: *yaθā ... ahurā mazdā ... aθā ... mazdā ahurā* 'as ..., O Wise Lord, so ..., O Wise Lord'. Finally, their interpretation of Y 40.1 *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā ... mīždəm* as 'sois attentif et rends abondante ... la récompense' is poorly supported (see above, p. 285 with fn. 5).

According to NARTEN, *YH*, p. 273, Y 40.1 consists of two sentences:

- (a) *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā*
- (b) *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā*
- (c) *rāitī tōi xrapaitī*
- (d) *ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī*
- (e) *hīiaṭ mīždəm *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā*
- (f) *daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā*

10 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 273f.; GELDNER 1885, p. 238. On the Vedic form, which occurs in an exegetically difficult passage, see M. BLOOMFIELD, *JAOS* 20 (1899), p. 183, and *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes Alger 1905*, Paris 1906, I, p. 232ff.; W. NEISSER, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, Leipzig 1924–1930 [repr. 1966], II, p. 55; GOTÖ, *I. Präsenstklasse*, p. 114; KÜMMEL, *Stativ*, p. 30.

11 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 138: 'Lors de chacune de ces présentations, ô Maître Mazdā, sois attentif et rends abondante par ta générosité compatissante, pour autant que cela nous concerne, la récompense digne de moi, que tu as depuis toujours instituée pour les consciences, ô Maître Mazdā.'

The first one extends from *āhū* to *kərəšuuā* (a–b) and the second from *rāitī* to *ahurā* (c–f). NARTEN's syntactic analysis is borne out by the fact that the stanza has two vocatives *mazdā ahurā*, one in each sentence. Moreover, the position of enclitic *tōi* in (c) indicates that it follows the first accented word of a new sentence.

HUMBACH, who accepts NARTEN's analysis of *xrapaitī*, also interprets Y 40.1 as consisting of two sentences, but places the boundary of the first after *aibī* (a–d). He considers the words in (c–d) to constitute a syntactic unit, whereby *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī* stands for *hīiaṭ rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmaṭ aibī*, and translates the stanza as follows:

At these apportionments, O Wise Ahura, gain knowledge – and (do it) largely – of (that) which has form with us through Thy munificence. The firm prize which Thou hast presented to (our) religious views, O Wise Ahura: ...¹²

As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 272, however, the phrase *ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī*, which also occurs in Y 35.5, is a collocation with a fixed word order. It constitutes a parenthesis 'as far as we are concerned'. More convincing, therefore, is NARTEN's suggestion that the subject of the verb *xrapaitī* is the 'prize' (*hīiaṭ mīždām*).

At the beginning of the *YH*, in Y 35.5, the formula *ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī* occurs in a context in which the worshippers attribute all power to Ahura Mazda. In Y 40.1, at the end of the *YH*, the same formula appears in connection with the request for the 'prize'. The two passages could be considered to correspond with one another: in so much as the worshippers are the ones who have conferred all power on Ahura Mazda, to that extent they are now entitled to request the reward; see Y 35.5 no. 1 *ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī* 'as far as we are concerned', above, p. 77f.

4 *mīždām *mauuaiθīm* 'the prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me'

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 136, edits *mīždām mauuaēθām* with most mss., including Mf1 and K5. HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 129f., considers *mīždām mauuaēθām* to be a corruption of *mīždām *auuaēθām*, which he translates as 'a firm prize'. He suggests that the otherwise unattested adjective **auuaēθa-* either corresponds to Ved. *āvithura-* 'not staggering, firm' or is a compound *auua-iθa-* from *auua-i* 'to come down, attain'. Both explanations, however, are improbable. As to the first one, the Av. cognate of Ved. *āvithura-* is YAv. *aīβiθūra-* (instead of **a-uuiθura-*), and the root is otherwise not found in Avestan.¹³ Moreover, although a derivative **aṇa-itha* with suffix **-tha-* from *auua-i* is conceivable, cf. the derivational process exemplified by *dāta-* 'law' versus *dāθa-* 'just', it remains unclear how such derivative could mean 'firm'.

12 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149, II, pp. 118, 129.

13 HOFFMANN/NARTEN, p. 82, n. 15; MAYRHOFER, *EWaia*, II, p. 554.

More convincing is the explanation of NARTEN, *YH*, p. 274f., who, with reference to GELDNER 1885, p. 240, emends **mauuaiθīm*. She analyses **mauuaiθīm* as the acc.sg. of the stem **ma-ʁat-ja-* ‘belonging to someone like me’, which itself is an adjective with the suffix *-ja- derived from *mauuant-* ‘someone like me’. She argues that **mauuaiθīm* represents the YAv. form of the expected OAv. **mauuaiθiiōm*. Since intrusion of YAv. forms into the Older Avesta is also found elsewhere, e.g. Y 34.15 *haiθiiōm* besides Y 31.6 *haiθīm*, **mauuaiθīm* is the expected form of the Sasanian Archetype. NARTEN reasons that the reading *mauuaiθām* of some mss. shows the confusion of -θīm and -θām common in YAv. (and also in Y 40.1 probably influenced by the preceding *mīždām*), while *mauuāēθām* exhibits in addition the equally common corruption of -ai- to -āē-.¹⁴

The juxtaposition of the singular expression *mīždām* **mauuaiθīm* ‘a prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me’ and the plural *daēnābiiō* ‘for the sake of our beliefs’ exhibits a switching between the singular and plural number. That *daēnābiiō* refers to ‘our’ beliefs is suggested by the following *nō* ‘to us’ in Y 40.2:

Y 40.1 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī*
ahmat hiiat aibī
*hiiat mīždām *mauuaiθīm*
fradadāθā
daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā
 Y 40.2 *ahiiā huuō nō dāidī*

Through your generosity there shall take shape
 – as far as we are concerned –
 the prize which you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs,
 O Wise Lord:
 You there, give us from this (prize)!

The expression *daēnābiiō* ‘for the sake of our beliefs’ corresponds to the pronoun *aibiiāscā* ‘and for their sake’ in Y 53.5:

Y 53.5 *vaēdōdūm daēnābīš *aibiiāscā ahūm yō vaṇhōuš manāṇhō*

Find the life of good thought by means of your beliefs and for their own sake!¹⁵

This is the third time that the ‘I’ has surfaced in the YH, the other two occasions being *ādā* ‘I say’ in Y 35.8 and *auuā* ‘I want to promote, facilitate’ in Y 38.5. Like these other passages, Y 40.1, too, has authoritative character insofar as the ‘prize’ which Ahura Mazda has offered to this person provides the exem-

14 Both the reading established by NARTEN and the morphological analysis are accepted by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 138, II, p. 281.

15 For a translation of the entire stanza and a discussion of the form **aibiiāscā* see Y 37.3 no. 2 *tām yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’, above, pp. 178–180, esp. fn. 56.

plar for those desired by the other worshippers. GELDNER 1885, p. 240, suggests that 'I' in the YH could be Zarathustra. An example would be the adj. *mauuant-* 'someone like me' in Y 44.1 and in Y 46.7:

Y 44.1 *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
nəmanḡhō ā yaθā nəmā xsmāuuatō
mazdā friiāi θβāuuqs saxiiāt mauuaitē

I ask you this, tell me truly, O Lord,
 about the veneration, how (is) the veneration of one like you?
 One like you, O Wise one, may proclaim (it) to a friend like me.

Y 46.7 *kēm nā mazdā mauuaitē pāiiūm +dadā*
hiiat mā drəguuā dīdarəšatā aēnanḡhē
aniiām θβahmāt āθrascā mananḡhascā
yaiiā śīiaoθanāiš ašəm θraoštā ahurā
təm mōi dastuuqm daēnaiiāi frāuuuacā

Whom, O Wise one, have you appointed as a protector for one like me,
 when the deceitful one dares to seize me for his transgression,
 whom else but your fire and your thought
 by whose actions one nourishes truth, O Lord?
 Proclaim this teaching for the sake of my belief!

Whoever the 'me' implied in Y 40.2 *mīždəm *mauuaiθīm* might be, the epithet indicates that the 'prize' is given to each person individually, provided he or she is 'like me'. The one whose behaviour is exemplary, however, is, at least in the Younger Avesta, Zarathustra (see Y 38.5 no. 9 *auuā* 'I want to promote, facilitate', above, pp. 253–255).

Y 40.2

¹*ahiiā huuō nā² dāidī*
ahmāicā³ ahuiiē³ manāxiiāicā⁴
taṭ ahiiā
yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā⁵
tauuacā⁶ haxəmə⁷ aṣaxiiācā⁸
vīspāi⁹ yauiē¹⁰ ∴

- 1 cf. Y 41.6; 7.24
 2 *nā* G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; Jp1; C1, J6, J5
nī K4
 J5 abbreviates: *dāidī ... vīspāi yauiē*
 3 *ahmāicā ahuiiē* G Mf4 Mf1, K5 (η), J3,
 Jp1; H1
aṇāica. ā. huiiē J2
ahuiiē S1
ahuiiamana.xiiācā J6 L13 J7
ahmāicā ... tā ... vīspāi yauiē C1
 4 *manāxiiāicā* G Pt4, J2, S1; Jp1 K4
mana. xiiāicā Mf4
manāxiiācā Mf1, K5, J3; Mf2; L2
 5 *upājamiiāmā* Pt4; S2
upājamiiāmā Mf4
upa.jamiiāmā Mf1 (but *a* of *upa* stands
 over an erasure)
upā.jamiiāmā G K5 J2, J3; Mf2 Jp1; L2;
 H1 J6 L13 J7
 6 *tauuacā* G, all mss. except:
tauuācā Mf2

- 7 *haxəmə* G Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3; Jp1 K4; H1
 J6 L13 J7
haxəməi Mf1
sarəm Mf2 (corr. sec.m. to *haxma*); [M 25]
haxmā L2
haxəm S2
haxməm K11
 8 *aṣaxiiācā* G Mf4, K5, S1 J3
aṣahiiācā J2
aṣaxiiāicā Jp1
aṣa.xiiācā J6
 9 *vīspā* Pt4, S1; S2, B2; H1 J6 J7
vīspāi G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; L2, L1; L13, J5
vīspāi Jp1 K4; C1
 10 *yauiē* Pt4, K5, S1 J3; Mf2; L2, L1; H1
 J6 L13 J7
yauiē Mf4; C1
yaōē Mf1
yauiē G J2; Dh1
yōuiē Jp1 K4
yauiē J5

You there, give us from this (prize)¹
 for both this and the spiritual life,
 (give us) this from this (prize)
 by which we shall attain the following:
 fellowship² with you and Truth
 for all time!

1 *ahiiā* ‘from this (prize)’

KELLENS/PIRART consider the form *ahiiā* to be the ipt.sg. of the present stem *ahiiā-* from the root *ah* ‘to throw’ and translate the stanza:

‘Toi, qui es là-haut, lance-nous, donne pour cette existence et pour (l’existence) de la pensée, lance la (récompense) qui nous permet de rejoindre pour l’éternité cette communauté qui est à toi et à l’Harmonie.’¹⁶

16 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 139; III, p. 149.

Although this interpretation of *ahiiā* is possible from a purely formal point of view, it is implausible for semantic reasons because elsewhere the verb *ah* ‘to throw’ is used of weapons directed against an enemy rather than distributing rewards.¹⁷ Moreover, in KELLENS/PIRART’s translation the imperative *dāidī* ‘donne’ remains without an object.

More plausible is NARTEN’s, *YH*, pp. 46, 300, interpretation of *ahiiā* as a partitive gen.sg. of the demonstrative pronoun, referring back to *mīždəm*. The worshippers ask Ahura Mazdā to give them from the prize which he has offered as ‘appropriate for one like me’. As noted by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, pp. 130, 20, the request in Y 40.2 may be compared to a passage at the beginning of the *Gāthas*, in Y 28.2, where Ahura Mazdā is asked to give the boons (*āiiapta-*) ‘of both lives’:

Y 28.2 *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairī.jasāi vohū manayhā*
maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuā astuuatascā hiiatcā manayhō
āiiaptā ašāt hacā yāiš rapantō daidīt xāθrē

I shall approach you, O Wise Lord, with good thought,
 so that you may give me the blessings of both lives, of the corporeal (life) and
 the one of thought,
 on account of truth, (the blessings) through which one might set one’s friends at
 ease.

2 *haxəmə* ‘fellowship’

The expression

Y 40.2 *tauuacā haxəmə ašaxiiācā*
vīspāi yauuē

fellowship with you and Truth
 for all time!

specifies the precise nature of the *mīždə-* which the worshippers request from Ahura Mazdā.¹⁸ At the same time, the word *haxəman-* highlights the central theme of the entire chapter. The term recurs in each of stanzas Y 40.3 and 4, where, in contrast to Y 40.2, it characterizes the ‘fellowship’ between human beings (see Y 40.4 no. 3 **haxəməm* ‘fellowships’, below, p. 302f.). In the repetition of Y 40.2 by Y 41.6, *haxəmə* is replaced by *sarəṃ* ‘union, communion’, see Y 41.6 no. 1, below, pp. 321–323.

17 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 279. The hapax legomenon *paitiiāstar-*, in which KELLENS/PIRART also see the root *ah* ‘to throw’, is probably an artificial formation based on *paitiiāsti-* from the verb *paiti-ā-dā-* ‘to receive’, see Y 35.9 no. 4 *paitiiāstārəṃ* ‘listener’, above, pp. 99–105.

18 For a syntactic analysis and semantic interpretation of the entire request Y 40.1–2 = Y 41.5–6, see Y 41.5 no. 2 *hiiat mīždəm* and Y 41.6 no. 1 *sarəṃ*, below, pp. 318f. and 321–323.

Y 40.3

*dāidī*¹ *aṭ nərəqš*² *mazdā aburā*^{2a}
*aṣāunō*³ *aṣacinaṇhō*⁴
*aidiūš*⁵ *vāstriiōṇg*⁶
*darəgāi*⁷ *ižiāi*⁸ *bəzuuaitē*⁹ *haxmainē*¹⁰
*ahmaibiiā*¹¹
*ahmā.rafənaṇhō*¹² ∴

- 1 *dāidī* G Mf4, K5
dāiḍi C1, J5
dādī J6, P6
- 2 *nərəqš* Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2
nərəqš G K5, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L3
narqš C1 K11
nərəqš J6
nirqš J5
- 2a *aburā* superscr. K5
- 3 *aṣāunō* G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, S1; B2; K11,
H1 J6 L13 J7, P6
aṣaonō Mf1, J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, Dh1 S2,
L1 L3; C1
aṣānō J5
- 4 *aṣacinaṇhō* G Mf4 (*š*) Mf1, K5 J2, S1;
Mf2 Jp1; L2; C1, H1 J7
aṣicanāṇhō J3
aṣa.cinaṇhō K4; L1; J6 L13, J5
aṣacanāṇhō B2
- 5 *aidiūš* Pt4 Mf4
aidiūš G Mf1, K5, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4;
L2, S2, L1 O2 L3; C1
aidaiūš J2
idiiūš K11
aidiūš Lb2, H1 J6 L13 O1
aṭ. yūš J5
- 6 *vāstriiōṇg* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5; Mf2 Jp1
K4; L2, L1 O2 L3; J7
vāstrāiṇg J2; P6
vāstrāg S1
vāstrāiṇg J3
vāstrāṇg Dh1; C1 K11, H1
vāštrāṇg J6 L13
vāstarīṇg J5
- 7 *darəgāi* G Mf4, K5 J2, J3; J6 J7, J5
darəgā Mf1; Jp1 K4; C1
dirəgā Mf2
- 8 *ižiāi* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1; Mf2 Jp1; P6
ižāi K5 J2 (*ā* damaged), J3; K11 (sec.m.
corr. to *isiiāi*), J6 (*iž* sec.m.)
- ižiā* K4
ižiāi L2 K10, Dh1 S2, L1 O2 L3; [M 25]
išiiāi B2 H1 L13 J7
ūžiāi C1
išiiā J5
- 9 *bəzuuaitē* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1; Jp1 K4
bəzuuaiti K5; L1 O2; Lb2
bəzuuacitē J2
bizuūaitē J3; B2
bəziiāite Mf2
bəzuuaitē S2; K11
bizuūaitē C1
bizuūaiti H1 J6 L13
bižuūaiti J5
- 10 *haxmainē* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1 J3; Jp1
haxəmaēnē K5
haxmainē Mf2 K4; L2, L1 L3; K11, H1
J6 L13 J7, J5
haxmaini C1 Lb2
- 11 *ahmaibiiā* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1; K10, L2, B2;
C1 Lb2, H1
aṃaibiiācā K5 J2
ahmaēbiiā S1
ahmi.biiā J3; L1; J6
ahmāibiiā Mf2 Jp1 K4
ahmaibiiācā Dh1, O2 L3 (*cā* added sec.
m.)
ahmi.biiācā Bb1; J7
ahmibiiā S2; K11 (*cā* added sec.m.)
ahmi.bā L13
hamaibiiā J5
- 12 *ahmārafənaṇhō* Pt4
ahmā.rafənaṇhō G Mf4 Mf1, S1; B2; H1
J6 L13
aṃārafnaṇhō K5
aṃā.rafnaṇhō J2 (dot overwritten by *r*)
ahmā.rafnaṇhō J3; L3 Bb1
ahmāi.rafənaṇhō Mf2 Jp1; K11, J7, P6
ahmāi.rafnaṇhō K4; L2, L1; C1
ahmāi.rafiṇaṇhō J5

ahmā G Mf4 Mf1, S1 J3; B2 L3 Bb1; Lb2,
H1 J6 L13
ahmāi Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2 K10, Dh1 S2, L1
O2; C1 K11, J7, J5 P6; [M 25]

rafənaṇhō G Mf4 Mf1, S1; Mf2 Jp1; B2;
K11, H1 J6 L13 J7, P6
rafnaṇhō J3; K4; L2, L1 L3 Bb1; C1

Grant¹, indeed, O Wise Lord,
truthful, truth-desiring² men³,
non-violent herdsmen⁴,
for long-lasting, invigorating, firm fellowship,
(grant) to us
(men) who are supported by us⁵,

1 *dāidī* 'grant!'

BARTHOLOMAE considers *dāidī* to govern a double acc. 'render the men truthful and truth-desiring'.¹⁹ Although formally possible, this interpretation is improbable from a semantic point of view because other passages, such as Y 30.2 and 5, suggest that it is not Ahura Mazdā who makes people veracious, but rather that they are truthful or deceitful because of their own choices (*fra-uuar-*, *varəna-*, see above, p. 174) for which they are held responsible. Moreover, in view of the all pervasive emphasis on both men and women being 'truthful', it would be puzzling if here, in the main presentation of requests at the end of the YH, the worshippers should ask only for men to exhibit that particular quality. In addition, *dāidī* in Y 40.3 is preceded in Y 40.2 by another imperative instance of the same form which is constructed with an accusative and dative: 'grant us this from this (prize)!' More plausible, therefore, is the interpretation of GELDNER and NARTEN who consider that *dāidī* in Y 40.3 also governs an acc. and dat.: 'grant us truthful men!'.²⁰ Thus here Ahura Mazdā is asked to provide the worshippers with men, particularly herdsmen (*vāstriia-*), who have chosen in favour of truth and are, as a result, 'truthful' and 'truth-desiring'.

19 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 298: 'Mach daß die Ritter glauben und nach dem Aša verlangen'. This syntactic interpretation is adopted by SCHMIDT 1980, p. 215, who translates Y 40.3 as follows: 'make the men, o Ahura Mazdā, truthful, truth-loving, not injuring, the pastoralists of help to us'. KELLENS/PIRART's translation makes the same assumption: 'Rends les hommes, ô Maître Mazdā, partisans de l'Harmonie, désireux de l'Harmonie, bienveillants, pâtres, (fais) qu'ils nous aident pour une communauté durable qui détienne l'invigoration et soit assez nombreuse' (*TVA*, I, p. 139, III, p. 150).

20 GELDNER 1887, p. 401f.; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 278f. This is also the interpretation of HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149, who translates: 'Do Thou grant (us), O Wise Ahura, men (who are) truthful, loving truth, good-natured herdsmen'.

2 *ašacinaṇhō* 'truth-desiring'

Apart from Y 40.3, the possessive compound *ašacinaṇh-* also occurs in two YAv. passages, where it functions as an attribute of Zarathustra. Consisting of *aša-* 'truth' and *cinah-* 'desire', its literal meaning is 'whose desire is truth'. It corresponds to the OP proper name **ytacanah-* attested in Elamite, Aramaic and Greek sources²¹ and has morphological parallels in the personal names YAv. *xšaθrō.cinah-* 'whose desire is rule' and OP *aspacanah-* 'whose desires are horses'.²²

3 *nəṛqš* 'men'

BARTHOLOMAE interprets *nar-* in Y 40.3 as well as in Y 48.10 and Yt 5.86 as a technical term denoting the second social class of the warriors. Thus, on his view in Y 40.3 the three classes of a tripartite society would be represented by *ahmaibiiā* 'for us' for the priests, *nəṛqš* 'men' for the warriors and *vāstriiēṇg* 'herdsmen' for those caring for the animals. He suggests that the same division into three classes is denoted in Y 40.4 by the terms *xšaētū-*, *vərəzāna-* and *haxəman-*.²³ As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 276f., however, such an interpretation is unfounded because neither Yt 5.86 nor Y 48.10 warrant the terminological use of *nar-* postulated by BARTHOLOMAE. In both passages, as well as in Y 40.3, *nar-* probably has the meaning 'man', which pertains in its numerous other attestations. According to NARTEN, in Y 40.3 the worshippers ask Ahura Mazdā to give them (*ahmaibiiā* 'to us') not only men (*nəṛqš*) who are truthful and truth-desiring (*ašāunō aša.cinaṇhō*) but also peaceful herdsmen (*aidiūš vāstriiēṇg*) for the purpose of long-lasting fellowship (*haxmainē*).

4 *aidiūš vāstriiēṇg* 'non-violent herdsmen'

The only YAv. attestation of *aidiū-* in Yt 13.154 being a quotation of Y 39.2, the adjective is virtually confined to the YH, where it occurs in two different contexts. While in Y 39.2 it characterizes wild animals (*daitika-*), limiting itself to those which are not harmful, in Y 40.3 the adjective describes the 'herdsman' (*vāstriia-*). NARTEN, *YH*, p. 280f., rightly points out that in the *Gathas* *vāstriia-* expresses a notion which is intrinsically positive. As an epithet of *vāstriia-*, the adj. *aidiū-* cannot, in contrast to Y 39.2, have a delimiting function (*'herdsman insofar as they are non-violent'*). The reason is that there are no 'harmful' ones but only herdsmen and non-herdsmen (*auuāstriia-* Y 31.10, *afšuiiaṇt-* Y 49.4). The contrast between the herdsman, on the one hand, and the violent non-herdsman, on the other, emerges, for instance, in Y 31.15:

21 HINZ, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, p. 209; MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, p. 166, §8.611.

22 MAYRHOFER, *IPNB*, I.1, p. 100, I.2, p. 15; *EWAIa*, I, p. 528.

23 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1048 and 908, n. ad *'pištra-*. On the form of the acc.pl. *nəṛqšō*, see Y 38.5 no. 3 *mātəṛqšcā* 'and as mother-cows', above, p. 249.

Y 31.15 *pərəsā auuat yā mainiš yā drəguuāitē xšaθrəm hunāitī*
duš.šiiəoθanāi ahurā yā nōit jiiōtūm hanarə vīnastī
vāstriiehiā aēnāhō pasəuš vīrāatcā adrujiāntō

I enquire about the punishment (for the evildoer), who imparts power to the
 deceitful one,

O Lord, (and) who does not make his living without
 harming cattle and staff of the undecieving herdsman.

As suggested by NARTEN, in Y 40.3 the adjective *aidiiu-* denotes one of the characteristics of a herdsman: he is cattle-breeding and non-violent.

5 *ahmā.rafānāhō* ‘who are supported by us’

The hapax legomenon *ahmā.rafānāh-* is interpreted by BARTHOLOMAE as a compound consisting of the pronominal stem *ahma-* ‘us’, which forms the oblique cases of the 1pl. personal pronoun *vaēm* ‘we’. Considering the first term *ahmā* to function as a genitive denoting the object, he translates the expression *ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafānāhō* as ‘(grant) for us [i.e. the priests] that they [i.e. both the warriors and the herdsman] will be of service to us’.²⁴ INSLEER’s interpretation, however, is more probable. He views the compound’s first term as the instr. of the 1pl. personal pronoun. Thus, *ahmā* ‘by us’ in *ahmā.rafānāh-* has the same function as Gathic *āhmā* in the compound Y 29.11 *āhmā.rāiti-* ‘the gift made by us’. NARTEN endorses INSLEER’s analysis and in addition cites Y 43.4 *ašā.əojah-* ‘having strength through truth’. Accordingly, the possessive compound *ahmā.rafānāh-* means ‘having support through us’, ‘who are supported by us’.²⁵

As noted by NARTEN, the textual collocation of *ahmaibiiā* immediately followed by *ahmā.rafānāhō* is probably a stylistic device deliberately employed to express reciprocity between ‘we’, i.e. the worshippers, on the one hand, and the ‘truthful men’ and ‘peaceful herdsman’, on the other. The worshippers ask for the fellowship of truthful men and express their willingness to support such persons. NARTEN argues that the idea of reciprocity is also present in the *Gathas*, particularly in passages both where Ahura Mazdā is asked to provide help ‘like a friend to a friend’ (Y 43.14, 46.2), and where the speaker affirms that he wishes to be a ‘powerful support for the truthful one’ (Y 43.8). HUMBACH, too, interprets Y 40.3 as expressing reciprocity and, as an additional

24 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 298: ‘für uns (aber), dass sie (beide) uns treu ergeben seien’. This analysis is adopted, for instance, by SCHMIDT 1980, p. 215 (: ‘of help to us’), and KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 216 (: ‘qui nous aide’). In the latter’s rendering of Y 40.3, *ahmaibiiā* remains untranslated (*TVA*, I, p. 139) because they consider it to be a gloss (*TVA*, III, p. 150).

25 INSLEER, *Gāthas*, p. 158; NARTEN, *YH*, p. 279; HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149, who accepts this explanation, translates ‘who enjoy (support) from us’.

instance, adduces that between domestic animals and human beings in Y 39.1.²⁶ While NARTEN interprets the dat. *ahmaibiiā* in Y 40.3 as the indirect object of the verb *dāidī* 'give to us ...!', HUMBACH suggests that the pronoun forms part of the reciprocity expression and accordingly translates '(grant us men) who offer (support) to us and who enjoy (support) from us!'. Although this is an attractive interpretation, one would expect the two expressions to be connected by *-cā*, like the relative pronouns in Y 39.1. It therefore seems preferable to consider the collocation of the two personal pronouns *ahmaibiiā* and *ahmā.*^o in Y 40.3 to be the stylistic device of paronomasia evoking the concept of reciprocity, and to interpret *ahmaibiiā* with NARTEN as an indirect dative governed by the verb *dāidī*.

26 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 130. See Y 39.1 no. 4 *yaēibiiāscā ... yaēcā* 'for whom ... and who', above, pp. 260–267, esp. 266f.

Y 40.4

aθā x^aaētūš¹
aθā vərəzēnā^{1a}
aθā +haxēmām² xiiāt³
yāiš hišcamaidē⁴
aθā vā⁵ utā⁶ xiiāmā⁷ mazdā ahurā
ašauuanō⁸ ərašiiā⁹
ištām¹⁰ rāitī¹¹ ∴

¹²*yejñhē hātām [(= Y 27.15) āat yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā] tāscā yazamaide ∴ ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>x^aaētūš</i> G Pt4 Mf1, K5, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; L3
 <i>xaētūš</i> Mf4
 <i>x^aaētuš</i> J2; L2, L1 B2; H1 J7, P6
 <i>xaetuš</i> C1
 <i>xaetāuš</i> J6 (sec.m. corr. to <i>xaētūš</i>) L13
 <i>xaitūš</i> J5</p> <p>1a <i>vərəzēnā</i> G Mf4, K5; J6, J5
 <i>vərəzaenā</i> C1</p> <p>2 <i>haxēmām</i> Pt4 Mf4, K5, S1; C1
 <i>haxēmā</i> G Mf1; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>hamām</i> J2
 <i>haxēmām</i> J3; K11
 <i>haxmām</i> L2, L1 O2 B2 L3; H1 J6 L13 J7, J5</p> <p>3 <i>xiiāt</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J6, J5
 <i>xiiāt</i> J3; K11, H1 L13 J7
 <i>hiiāt</i> Mf2</p> <p>4 <i>hišcišmaidī</i> Pt4 Mf4
 <i>hišcišmaidē</i> Mf1; Jp1
 <i>hiš.camaide</i> K5
 <i>hišcamaidē</i> G J3; L3
 <i>hišcamaide</i> J2; C1
 <i>hišcmaidī</i> S1 J4; B2; H1
 <i>hišcmaide</i> Mf2; Dh1
 <i>hiš.cišmaide</i> K4
 <i>hišta.maidī</i> S2
 <i>hascimaidī</i> L1
 <i>hasci.maide</i> O2
 <i>hišcamaidī</i> K11, P6
 <i>hisca.maidī</i> J6
 <i>hasca.maidī</i> L13 O1
 <i>hišta.maiōī</i> J5</p> | <p>5 <i>vā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1; H1 J6 J7, J5
 <i>vī</i> K5 J2
 <i>vaē</i> C1</p> <p>6 <i>utā</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6, J5
 <i>deest</i> J2</p> <p>7 <i>xiiāmā</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>stāxiiāmā</i> K5 J2</p> <p>8 <i>ašauuanō</i> G Mf4, K5 J2; C1, J6, J5
 <i>ašaonō</i> L1 P1</p> <p>9 <i>ərašiiā</i> Mf4; J6, J5
 <i>irišiiā</i> K5
 <i>ərašiiā</i> J2, J3
 <i>ərašuuā</i> S1; Dh1
 <i>ərašiiā</i> G Mf2 Jp1 K4; Bb1; C1, L13
 <i>ərašiiāi</i> K11</p> <p>10 <i>ištām</i> G Pt4, K5, S1 J3; Mf2; L2 K10, L1 O2 B2; C1 K11
 <i>ištām</i> Mf4
 <i>ərašiiāištām</i> Mf1
 <i>ištīm</i> J2; Jp1 K4; S2
 <i>istām</i> L3; Lb2, J6 L13 J7
 <i>ištām</i> Bb1
 <i>stām</i> H1
 <i>istīm</i> J5</p> <p>11 <i>rāitī</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2 K10, L1; C1 K11, H1 J6
 <i>rāitī...</i> Mf1 (at ... an erasure)
 <i>rāitīm</i> Dh1, L3; Lb2, L13 J7, J5</p> <p>12 Y 4.26
 <i>Pt4</i> reckons 4 strophes, each of 3 lines
 <i>yejñhē</i> G
 <i>yejñhe</i> Mf4, K5 J2; C1 (y), J5</p> |
|---|---|

likewise (grant us) families¹,
 likewise communities!
 May thus² be the fellowships³
 with which we shall associate ourselves⁴.
 May we thus also be yours, O Wise Lord,⁵
 being truthful and inspired⁶
 because of your granting what we desired⁷.

We worship those male beings in whose [= Y 27.15] worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

1 *x^aētūš* ‘families’

BARTHOLOMAE considers the form *x^aētūš* to be a nom.sg. of *x^aētu-* ‘family’, syntactically linked with the nom. plurals *vərəzānā* and **haxəməm*. Assuming that the three nouns share the same verb *xiiāt*, he translates: ‘in this way the nobility ... the farmers ... the fellowships with which we are united, may cause you to give’.²⁷ This interpretation of three co-ordinated nominatives is accepted both by KELLENS/PIRART, who prefer the variant reading *x^aētuš* for the nom. sg.,²⁸ and by HUMBACH, who explains *x^aētūš* as the nom.pl. of an otherwise unattested neuter stem *x^aētuš-*, a “metaplasm of the well-attested *x^aētu-*”. The latter argues that, since the three forms are the nom.pl. of neuter nouns, they constitute the three subjects of the 3sg. verb *xiiāt* and are linked to form the stylistic figure of a climax.²⁹ However, while the possibility of metaplasm cannot be excluded, it is an *ad-hoc* assumption.

NARTEN considers the better transmitted *x^aētūš* to be the authentic form and explains the variant *x^aētuš* as due to the influence of vulgate pronunciation. She points out that if *x^aētūš* is the correct reading, it is a regularly built acc.pl. of the stem *x^aētu-*. Moreover, since an acc. pl. cannot function as the subject of the verb *xiiāt*, she proposes that *x^aētūš*, the preceding *nəraqš* in Y 40.3 and the following *vərəzānā* in Y 40.4 are the accusative objects of the imperative *dāidī* ‘grant!’ in Y 40.3. NARTEN further supports her syntactic analysis with the observation that in the *Gathas* *vərəzānā-* is collocated with *x^aētu-* but not with *haxəman-*.³⁰ The triad *nar-* ‘man’, *x^aētu-* ‘family’ and *vərəzānā-* ‘com-

27 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1859, 277, 1746: ‘auf diese Weise mögen der Adel ... die Bauernschaften ... die Sodalitäten, mit denen wir vereint sind, ... euch Anlass sein zu schenken’.

28 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 151, II, p. 235, I, p. 139: ‘Ainsi puisse être la famille, ainsi les clans, ainsi les communautés auxquelles nous voulons nous associer’.

29 HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 130f., I, p. 149: ‘Thus may the families be, thus the communities, thus the fellowships which we follow’.

30 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 281f. Her interpretation is misrepresented by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 130, who insinuates that she both separates *vərəzānā* from the preceding *x^aētūš* and considers the latter to be “a blunder for a nom.sg.”, neither of which is the case.

munity' thus denote three gifts requested from Ahura Mazdā. Being arranged in ascending order of size, they constitute the stylistic figure of a climax.³¹ This interpretation yields the following syntactic segmentation of the text:

Y 40.3 *dāidī aṭ nərəṣ mazdā ahurā*
aṣāunō aṣacinayhō
aidiūš vāstriiṇg
darəgāi iṣiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē
ahmaibiiā
ahmā.rafənanayhō
 Y 40.4 *aṭā xʼaētūš*
aṭā vərəzānā

Grant, indeed, O Wise Lord,
 truthful, truth-desiring men,
 non-violent herdsmen,
 for long-lasting, invigorating, firm fellowship,
 (grant) to us
 (men) who are supported by us,
 likewise (grant us) families,
 likewise communities!

The arguments supporting the syntactic inclusion of the first two *aṭā* clauses of Y 40.4 within the preceding stanza Y 40.3 are that *xʼaētūš* is better transmitted and therefore probably acc.pl., that the ascending sequence of units creates a climax and, finally, that *haxəman-*, which follows in Y 40.4, is not otherwise collocated with *xʼaētu-* and *vərəzānā-*. On these grounds, NARTEN's analysis is the most convincing interpretation.

Accordingly, in Y 40.4 the first two anaphoric instances of *aṭā* are adverbs with a co-ordinating syntactic function 'equally, likewise'. The two *aṭā* clauses thus denote a request that Ahura Mazdā provide the worshippers with 'families' and 'communities' which have the same characteristics as the 'men' (*nərəṣ*) who are asked for in Y 40.3. This means that the worshippers appeal for 'families' and 'communities', all of which are 'truthful', 'truth-desiring' and 'non-violent herdsmen'. Like the 'men', they are desired for the purpose of 'long-lasting, invigorating, firm fellowship'.

31 Against NARTEN's suggestion that *nar-*, *xʼaētu-*, *vərəzānā-* form a climax, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 151, argue that in the YH *xʼaētu-* and *vərəzānā-* are only used metaphorically. Their objection, however, is in itself questionable. For instance, *xʼaētu-* does not seem to have a metaphorical meaning in Y 39.5, where the worshippers' relationship to the Amesha Spentas is compared to that of someone to his own family (see Y 39.5 no. 1 *xʼaētūš xʼaētātā* 'with a relative's relationship', above, pp. 280–282). The same applies to Y 36.1, where the expression *ahiiā ... āḍrō vərəzānā* 'together with the community of this fire here' could refer to the social group of people associated with the fire, see NARTEN, *YH*, p. 138.

2 *aθā* 'likewise; thus'

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 283, suggests that the fourfold repetition of the adverb *aθā* probably explains the traditional stanza division between Y 40.3 and 40.4. Each of the four occurrences is translated by WOLFF as a modal adverb 'in this way, thus'.³² By contrast, in NARTEN's analysis the syntactic function of the first two *aθā*, which belong to the preceding stanza Y 40.3, is different from that of the following two instances. While the first two have co-ordinating value 'equally, likewise', the last two *aθā* function as predicative pronominal adverbs characterizing the two forms of the verb *ab* 'to be': *aθā ... xiiāt*, *aθā ... xiiāmā* 'thus may (the fellowships) be', 'thus may we be'. NARTEN supports this interpretation with reference to the use of Ved. *tāthā* 'thus' in RV *tāthā tād astu* 'thus shall this be'.³³

3 **haxēmam* 'fellowships'

While GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 136, edits with some mss., including Mf1, the form *haxēmā*, the variant reading with ending *°mam* is rightly preferred by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1746. SCHINDLER has shown that the spelling of the nom./acc.pl. of the neuter *man*-stems, PrIr. **-mān*, is *-mam* in OAv. and *-man* in YAv. The latter ending is chronologically older while OAv. *-mam* probably results from the assimilation *-mam* < **-man*.³⁴ As suggested by DE VAAN, *-mam* could have arisen from a separate treatment of the Older Avesta in the oral tradition.³⁵

In the third *aθā* clause, the worshippers wish that the fellowships which they join may be like the ones asked for in the preceding three requests presented in Y 40.3–4. This means that they would like these fellowships to consist of 'men' (*nərəš*), 'families' (*xʷaētūš*) and 'communities' (*vərəzānā*), all of which are 'truthful' (*ašāunō*), 'truth-desiring' (*ašacinaṇhō*) and 'non-violent herdsmen' (*aidiūš vāstriiōṇg*). Accordingly, the third *aθā* clause in Y 40.4 means: 'may thus (i.e. as has just been requested for 'men', 'families' and 'communities') be the fellowships with which we associate ourselves'.³⁶

The noun *haxēman-* occurs three times in Y 40, once in each of the stanzas 2–4. In Y 40.2, it specifies the nature of the desired 'prize' (*mīžda-*), namely 'fellowship' with Ahura Mazdā and Truth on both levels of existence, spiritual and

32 WOLFF, *Avesta*, p. 69f., after BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1520: 'Auf diese Weise mögen der Adel, auf diese Weise die Bauernschaften, auf diese Weise die Sodalitäten, mit denen wir vereint sind, (euch Anlaß) sein, und auf diese Weise möchten wir (alle), o Mazdāh Ahura, als Ašagläubige (und) Gerechte euch (Anlaß) sein: (uns) zu schenken, (was) wir wünschen'.

33 NARTEN after HOFFMANN 1952–1956, p. 42.

34 SCHINDLER 1982, p. 191f. The variant readings are discussed by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 281, fn. 42.

35 DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 396.

36 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, n. 49.

bodily, and ‘for all time’. In Y 40.3, *haxəman-* refers to the ‘fellowship’ within the worshippers’ own families and communities. In Y 40.4, that ‘fellowship’ is characterized as one which the worshippers hope to join. NARTEN suggests that the request for the latter could refer to a situation of mission, in which Zarathustra’s followers approach other communities in order to win them over to the religion preached by him.³⁷ According to this interpretation, in the third *aθā*-clause, which constitutes the fourth request in Y 40.4, the worshippers ask that all the qualities in Y 40.3–4 desired for their own communities at home may also be present in those groups which they hope to persuade to become adherents of Zarathustra.

4 *yāiš hišcamaidē* ‘with which we associate ourselves’

Belonging to the root *hac* ‘to follow’, the form *hišcamaidē* is a 1st pl. middle of the reduplicated present stem *hišac-/hišc-* which corresponds to Ved. *sīśak-ti*. Since in both Avestan and Vedic this stem is athematic, the verb *hišcamaidē* is probably a subjunctive.³⁸ Variant readings such as *hišcimaidī*, however, also allow for it to be interpreted as an optative (*hi-šc-ī-maidī*).³⁹ That the original form was a subjunctive *hišca°* is suggested by the fact that the well transmitted primary ending *-maidē* is incompatible with an optative. Moreover, variant readings such as *hišciš°* (e.g. Pt4 Mf4, Mf1) suggest the corruption of an original *hišca°* by way of influence of the first syllable on the second. A subjunctive form of *hac* occurs in Y 46.1, which also appears to refer to a situation in which an outsider wishes to join a community:

Y 46.1 **kəm nəmōi zəm kuθrā nəmōi aienī*
*pairī xʷaētəuš *airiamnascā dadaitī*
nōiṭ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzənā hēcā
naēdā daxiiəuš yōi sāstārō drəguuantō
kaθā θβā mazdā xšnaošāi ahurā

To which land shall I go for pasture, where to for pasture?

They exclude me from family and tribe.

Neither the community with which I want to associate myself⁴⁰ gratifies me,

37 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, n. 50.

38 KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 183; KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 325; DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 212. According to NARTEN, *YH*, p. 310, *hišcamaidē* is an ind.pres. form.

39 This is considered to be an alternative by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 325, III, p. 151, who suggest that both the zero grade instead of the regular full grade of the subjunctive and the short *-ā-* before the ending *-maidē* favour the optative form.

40 As suggested by HUMBACH, *Gathas*, I, p. 27, II, p. 67, by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 288, fn. 3, and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 325, *hēcā* is the 1sg.subj.act. of the present stem *haca-*. By contrast, KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 354 (followed by HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 175, and *LIV*², p. 525 with n. 2) also considers the form to be a 1sg. subj., but of the root aor., of which the 3.pl.ipt. is attested in *scaṇtū* ‘let them join’ (Y 53.2). The interpretation as a root aor., however, is to be rejected because, as noted by NARTEN and KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*,

nor the deceitful rulers of the country.
How shall I gratify you, O Wise Lord?

5 *aθā vā utā xiiāmā* ‘may we thus also be yours’

The final request in Y 40.4 is connected with the conjunction *utā*, which is not attested in the *Gathas*, but occurs twice in the YH (Y 35.6 and 40.4). Although in YAv. and Vedic it usually occupies the initial position, its occurrence in the third position in the two YH passages is not unique because there are Vedic parallels for such a word order. The conjunction *utā* introduces a new thought in both Y 35.6 and 40.4.⁴¹

Although it looks grammatically parallel to the third *aθā* clause, the fourth *aθā* sentence in Y 40.4 has a different syntactic structure insofar as the verb, *xiiāmā* governs the possessive genitive *vā*: ‘may we belong to you’.⁴² Ahura Mazdā is also addressed in the plural in the *Gathas*, e.g. Y 28.2:

Y 28.2 *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairī.jasāi vohū manəhā*

I want to approach you, O Wise Lord, with good thought.

As noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, fn. 55, the expression Y 40.4 *vā ... xiiāmā mazdā ahurā* ‘may we thus be yours, O Wise Lord’, has a syntactic parallel in Old Persian:

DSk 3–4 *θātiy Dārayavauš Xš: manā AM AMha adam*

The king Darius says: Ahuramazda belongs to me, I belong to Ahuramazda.⁴³

This parallel between the OP and the Y 40.4 should be added to the examples of Avestan quotations in Old Persian collected by SKJÆRVØ.⁴⁴ The idea that the worshipper belongs to the deity and vice versa is also found in the *Rigveda*.⁴⁵ A parallel to the OP expression of mutual interdependence occurs in

III, p. 201, the metrically disyllabic personal ending of *hēcā* indicates that the form goes back to **haca-ā*. Moreover, since the syntactic construction with the instrumental calls for the middle voice of the verb, NARTEN suggests that the subj.act. could be used here in a way which is indifferent to voice. Alternatively, she proposes that *hēcā* could take part in a normal active transitive construction if *yā vərəzēnā* were interpreted as an acc. pl. However, in that case Y 46.1 would be syntactically different from *yāiš hišcamaidē* in Y 40.4.

41 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 285.

42 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284 with fn. 52 and 54. As an alternative syntactic interpretation she considers that the poss. genitive *vā* belongs with *ašauuanō vərəšiiā* ‘may we be thus, as your truthful, enthusiastic ones’.

43 KENT, *Old Persian*, p. 145.

44 SKJÆRVØ 1999, p. 40, quotes the OP passage, but compares it to Y 39.1, which refers to the reciprocal relationship between human beings and domestic animals (see Y 39.1 no. 4, above, pp. 260–267).

45 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, fn. 55, who refers to RV 1.57.5 and 8.92.32.

RV 8.92.32 *tváyéd indra yujá vayám prāti bruvīmahi spṛdhaḥ |*
tvám asmākaṃ táva smasi ||

In union with you, indeed, O Indra, we wish to respond to the rivals.
 You belong to us, we belong to you.

The expression of allegiance is usually coupled with the desire for rewards:

RV 1.57.4 *imé ta indra té vayám puruṣtuta yé tvārābhya cárāmasi prabhūvaso |*

We, these ones here, O Indra, (are) yours, O much praised one, these ones, we,
 who walk holding on to you, O wealthy one.

RV 1.57.5 *bhūri ta indra vīryaṃ táva smasy asyá stotúr maghavan kāmam á*
prṇa |

Great is your strength, O Indra, we belong to you. Fulfil this singer's wish, O
 generous one!

While the OP inscriptions and RV attest to the mutual interdependence of human beings and deity, the YH offers evidence for three types of reciprocal relationships. The first is between the deity and human beings, attested in Y 40.4, the second between different groups of human beings in Y 40.3,⁴⁶ and the third between human beings and domestic animals in Y 39.1.⁴⁷

The final request in Y 40.4 is on behalf of the worshippers themselves. Like the third *aθā* in the preceding supplication (*haxēmam xiiāt yāiš hišcamaidē*), the adverb has a predicative function and refers to what has been asked for in Y 40.3–4. This means that the worshippers desire to belong to Ahura Mazda in the same way as to other groups of followers with whom they associate themselves. The reciprocity relationship as expressed in the third and fourth *aθā* clauses is such that the worshippers do in fact belong both to him and to these associated groups. The third and fourth *aθā* clauses express that the latter and the worshippers themselves possess all the positive characteristics requested in Y 40.3 and the first two *aθā* clauses in Y 40.4, i.e. that men, families and communities would be truthful, truth-desiring and non-violent herdsmen.

6 *ərəšiiā* ‘inspired’

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 356, explains the hapax legomenon *ərəšiiā* as a form with the suffix **-ia-* and considers it to be morphologically parallel to *ərəšuuā-* ‘upright’ and Ved. *ṛṣvā-* ‘elevated, high’, both of which involve the suffix **-ya-*. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, n. 53, by contrast, connects *ərəšiiā-* with the Gathic hapax legomenon *ərəši-* attested in Y 31.5. The latter was taken by NYBERG, *Religionen*, p. 208 (against BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 356) to be the Av. equivalent of Ved. *ṛṣi-* m. ‘inspired poet or sage, singer of sacred hymns’. NARTEN accepts this

46 Y 40.3 no. 5 *ahmaibiiācā ahmā.rafənaṃhō*, see above, p. 297f.

47 See Y 39.1 no. 4 *yaēibiiāscā ... yaēcā* ‘for whom ... and who’, above, pp. 260–267.

equation and argues that the underlying noun of the *-ia*-derivative could be either a feminine abstract noun *arəši-* ‘inspiration’ or the masculine *arəši-* ‘inspired poet’, the exact equivalent of Ved. *ṛṣi-*. In the first case, *arəšiiā-* would mean ‘provided with inspiration’ and would be formed from *arəši-* ‘inspiration’ in the same way that *ašiiā-* ‘provided with reward’ derives from *aši-* ‘reward’. In the second, it would denote ‘belonging to the inspired poet’, formed like Ved. *kavyā-* ‘wise’ from *kavī-* m. ‘a wise man’. Either way the meaning of *arəšiiā-* is virtually the same: ‘enthusiastic, inspired’. A YAv. form of *arəšiiā-* is probably attested in the male personal name *aršiiā-* in Yt 13.108.⁴⁸

7 *ištām rāitī* ‘because of your granting what we desired’

The form *rāitī*, an instr.sg. of the feminine abstract noun *rāiti-* ‘granting’, governs the acc. sg. *ištām*. The latter belongs to the ppp. *išta-* ‘what is desired’ from the root *ʾiš* ‘to seek, wish’.⁴⁹ The expression at the conclusion of Y 40 corresponds to that at its beginning:

Y 40.1 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī*
ahmaṭ hūiaṭ aibī
*hūiaṭ mīždām *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā*
daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā

Through your generosity there shall take shape
 – as far as we are concerned –
 the prize which you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord.

At the beginning of Y 40 Ahura Mazdā’s capacity to ‘grant’ is addressed, and it is clearly stated that this chapter concerns the reward the worshippers are hoping to receive from him. In the intervening stanzas Y 40.2–3 requests are presented, and at the end Ahura Mazdā’s ability to grant the desired ‘prize’ is raised once more.

48 This is the view of BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 206, and NARTEN, *YH*, p. 284, fn. 53. MAYRHOFER, *IPNB*, p. 21, *ZNDA*, p. 17, by contrast, derives the YAv. proper name *aršiiā-* from **ṛšiiā-*, a hypocoristic form of **ṛšan-* ‘man, hero, male’. Like NARTEN, HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², II, p. 131, accepts the equation with Ved. *ṛṣi-* but interprets *arəšiiā* as instr.sg.f. agreeing with *rāitī*: ‘with enthusiastic bestowal’. KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, II, p. 221, III, p. 131, leave *arəšiiā-* unanalysed and untranslated because of the “obscurité” of *ištām*. SKJÆRVØ 1997, pp. 109, 111, considers *arəšiiā* to be the “Haptanghatic variant” of Y 31.5 *arəši-*, which he derives from the verb *ar* ‘to obtain’. He posits the meaning of both words as ‘desire to obtain’ and translates Y 40.4 “by (our) desire to obtain what is desired through (our) gift (of same to you)”. SKJÆRVØ also suggests that *arəši-/arəšiiā-* is related to *arəšuuā-*, Ved. *ṛṣvā-*, as already proposed by BARTHOLOMAE, and considers the Vedic word to mean ‘reaching far, capacious, having capacious resources’.

49 BENVENISTE, *Infinifis*, p. 283, corrects BARTHOLOMAE’s, *AirWb.* 1520, mistaken interpretation of *rāitī* as an infinitive. On *ištām* see BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 28.

Yasna 41

Y 41.1

stūtō^{1a} garō^{1b} vahmāṅg^{1c}

ahurāi mazdāi

ašāicā¹ vahištāi^{1d}

dadəmahicā² cīšmahicā³ ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī ∴

1a *stūtō* G, all mss. except:
satūtō J5

1b *garō* G, all mss. except:
garaō J5

1c *vahmāṅg* G Mf4, J2; C1, J6
vaṃāṅg K5
vahamāṅg J5

1 *ašāicā* G K5; C1, J5 all other mss. except:
ašācā Mf4, J2; L3

1d *vahištāi* G Mf4, K5; C1, J6
vahištā J2 (*i* added pr. or sec.m.); J5

2 *dadəmahicā* G Pt4 Mf4, S1; Mf2; L3; H1
J6 L13
dadəmahecā Mf1, J2, J3; Jp1 K4; S2
dədəmahecā K5
dadimahicā L1 O2; P6
daḍəmahecā C1
daḍaemahicā J6

3 *cīšmahicā* G Pt4, J2, S1; Mf2; L2, L1; H1
cīšmahicā Mf4

cīšmahecā Mf1, J3; Jp1 K4; J7
cišmahecā K5
cīšmahcā C1
cīša.mahecā J6
cīšmahecā J5

4 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* Pt4, S1; Dh1 S2, L1 L3;
P6
āuuaēdaiiamahī G Mf4 Mf1; Mf2; L2;
H1 L13 J7

āuuaēdiiāmāhī K5
ā.vaēdiiāmāhī J2
āuuaēdiiāmāhī J3
āuuaēdaiiamahē Jp1 K4
āuuaēiḍiiāmāhī C1
āuuaedaiiāmāhī J6
āuuaēdaiie. mahī J5

We offer, assign and dedicate¹
praises, hymns and prayers
to the Wise Lord
and to the best Truth.

1 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* ‘we dedicate’

Like its Vedic equivalent *ā vedayāmasi* in RV 4.36.2, the verb *ā-uuaēdaiia-*, a causative present of the root *vid* ‘to perceive’, is constructed here with an accusative and dative. The literal meaning of the causative stem is ‘to make something known to someone’. By contrast, in Y 36.6 the verb takes a double acc. ‘to make something/one known as something/one’, see Y 36.6 no.1 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* ‘we declare’, above, p. 148f.

In Y 41.1, *āuuaēdaiiamahī* is the last in a series of three verbs. As shown by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 109, the first two, *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā*, constitute a bipartite formula that is sometimes enlarged by a third verb. However, while the first two remain unchanged, the third may vary. The augmentation occurs three times in the *YH*, each instance involving a different third verb. The latter is *hūuənmahi* in Y 35.5, *yazamaidē* in Y 39.4 and *āuuaēdaiiamahī* in Y 41.1. In all three passages the first two verbs appear formulaic while the third one is specific to the context.

In Y 35.5; a stanza to be repeated three times in the *Yasna* recitation, the formula occurs in the statement transferring power to Ahura Mazdā and to Truth:

Y 35.5 **huxšaθrō.təmāi *bā aṭ xšaθram*
ahmaṭ hiiṭ aibī
*dadəmahicā cīšmahicā *hūuənmahicā*
hiiṭ mazdāi ahurāi
ašāicā vahištāi

As far as we are concerned,
 we offer, assign and impart
 the rule to the one whose rule is indeed the very best,
 namely the Wise Lord,
 and to the best Truth.

The worshippers, for their part, here confirm that they attribute all sovereignty to Ahura Mazdā, because he is the one who rules best. This stanza may be compared to Y 41.1, where all praise is assigned Ahura Mazdā and to Truth:

Y 41.1 *stūtō garō vahmāng*
ahurāi mazdāi
ašāicā vahištāi
dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī

We offer, assign and dedicate
 praises, hymns and prayers
 to the Wise Lord
 and to the best Truth.

At the end of the *YH*, the worshippers emphasize that all the praises are dedicated to the ones to whom they conferred all power at the beginning of the *YH* in Y 35.5, namely to Ahura Mazdā and to best Truth.

The third attestation of the expression concludes the *yazamaidē*-formulae in Y 39.4, a stanza to be recited twice:

Y 39.4 *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā*
mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varəščā
yā vohū
aθā tōi dadəmahī

aθā cīšmahī
aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē
aθā nəmaxīiāmahī
aθā išūidīiāmahī
θβā mazdā ahurā

As indeed, O Wise Lord,
 you think, speak, create and practise
 these (things) which (are) good,
 so we offer (them) to you,
 so we assign (them to you),
 so by them we worship you,
 so we pay homage,
 so we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.

Here the devotees emphasize that by worshipping Ahura Mazdā's good creations, praised in fifteen *yazamaidē* formulae in Y 37–39.3, they honour the Wise Lord himself. To the extent that the deity thinks, speaks, creates and does what is good, to that extent the worshippers attribute all that is good to him, thus venerating him by venerating his creations. Furthermore, by so doing, the worshippers give him homage and strengthening. The latter point is a repetition from Y 36.5, where the pair of verbs 'we give homage, we bring strengthening' occurs just before the beginning of the *yazamaidē* formulae:

Y 36.5 nəmaxīiāmahī išūidīiāmahī
θβā mazdā ahurā
vīspāiš θβā humatāiš
vīspāiš hūxtāiš
vīspāiš huuarštāiš
pairijasāmaidē

We pay homage, we bring refreshment
 to you, O Wise Lord.
 We approach you
 with all good thoughts,
 with all good words,
 with all good deeds.

This indicates that the combination of the expression *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā* with a third verb is placed at strategic points in the composition of the YH. It occurs in the power transfer of Y 35.5, at the end of the *yazamaidē* formulae in Y 39.4, and at the end of the YH itself, in Y 41.1. The latter and Y 35.5 bear a greater similarity and correspondence to one another insofar as they have a parallel structure and the same indirect object in Ahura Mazdā and best Truth. In Y 35.5 all power is dedicated to them, while in Y 41.1 it is all praise.

Y 41.2

*vohū¹ xšaθrām^{1a} tōi mazdā^{1b} ahurā
apaēmā^{1c}
vīspāi yauiē²
huxšaθrastū nā³
nā vā⁴ nāirī vā⁵
xšaētā^{5a}
ubōiio^{5a} aṇhuuō⁶
hātqm hudāstēmā^{6a} ∴*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 <i>vōhū</i> Mf4; C1, J5
<i>vohū</i> G K5 J2
<i>vōhū</i> ∴ H1 J6 L13 O1</p> <p>1a <i>xšaθrām</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>xašaθrām</i> J5</p> <p>1b <i>mazdā</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>mazaṇhā</i> J2 (pr.m. corr. to <i>mazdā</i>)</p> <p>1c <i>apaēmā</i> G, all mss. except:
<i>apaimā</i> J5</p> <p>2 <i>yauiē</i> Pt4 Mf4 (y) Mf1, K5 (o struck out), S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, B2 L3; K11, H1 J6 (y) L13 J7
<i>yauiē</i> G J2; L1; Lb2
<i>yaōuiē</i> C1
<i>yauiē</i> J5</p> <p>3 <i>huxšaθra. stū. nā</i> Pt4; B2; H1
<i>huxšaθrastū ∴ nā</i> Mf4
<i>huxšaθrastū. nā</i> G Mf1, S1 J3; Mf2; C1 (š)
<i>huxšaθrastū. nū</i> K5
<i>huxšaθrastūnā</i> J2; L3; L13
<i>huxšaθrastū. nī</i> Jp1 K4
<i>huxšaθra. stūnā</i> L2, S2, L1 Bb1; J6</p> | <p><i>huxšaθra. stūne</i> K11, P6
<i>huxšaθara. satūñē</i> J5</p> <p>4 <i>nā. vā</i> G Mf4, K5; C1
<i>nāvā</i> J2, S1; L2, L1; J5 P6</p> <p>5 <i>nāirī. vā</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6
<i>nāirivā</i> J2; J5
<i>nāire</i> Jp1 K4
<i>nāirivā</i> Bb1
<i>nairī</i> L13</p> <p>5a <i>xšaētā. ubōiio</i> G
<i>xšaētā ∴ ubōiio</i> Mf4, K5
<i>xšaētāubaoiio</i> C1
<i>xšaētā. ubuiio</i> J6
<i>xašaetā. hubōiio</i> J5</p> <p>6 <i>aṇhuuāō</i> Pt4 (sec.m. in marg.) Mf4, K5
<i>aṇhuuō</i> G Mf1, J2, S1; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1 L3; C1, J6 L13 J7, J5
<i>aṇhuuā</i> J3
<i>aṇhuuō</i> K11, P6</p> <p>6a <i>hudāstēmā</i> G Mf4, K5
<i>hudāstēmā</i> C1
<i>hudāstēmā</i> J5</p> |
|---|---|

May we obtain, O Wise one,
your good rule
for all time!
May a good ruler,
a man or a woman,
rule over us
in both existences,
O most beneficent of those who exist¹!

1 *hātqm hudāstāmā* ‘O most beneficent of those who exist’

The form *hātqm*, gen.pl. of the pres. part. of the verb *ah* ‘to be’, is used instead of the expected **hatqm*, cf. gen.sg. YAv. *hatō*. It belongs to the OAv. group of words in which the short *a* of the penultimate syllable is lengthened and the word final syllable almost always has a long *ā* preceded by a dental.¹ The expression *hātqm hudāstāmā* occurs in Y 41 at the end of stanzas 2, 3 and 4. The three-fold repetition gives a special emphasis to the phrase. NARTEN, *AmSp.*, pp. 87–94, esp. 90f., *YH*, p. 286, argues that adjacent to a superlative the participle *hātqm* functions as a partitive genitive. It is a stylistic reinforcing device to express the idea of totality: ‘O most beneficent of those who exist’ is equivalent to ‘O most beneficent of all’. This interpretation is corroborated by a Vedic phraseological parallel adduced by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 152. In RV 6.67.1, the gen. pl. *satām*, the equivalent of Av. *hātqm*, also occurs next to a superlative but is, in addition, characterized as *viśveṣām* in the expression *viśveṣām ... satām jyēṣṭhatāmā* ‘greatest of all beings’:

RV 6.67.1 *viśveṣām vaḥ satām jyēṣṭhatāmā gīrbhīr mitrávaruṇā vāvṛdhādhyai |*

Mitra and Varuṇa are to be exalted by your hymns as the very greatest of all beings.

1 Cf. DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 71f., though his suggestion in fn. 38 that *hātā.marāni-* may contain *hāiti-* ‘(Yasna) chapter’ is improbable. The compound’s first term *hāta-*, Ved. *sātá-* ‘merit’ belongs rather to the root *han/san* ‘to win’, see HINTZE, *Lohn*, p. 237 with fn. 13. According to J. KELLENS, “Vieil-avestique *hātqm*”, *MSS* 50 (1989), pp. 51–64, the gen.pl. *hātqm* always refers to divine beings (“les dieux”).

Y 41.3

*humāim*¹ *ṭβā īžīm*²
yazatəm^{2a} *aṣaṇhācim*³ *dadəmaidē*^{3a}
*aṭā tū nā*⁴ *gaiiascā*⁵ *astəntāscā*⁶ *xiia*^{6a}
*ubōiio*⁷ *aṇhuuō*⁸
*bātəm hudāstəmā*⁹ ∴

humāim ṭβā īžīm ... °tā° (= Y 41.3) ... *hudāstəmā* (*du bār*)¹⁰ ∴

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>humāim</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2, S1; Mf2
 Jp1; L1; H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 <i>humā. im</i> K5, J3
 <i>humāiūm</i> C1 (also in the rep.)</p> <p>2 <i>īžīm</i> G Pt4 Mf4; S1; S2; Lb2, H1 J6 J7,
 J5 P6 (Jp1; L2 K10, Dh1, L1 B2 L3;
 K11, L13 in Vd 10.4)
 <i>īžəm</i> K5 J2, J3; Jp1 K4; C1
 <i>īžm</i> Mf2 (<i>īžīm</i> in the repetition)
 <i>īžim</i> Bb1</p> <p>2a <i>yazatəm</i> G Mf4 (y), K5; J6, J5
 <i>yazaitəm</i> C1</p> <p>3 <i>aṣaṇhācim</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, S1 J3
 J4; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L2, L1; J6
 <i>aṣaṇhācəm</i> P11; O2 L3; C1 K11, H1 J7,
 P6
 <i>aṣəm. aṇhācəm</i> Bb1
 <i>aṣəm. aṇhācim</i> J5</p> <p>3a <i>dadəmaidē</i> G Mf4
 <i>dadəmaide</i> K5; J6
 <i>daḍəmaide</i> C1
 <i>daḍe. maeḍe</i> J5</p> <p>4 <i>tū. nā</i> G Mf4, K5; J6
 <i>tū. tā</i> K4
 <i>tū. nē</i> Mf2
 <i>tū. nī</i> Jp1
 <i>tūnā</i> L3; C1, J7</p> | <p><i>tūne</i> K11
 <i>tūnē</i> J5
 <i>tune</i> P6</p> <p>5 <i>gaiiascā</i> G Mf4, K5; J6, J5
 <i>giiascā</i> J3
 <i>gāuscā</i> C1</p> <p>6 <i>astəntāscā</i> G Mf4 Mf1 Jp1, K5 (°nt°), S1;
 K4; L2, L1 O2
 <i>astəntāscā</i> J2; Mf2
 <i>astəm. tāscā</i> S2; Lb2, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 <i>astəntāscā</i> C1</p> <p>6a <i>xiia</i> G Mf4, K5; J6, J5
 <i>xiia</i> C1</p> <p>7 <i>ubōiio</i> G Mf4, J2; J5
 <i>ubiiō</i> K5
 <i>ubaōiio</i> Jp1 K4; C1
 <i>ubouuō</i> J6</p> <p>8 <i>aṇhuuāō</i> Pt4 Mf4
 <i>aṇhuuō</i> G K5 J2, S1; Jp1 K4; L2, L1 L3;
 C1, H1 J6 L13 J7, J5
 <i>aṇhauuā</i> J3
 <i>aṇhuuā</i> Mf2 (ā sec.m. corr. to ō)
 <i>aṇhauuō</i> K11, P6</p> <p>9 <i>hudāstəmā</i> G Mf4, K5
 <i>hudāstəmā</i> S1 J3; C1, J6 L13
 <i>hudāstəmā</i> J5</p> <p>10 Y 41.3 is to be recited twice, cf. Vd 10.4</p> |
|---|--|

We regard you as the good-powered, invigorating
venerable one, whose companion is Truth.

May you then thus be for us life and corporality¹
in both existences,

O most beneficent of those who exist!

We regard you ... °to° (= Y 41.3) ... O most beneficent of those who exist!
(Twice).

1 *gaiiascā astəntāscā* ‘life and corporality’

Like the preceding stanza, Y 41.3 consists of two sentences. The first has the character of a confession, in which the worshippers express their conception of Ahura Mazdā as the ‘good-powered, invigorating venerable one’. In the second they wish that their view of Ahura Mazdā would affect their lives to the extent that the latter are entirely imbued with him – on both the material and spiritual planes.² The second sentence thus expresses the worshippers’ desire for union with their god.³ As noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 294, a similarly strong metaphor is found in their wish to be ‘invigoration and libation’ for Ahura Mazdā (*ižācā āzūitišcā* Y 49.5), see Y 38.2 no. 2 (at the end, above, p. 214). While in Y 41.3 the worshippers declare the deity to be their ‘life and corporality’, they worship him with their own ‘limbs and lives’ in Y 37.3:

Y 37.3 *tām ahmākāiš *azdabīšcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē*

We worship him with our limbs and lives.

2 On *uba- ahu-*, see Y 35.3 no. 7 *ubōibiiā ahubiiā* ‘for both existences’, above, p. 73.

3 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 293f.

Y 41.4

hanaēmācā^{1a} *zaēmācā*^{1b} *mazdā*¹ *ahurā*
θβahmī^{1c} *rafənahī*²
*darəgāiiāu*³
*aēšācā*⁴ *θβā āmauuantascā*⁵ + *buiiāmā*⁶
*rapōišcā*⁷ *tū nā*⁸
*darəgəmcā*⁹ *uštācā*
*hātəṃ hudāstəṃā*¹⁰ ∴

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1a <i>hanaēmācā</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>hañaimācā</i> J5</p> <p>1b <i>zaēmācā</i> G Mf4, K5
 <i>zaemācā</i> C1, J6
 <i>zəmācā</i> J5</p> <p>1 <i>mazdā</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6, J5
 <i>mazdā</i> J2</p> <p>1c <i>θβahmī</i> G Mf4; C1, J6
 <i>θβamī</i> K5
 <i>θaβahamī</i> J5</p> <p>2 <i>rafnahī</i> Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2, J3; Jp1 K4
 <i>rafnahē</i> Mf1
 <i>rafənahī</i> G S1; Mf2; L2, Dh1 S2, L1 O2
 L3; C1 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7, P6
 <i>rafiñahī</i> J5</p> <p>3 <i>darəgāiiā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1
 <i>darəgāiiū</i> K5 J2; O2
 <i>darəgāiiāu</i> G S1 J3; L1; H1 J6 (the sec-
 ond <i>ā</i> added sec.m.) L13 J7
 <i>darəgāiiu</i> Mf2 Jp1 K4; L3
 <i>darəgāiiā</i> L2, Bb1; C1
 <i>darəgāiiāu</i> S2
 <i>darigāiiā</i> J5
 cf. Y 28.6</p> <p>4 <i>aēšācā</i> G Pt4, K5, S1 J3; C1 (<i>š</i>)
 <i>ašācā</i> Mf4
 <i>aēšācā</i> J2
 <i>aešācā</i> J6, J5</p> | <p>5 <i>āmauuantascā</i> G Pt4 Mf4, K5, J3; H1, J5
 <i>īmauuantascā</i> J2
 <i>ēmauuantascā</i> S1
 <i>āmauuaintascā</i> S2; J6 L13
 <i>aēmauuantascā</i> C1</p> <p>6 <i>buiiāmā</i> G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4
 <i>buiiemā</i> K5
 <i>buiiāmā</i> S1
 <i>buiiāmā</i> J3; Dh1 L2, L1 B2 L3 Bb1; C1
 K11, H1 J6 L13 J7 O1, P6
 <i>bauiiāmā</i> J5</p> <p>7 <i>rapōišcā</i> Pt4 Mf4
 <i>rapōišcā</i> G K5
 <i>rapōicā</i> C1
 <i>rapōiscā</i> J6, J5</p> <p>8 <i>tū. nā</i> G Mf4, K5 (<i>nā</i> superscr.); J6
 <i>tūm. nā</i> Mf1; C1
 <i>tūnā</i> S1; L2, S2, L1; J7, J5
 <i>tā. nī</i> K4
 <i>tūne</i> K11, P6</p> <p>9 <i>darəgəmcā</i> G Mf4, K5; J5
 <i>dəragəmcā</i> K4
 <i>drəgəmcā</i> C1
 <i>darəgəṃ. cā</i> J6</p> <p>10 <i>hudāstəṃā</i> G Mf4, K5; J6
 <i>hudāstimā</i> S1
 <i>hudāstəṃā</i> C1, J5</p> |
|--|--|

May we earn and obtain¹, O Wise Lord,
your lifelong
support!

May we become² vigorous and strong³ through you
and may you support us
for a long time and according to (our) wish,
O most beneficent of those who exist!

1 *zaēmācā* ‘may we obtain’

The verb *zā* ‘to race ahead, win, obtain’ belongs to the Indo-Iranian vocabulary of the chariot race, when the aristocrats competed with one another for a prize. Horse and chariot figure prominently in a wide range of early literatures in Indo-European languages. Avestan and Vedic, but also Greek and other texts indicate that the chariot race was one of the great sports of Indo-European aristocrats and constituted an important aspect of their life and honour code. A detailed description is found in the 23rd book of Homer’s *Iliad*. On the occasion of the funeral of his close friend Patroklos, the hero Achilles holds a number of sporting contests. The first of these is a chariot race. It emerges from the description that we have to imagine a wide field with two turning posts. One of them represents both the start and the finish, the other is far away in the distance, the “turning pole”, towards which the competitors race.⁴ The most critical moment of the contest is when the charioteer has to steer his horses and chariot around the distant turning point, because there is the danger of injuring his horses and wrecking his chariot. However, if a competitor manages to negotiate it safely, and with good speed, he then races back to the starting point, hoping to outstrip his rivals and thus arrive first at the finish, where the prize is on display. The one who arrives first has won that ‘prize’. There also sit the spectators watching the race and cheering those who compete.

The Ir. technical term for ‘prize’ is *mīžda-*, Ved. *mīlhá-*. It is used in Y 40.1 and 41.5 to denote the reward requested by the worshippers from the Wise Lord. The verb *zā*, Ved. *hā* literally means ‘to leave (the rival) behind’ in the competition for the prize, ‘to arrive first’ where the prize is displayed, and therefore ‘to win’. The verb is followed by the locative case of the word which denotes the prize.⁵ In Y 41.4 it forms part of a metaphor, the prize being Ahura Mazdā’s ‘lifelong support’ (*rafənahī darəgāiīāu*).

2 **buiiāmā* ‘may we become’

GELDNER, *Avesta*, I, p. 138, accepts the reading *buiiāmā* both of the Persian Pahlavi *Yasna* and *Vendidad Sade* mss. and of the Indian Pahlavi *Yasna* ms. J2.⁶ As rightly noted by KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 152, however, *buiiāmā* is the expected form and is to be preferred. It is well attested in the mss. of the Sanskrit *Yasna* and the Indian *Vendidad Sade* and *Yasna Sade*.⁷

4 The Av. term for ‘distant turning pole’ is *apara- uruuaēsa-* (Vyt. 29).

5 See NARTEN, *YH*, p. 295f. with references.

6 The reading of K5 *buiiemā* is due to a YAv. phonetic development from *buiiāmā*.

7 NARTEN, *YH*, p. 47, edits *buiiāmā* with GELDNER, but writes *buiiāmā* on pp. 296–297, fn. 35. According to DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 145, in the “learned” Iranian mss. the correct form *buiiāmā* was replaced by *buiiāmā* under the influence of the YAv. forms *buiiama* and 2pl. *buiiata*, *dāiīata*.

3 *aēšācā ... āmauuantascā* ‘vigorous and strong’

Located in between two requests for Ahura Mazda’s support (*rafənah*, *rapōiš*) is the worshippers’ wish to become ‘vigorous and strong’:

Y 41.4 *aēšācā* θβā *āmauuantascā* **buiiāmā*

May we become vigorous and strong through you.

The context of Y 41.4 indicates that it is through Ahura Mazda’s support, requested both before and after their aspiration, that the worshippers hope to become ‘vigorous and strong’. The two adjectives also occur together in two other Avestan passages. In Y 9.20 they denote the subject of one of Zarathustra’s wishes addressed to Haoma:

Y 9.20 *iməm* θβəm *tūirīm yānəm*
haoma jaiðiemi dūraoša
yaθa aēšō amauuā
θraḡədō fraxštāne zəmə paiti
ībaēšō tauruuā drujəm vanō

This fourth favour I ask of you,
 O indestructible Haoma,
 that I may go forth vigorous, strong
 and prosperous on the earth,
 overcoming hostility, vanquishing the Lie.⁸

As noted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 296f., fn. 34, in Y 9.20 the collocation denotes that for which the worshippers wish as it also does in Y 41.4. By contrast, in the Gathic passage Y 43.10 the referent is unclear. It emerges from the context, however, that the person addressed is the one whom it is hoped will be made ‘vigorous and strong’:

Y 43.10 *aṭ tū mōi dāiš aṣəm hiiat mā zaozaomī*
ārmaitī hacimnō iṭ ārəm
pərəsācā nā yā tōi əhmā parštā
*parštēm zī θβā *yaθənā taṭ āmauuatəm*
hiiat θβā xšaiiṣ aēšəm diiāt āmauuantəm

But now⁹ show me the truth for which I am calling!
 Accompanied by right-mindedness, I have arrived.
 And ask us about that, about which we asked you.
 For what is asked by you is like that of strong ones,
 so that one who is able may make you vigorous and strong.

8 Cf. JOSEPHSON, *Hōm Yašt*, p. 62. On the much-discussed Av. *dūraoša*– see DE VAAN, *Av. Vowels*, p. 287.

9 On the particle *tū* see Y 39.4 no. 1, above, p. 276.

Y 41.5

θβōi¹ staotarascā² mąθranascā ahurā³ mazdā³
 aogāmadaēcā usmahicā⁴ vīsāmadaēcā
 hīiaṭ⁵ mīždām⁶ *mauuaiθīm^{6a} fradadāθā
 daēnābīiō mazdā ahurā ∴

θβōi staotarascā ... °tā° (= Y 41.5) ... mazdā ahurā (du bār) ∴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Y 41.5–6 = Y 7.24–25; many mss. abbreviate
 θβōi G Mf4, J2, J3; C1 and all mss. except:
 θβō K5</p> <p>2 staotarascā G Mf4; J6
 staotarasca K5
 staōitarascā ... tā ... mazdā ahurā C1
 satōitarascā J5</p> <p>3 ahura. mazdā Pt4 Mf4, K5 J2; L1 P1 L3;
 K11
 ahuramazdā G (Additions and Corrections) S1 J3</p> | <p>4 usmahicā G Pt4, S1 J3 (above <i>i</i> stands an <i>e</i>); L3; P6
 usmahicā Mf4, K5 J2; Mf2 Jp1 K4; B2</p> <p>5 hīiaṭ G Mf4, J2, S1
 yīiaṭ K5</p> <p>6 mīždām G Mf4, J2, J3
 mīždām K5
 mīžām S1
 mīiazdām L3</p> <p>6a mauuaēθām G Mf4, K5 J2</p> |
|---|---|

We declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer¹
 to be your praisers and poets, O Wise Lord.
 The prize which² you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:

We declare ourselves ... °to° (= Y 41.5) ... our beliefs, O Wise Lord: (twice)

- 1 aogāmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā ‘we declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer’

The three verbs *aogāmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* are quoted at the beginning of the text *Aogāmadaēcā* (Aog. 1), whose name derives from them. There, however, and as noted by JAMASPASA, *Aog.*, p. 53, note a, the collocation does not make complete sense. This is so because Aog.1 omits the nominative complements which precede the verbal forms in Y 41.5. By contrast, in the latter the verbs are part of a complete, self-contained sentence:

Y 41.5 θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā
 aogāmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā

We declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer
 to be your praisers and poets, O Wise Lord.

As is frequently the case in the YH, three verbs are syntactically co-ordinated to form a triad. NARTEN, *YH*, p. 298f., argues that each of them constitutes a

syntagma with the two nominatives: ‘we declare ourselves to be your praisers and poets’, ‘we aspire to be¹⁰ your praisers and poets’, ‘we volunteer to be your praisers and poets’. She supports this interpretation with reference to Y 50.11, where two verbs, *aog* and *ah* are syntactically co-ordinated in the context of the nom. *staotā*:

Y 50.11 *aṭ vā staotā aojāi mazdā aṇhācā*
yauuaṭ aṣā tauuācā isāicā
dātā aṇhōuš arədaṭ vohū manəṇhā
haiṭiiānuarəštəm hiiat vasnā fərašō.təməm

Thus I want to declare myself as and be your praiser, O Wise one,
 as much as I can and am able with the help of truth.
 The creator of life shall promote through good thought
 the realization at will of what is most excellent.

As in Y 41.5, the expression occurs at the end of a hymn. In both passages, it denotes the singer’s commitment to praising Ahura Mazda.

2 *hiiat mīždəm* ... ‘the prize which ...’

The sentence extending from *hiiat mīždəm* to *vīspāi yauuē* occurs at the beginning of Y 40 and is repeated at the end of Y 41, the only difference being that in Y 41.6 *haxəmā* of Y 40.2 is replaced by *sarəm*. However, according to NARTEN’s syntactic analysis, the pronoun *hiiat* at the beginning of the expression has different referents in the two passages. In Y 40.1, *hiiat mīždəm* is the subject of the verbal form *xrapaitī* (YH, p. 273):

Y 40.1 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī*
ahmaṭ hiiat aibī
*hiiat mīždəm *mauuaiṭīm fradadāṭā*
daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā
 Y 40.2 *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī* ...

Y 40.1 Through your generosity there shall take shape
 – as far as we are concerned –
 the prize which you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:
 Y 40.2 You there, give us from this (prize) ...!

In Y 40.1 the boundary of the stanzas agrees with that of the sentence. By contrast, in Y 41.5–6, *hiiat mīždəm*, which is preceded by a self-contained statement (see above, p. 317), introduces a new sentence which extends over the boundary of the stanza into Y 41.6:

10 NARTEN, YH, p. 299, with reference to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1382, 4a, rightly comments that the construction of *vas* ‘to wish’ with the nom. requires the addition of the infinitive of the verb ‘to be’.

Y 41.5 *hiiat mīždām *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā*
daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā

Y 41.6 *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī ...*

Y 41.5 The prize which you have allocated to someone like me
 for the sake of our beliefs, O Wise Lord:

Y 41.6 You there, give us from this (prize) ...!

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 300, suggests that in Y 41.5–6, the division into stanzas has been imported from Y 40.1–2 in spite of the fact that the expression *hiiat mīždām* has different syntactic functions in the two passages.

Y 41.6

abiiā huuō¹ nē¹ dāidī^{1a}
ahmāicā^{1b} ahuiiē² manāxiiāicā³
taṭ abiiā⁴
yā taṭ^{4a} upā.jamiiāmā⁵
tauuacā sarām⁶ aṣāxiiācā
vīspāi yauiē⁷ ∴

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>huuō. nē</i> G Mf4, K5; C1, J6
 <i>huuōnē</i> S1; J5
 <i>huuōnē</i> L1</p> <p>1a <i>dāidī</i> G, all mss. except:
 <i>dāiōi</i> J5</p> <p>1b <i>ahmāicā</i> G Mf4
 <i>aṃāicā</i> K5</p> <p>2 <i>ahuiiē</i> G Mf4, K5, J3
 <i>ahuiie</i> J2
 <i>huuiiē</i> S1</p> <p>3 <i>manāxiiācā</i> Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2, J3; Jp1
 K4; K11
 <i>manāxiiāicā</i> G S1; Mf2; P6</p> <p>4 <i>abiiā</i> G Mf4, K5
 <i>abiiāi</i> K4</p> <p>4a <i>yā. taṭ</i> G
 <i>yātaṭ</i> Mf4 (y), K5</p> | <p>5 <i>upā.jamiiāmā</i> Pt4 Mf4, S1
 <i>upajamiiāmā</i> Mf1
 <i>upā.jamiiāmā</i> G K5 J2; Jp1 K4
 <i>upā. jamiiā</i> J3
 <i>upā. jamiiāmā</i> Mf2</p> <p>6 <i>sarām</i> G Mf4, K5 J2, S1 J3
 <i>sarām</i> P11</p> <p>7 <i>yaoē</i> Pt4 Mf4 (y) Mf1, K5
 <i>yaoe</i> J2
 <i>yaouiē</i> S1 J3; Mf2 Jp1 K4; L1 B2; H1 J6
 L13 J7
 <i>yauiē</i> G L2, Dh1, L3; K11
 <i>yaōuiē</i> C1 (abbr.: <i>dāidī ... tā ... vīspā.</i>
 <i>yaōuiē</i>)
 <i>yaouue</i> J5</p> |
|---|--|

You, there, give us from this (prize)
 for both this and the spiritual life,
 (give us) this from this (prize)
 by which we shall attain the following:
 union¹ with you and Truth
 for all time!

1 *sarəm* ‘union’

KELLENS/PIRART interpret the repetition of the words *hiiat mīzdām ... vīspāi yaunē* in Y 41.5–6 as a secondary addition made in order to create a ring-composition of chapters 40–41. However, they also point out the incompetence of whoever introduced such a repetition in that the neuter demonstrative pronoun *taṭ*, which they view as an adjective, is syntactically incompatible with the fem. noun *sarəm* ‘union’.¹¹ The latter represents the only difference between the two passages. KELLENS/PIRART argue that Y 40.1–2 is grammatically correct because the neuter dem.pronoun *taṭ* agrees in case, gender and number with *haxəmā*, which occurs there instead of *sarəm* in Y 41.6. An English rendering of their French translation is as follows:

Y 40.2 *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā*
taunacā haxəmā ašaxiiācā
vīspāi yaunē

(the reward) which allows us to join this fellowship that belongs to you and to Truth forever.¹²

KELLENS/PIRART’s interpretation, however, is unsatisfactory from a syntactic point of view, because their translation presupposes the correlative construction *taṭ haxəmā ... hiiat*, which is not found in the original text. Moreover, their assumption of syntactic gender incongruence in Y 41.6 is unnecessary because, as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 620, 4b, *taṭ* could function as a substantive and be in apposition to *haxəmā* in Y 40.2 and to *sarəm* in 41.6:

(the prize) by which we shall attain the following:
 fellowship/union with you and Truth
 for all time!¹³

While KELLENS/PIRART reject this interpretation of *taṭ* in Y 41.6 as “artificielle et improbable”, they allow it in Y 49.10, which offers a syntactic parallel for the word functioning as a substantive and followed by nominal appositions¹⁴:

11 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, III, p. 153: “... il s’agit d’une addition secondaire, une tentative maladroite de boucler le texte par une répétition encerclante, comme dans les autres parties du YH”. Their edition of the text of the YH ends with Y 41.5 *vīśāmadācā* (*TVA*, I, p. 140) and *sarəm* attested in Y 41.6 is not listed in the dictionary (*TVA*, II, p. 314).

12 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 139: ‘(la récompense) qui nous permet de rejoindre pour l’éternité cette communauté qui est à toi et à l’Harmonie’.

13 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1746 and *apud* WOLFF, *Avesta*, pp. 69–70: “dass wir dazu gelangen, zur Gemeinschaft/Vereinigung mit dir und dem *Aša* für alle Zeit”. BARTHOLOMAE’s interpretation of *taṭ* as a substantive is accepted by NARTEN, *YH*, p. 300 with fn. 45, and HUMBACH, *Gāthās*², I, p. 149f., II, pp. 130, 133.

14 KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA*, I, p. 173, translate: ‘Voici ce que tu abrites dans ta demeure, ô Mazdā: la divine Pensée, l’être des partisans de l’Harmonie et l’hommage avec lequel se trouvent la Déférence et l’invigoration’.

Y 49.10 *taṭcā mazdā θβahmī ā dām nipāñbhē*
manō vohū urunascā ašāunqm
nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ižācā

And in your house you guard the following, O Wise one:
 good thought and the souls of the truthful ones,
 and the reverence with which right-mindedness and invigoration (are associated).

KELLENS/PIRART's case for removing Y 41.5–6 from the text of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* thus collapses.

NARTEN, *YH*, p. 300, offers a detailed syntactic analysis of 40.1–2 = 41.5–6:

- Y 41.5 (a) *hiiat mīždām *mauuaiθīm*
fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā
 Y 41.6 (b) *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī*
 (c) *ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiāicā*
 (d) *taṭ ahiiā*
 (e) *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā*
 (f) *tauuacā sarəm ašaxiiācā*
 (g) *vīspāi yauuē*

She suggests that the sentence consists of three sections. The first (a) addresses the 'prize' (*mīžda-*) which Ahura Mazdā has set aside (*fradadāθā*) as appropriate for 'someone like me' (**mauuaiθīm*) 'for the sake of our beliefs' (*daēnābiiō*). It is followed by two requests, (b–c) and (d–g), the first of which is of a more general nature. Ahura Mazdā is asked to give (*dāidī*) a portion of this prize (*ahiiā*), which is for the benefit of both the spiritual and material existence (*ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiāicā*). The second request specifies that part of the prize (*taṭ ahiiā*) which is desired by the worshippers: everlasting (*vīspāi yauuē*) communion with Ahura Mazdā and with Truth (*tauuacā sarəm ašaxiiācā*).

The verses have a clear syntactic structure. The substantive *mīždām* 'prize' in (a) is implied by the twice repeated partitive gen. *ahiiā* 'of this' in (b) and (d). The function of the pronoun is to mark the beginning of the two requests. Furthermore, two syntactically parallel datives indicate the extent to which the 'prize' is desired: to entail both levels of existence, spiritual and material (c), and 'for all time' (g). The pronoun *taṭ* 'this, the following' in (e) points forward and prepares for the prize's naming (f–g) which constitutes the climax and conclusion of the stanza, indeed of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* as a whole. The composition of the request thus displays a movement from the general to the specific. The broad term *mīžda-* at the beginning is at the end clarified as consisting in everlasting fellowship (*haxəman-*) and communion (*sar-*) with Ahura Mazdā and with Truth. Moreover, at the outset this *mīžda-* is characterized as a "personal" prize by the attribute **mauuaiθīm* 'someone like me'.¹⁵

15 On the question who might be implied by 'me', see Y 40.1 no. 4 *mīždām *mauuaiθīm* 'the prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me', above, pp. 289–291.

The noun *sarəm* ‘union, communion’ represents the only difference between Y 40.1–2 and Y 41.5–6 at the end of the YH. It replaces *haxəmə* in Y 40.2.¹⁶ NARTEN, *YH*, p. 301f., rightly points out that in both passages each term denotes the central concept of the request insofar as it specifies the nature of the prize (*mīžda-*), namely everlasting ‘fellowship’ (*haxəman-* Y 40.2) and ‘union’ (*sar-* Y 41.6) with Ahura Mazdā and with Truth. She convincingly suggests that the choice of two different terms at the centre of each passage’s message indicates that Y 41.5–6 is no secondary repetition of Y 40.1–2 but forms part of the original composition.¹⁷ Such a variation serves the stylistic purpose of intensification. Within the context of an almost verbatim repetition of Y 40.1–2, the one divergence acquires a special significance, the word *sarəm* characterizing, like *haxəman-* in Y 40.2, the worshippers’ union with spiritual beings, namely Ahura Mazdā and Truth, on both the bodily and mental planes. The not quite word for word reiteration of the beginning at the end is a poetic device to reinforce the most important aspect of the worshippers’ request.

16 See Y 40.2 no. 2 *haxəmə* and Y 40.4 no. 3 **haxəməm*, above, pp. 293 and 302f.

17 On the KELLEN/PIRART view (*TVA*, III, p. 153), that Y 41.5–6 should be eliminated, see above, p. 321f.; on their interpretation of *ahiiā* as the ipt.sg. ‘throw!’, see Y 40.2 no. 1 *ahiiā*, above, p. 292f.

Y 41.7

¹*yeñhē hātq̃m* [(= Y 27.15) *āat̃ yesnē paitī*
vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēdā ašāt̃ hacā
yāñhqm̃cā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide (du bār) ∴*

²*humatanqm̃* [(= Y 35.2) *hūxtanqm̃ huuarštānqm̃*
iiadacā aniiadacā
vərəziiamnanqm̃cā vāuuərəzanānqm̃cā
mahī aibī.jarētārō
naēnaēstārō +yaθnā] *vohunqm̃ mahī (du bār) ∴*

(*rāspī ∴*) ³*yaθā ahū vairiō* [(= Y 27.13) *aθā ratuš ašāt̃cīt̃ hacā*
vañhōuš dazdā manañhō šiiəoθananqm̃ añhōuš mazdāi
xšaθrəm̃cā ahurāi.ā yim drigubiiō dadaṭ̃ vāstārəm̃] (*cihār bār*) ∴

⁴*ašəm vohū*^{4a} [(= Y 27.14) *vahištəm astī*
uštā astī uštā ahmāi
hiiaṭ̃ ašāi vahištāi ašəm] (*si bār*) ∴

- 1 Y 4.26
yeñhē G
yeñhe Mf4, K5; C1, J6, J5
 2 Y 35.2

- 3 Y 27.13
 4 Y 27.14
 4a *vōhū* Mf4; J5
vohū G K5

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings. (Twice).

Of good thoughts, [(= Y 35.2) good words, good deeds
 both here and elsewhere
 being done and having been done
 we are welcomers,
 not revilers] of such good (things) are we. (Twice).

(Assistant priest:) Just as he is to be chosen by existence, [(= Y 27.13) so the judge-
 ment according to truth
 about existence's actions of good thought is attributed to the Wise one
 and the rule (is attributed) to the Lord whom one has appointed as a herdsman
 for the destitute.] (Four times).

Truth is the [(= Y 27.14) highest good.
 It is according to will, (it is) according to his will for him,
 since Truth is for the best Truth.] (Three times).¹

1 *yej̥hē hātām* etc.

The sequence of prayers and their repetitions in Y 41.7 agrees precisely with the description of this section in N 65 (= N 47.41, KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 216f., who, however, in fn. 862– 863 erroneously refer to Y 41.6). A poetic analysis of the *Ahuna Vairya* prayer is given by WATKINS, *Dragon*, p. 190f.

Y 41.8

yasnəm sūrəm haptan̄hāitīm¹
ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide

²*yeṇhē hātəm* [(= Y 27.15 *āat̄ yesnē paitī*
vaṇhō mazdā ahurō vaēdā ašāt̄ hacā
yāṇhamcā tascā] *tāscā yazamaide* ∴ ∴

- 1 *haptan̄hāitīm* G Pt4 Mf4 Mf1, K5 J2; L2,
 Dh1 S2, O2 L3; C1
haptan̄ghāitīm S1; Mf2 Jp1 K4
hafan̄ ... m J3
haptan̄g. hāitīm J4; K11, H1 J6
haptan̄g. hāitīm J7

- 2 Y 4.26
yeṇhē G
yeṇhe Mf4; K5; C1, J6
 In K5 sec.m. in marg.
 The formula is wanting in J2, but is
 found in all other mss. Pt4 reckons 6
 strophes, each of 3 lines.

We worship the strong Seven-chapter Worship,
 the truthful model of truth.

We worship those male beings in whose [(= Y 27.15) worship
 the Wise Lord knows what is best on account of truth,
 and likewise we also worship] those female beings.

IV. Dictionary

Sequence of letters:

$$a, \bar{a}, \overset{\circ}{a}, \overset{\circ}{\bar{a}}, \dot{a}, \dot{\bar{a}}, b, \beta, c, d, \delta, e, \bar{e}, \vartheta, \bar{\vartheta}, f, g, \dot{g}, \gamma, h, i, \bar{i}, j, k, m, \mathfrak{m}, n, \acute{n}, \eta, \acute{\eta}, \eta^{\vee}, o, \bar{o}, p, r, s, \check{s}, \check{\check{s}}, \check{\check{s}}, t, \underline{t}, \vartheta, u, \bar{u}, v, x, \acute{x}, x^{\vee}, y, \dot{y}, z, \check{z}$$

a- dem.pron., 1. 'this' (near-deictic) 2. reflexive, referring to the subject of the sentence, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1–11, Pahl.tr. *ēn*, *ān*, *ōy*, *awēšān*, Ved. ²*a-*, *EWAIa* I 35, *AiGr.* III §248, pp. 511–528, see Y 36.2 no. 1 *huuō* 'that one there', pp. 119–123

abmāi dat.sg.m.ntr. Ved. *asmāi*: 1. *vārāziiōtūcā it* ~ 35.6 | 1. *ṁβā ṁβā mainiiū spāništā yā ā axtiš* ~ *yām axtōiiōi dāybhē* 36.1 | 1. (*mīzdam* ...) *abiiā buuō nā dāidi* ~ *cā abuiē manaxiiāicā tat abiiā yā tat upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2, 41.6

abiiā gen.sg.m. Ved. *ásya, asyá, asya*: 1. ~ ṡṡā āṡrō vārəzēnā paouruiiē *pairijasāmaidē
mazdā ahurā 36.1 | 1. ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī mainiiuš vōi ~ spāništō ahī 36.3 |
 2. yā gamcā ašəm cā dāt ... ~ xšāṡrācā mazdācā hauiiapaṡhāišcā 37.2

abhiā gen.sg.ntr. Ved. *āśya*, *asyá*, *asya*: 1. (*mīzdam* ...) ~ *huuō nā dāidī abmāicā abuiē*
manaxiūāicā tat ~ *yā tat upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2², 41.6²

aiš instr.pl.ntr.: 1. *staotāiš* (= *staotā āiš*) *θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxδa θβāt uxδōibiiō yasnā θβāt yasnōibiiō* 35.10 cf. Y 35.10 no. 1 *staotāiš*, pp. 107–109 | 1. *gaunōi *ad-~ tāiš šūiaodanāiš yāiš vahištāiš ... rāmācā vāstrəmācā dazdiiāi* 35.4 cf. Y 35.4 no. 2 **ad-aiš* ‘indeed herewith’, p. 75f. | 1. *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēnghācā ... yā vohū ... aθā θβā ~ yazamaidē* 39.4

aēibiiō dat.pl.m. Ved. *ebhyāh*: 1. *fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ ~ yōi ...* 35.6 | 1. *pasukanamcā yōi nā jijiśānti yaēibiiāscā tōi ā yaēcā ~ ā aṇhān* 39.1

aēšām gen.pl.ntr. Ved. *eśām*: 1. *imā aṭ uxδā vacā ahurā mazdā ... frauuaocāmā θβām aṭ - paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē* 35.9

ābīš instr.pl.f. Ved. *ābhiḥ*: 1. *yāscā tōi gənā aburā mazdā ... tā yazamaidē ... vanḥīm - ašīm vanḥīm iśəm ... vanḥīm *parəndīm yazamaidē* 38.2

ābhū loc.pl.f. Ved. *āsú*: 1. ~ *aṭ paitī adābhū mazdā ahurā mazdāmca būiricā kərəšuuā* 40.1

ad verb, 'to say', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 55, Ved. *ab*, *EWaia* I 153, NARTEN, *YH* 125f., see Y 35.8 no. 1 *ādā* 'I say', pp. 91–93

ād- perf.

ādā 1sg.ind.act. Ved. *āha*: *aṣahiiā āat sairī aṣahiiā vərəzəzənē kahmaicīt hātəm jijiṣəm vahiṣəm ~ ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 35.8

ad-āiš Y 35.4, $\rightarrow at, a-$

aēša- adj., 'capable', 'vigorous', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 32, Ved. *eṣá-*, *iṣirá-*, *EWaia* I 199, 271 s.v. ²*eṣ*, Ilr **aiša-*, from Ilr. **iś* 'to set in motion', NARTEN, *YH* 296f.

fn. 34; HUMBACH 1958, 26; see Y 41.4 no. 3 *aēšācā ... āmauuantascā* ‘vigorous and strong’, p. 316

aēšā nom.pl.m.: ~cā θβā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā 41.4

agəniīā- subst., f., ‘prize cow’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 49, Ved. *āghnyā-*, *EWAia* I 46f., see Y 38.5 no. 4 *agəniīā* ‘O prize cows!’, p. 249f.

agəniīā voc.pl.: *apascā vā ... ~ drigudāiiayhō vīspō.paitīš *āuuuacāmā* 38.5

ab verb, ‘to be’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 266–279, Ved. *as*, *EWAia* I 144, IIr **as*, IE **h₁es*, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 200–203 (inflection)

ab-/h- root pres.

abī 2sg.ind.act. Ved. *ási: ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ~ mainiiuš vōi abiiā spāništō ~* 36.3²

astī 3sg.ind.act. OP *astiy*, Ved. *ásti: yōi īt aṁ vərəzūiān yaṁ īt ~* 35.6

mabī 1pl.ind.act. Ved. *smási: humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm ... ~ aibī.jarətārō naēnaēstārō *yaṁnā vohunəm ~* 35.2²

aṁhən 3pl.subj.act. Ved. *ásan: pasukanəmcā yōi nā jijišəntī yaēibiiāscā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā ~* 39.1

xiīā 2sg.opt.act. Ved. *syáh: aṁ tū nā gaiiāscā astəntāscā ~ ubōiiō aṁhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.3

xiīāt 3sg.opt.act. Ved. *syát: yā hātəm *šiiāoṁnanəm vahištā ~* 35.3 | *aṁ *haxəməm ~ yāiš hišcamaidē* 40.4

xiīāmā 1pl.opt.act. Ved. *syāma: aṁ vā utā ~ mazdā ahurā ašauuanō ərəšiiā ištəm rāitī* 40.4

haṁt-/bat- pres.part.act.

baṁ acc.sg.ntr.: *yaṁ aṁ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiṁ aṁ ~ vohū* 35.6, NARTEN, YH 117 fn. 118

bātəm gen.pl.m.: *yeyhē ~ (= Y 27.15 āaṁ yesnē paitī ... yāṁhəmcā tascā) tāscā yazamaide* 35.10, 36.6, 37.5, 38.5, 39.5, 40.4, 41.7 | *ī mainimadicā ... yā ~ *šiiāoṁnanəm vahištā xiīāt* 35.3 | *kaḥmāicūt ~ jijišəm vahištəm ādā* 35.8 | *huxšadrastū nā nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aṁhuuō ~ hudāstəmā* 41.2, see p. 311 | *aṁ tū nā gaiiāscā astəntāscā xiīā ubōiiō aṁhuuō ~ hudāstəmā* 41.3 | *aēšācā θβā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū nā darəgəmcā uštācā ~ hudāstəmā* 41.4

ahma- pers.pron., ‘us’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 295f., Pahl.tr. *amā*, Ved. *asmā-*, *EWAia* I 151f., stem of oblique cases of the 1pl. pers.pron. *vaēm*

ahmā instr. Ved. cf. *asmābhiḥ*: see *ahmā.rafanah-* 40.3

ahmaibiiā dat. Ved. *asmābhyam: dāidī aṁ nərəš mazdā ahurā ... vāstriiəṅ darəgāi iṣiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē ~ ahmā.rafanayhō* 40.3

ahmaṁ abl. Ved. *asmāt*: ~ *hiīaṁ aibī* 35.5, 40.1, see p. 77f.

ahmā.rafanah- adj., cf. *ahma-*, ‘who have support through us’, ‘who are supported by us’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 298, Pahl.tr. *ān ī amāg rāmēnīdār*, NARTEN, YH 279, see Y 40.3 no. 5 *ahmā.rafanayhō* ‘who are supported by us’, p. 297f.

ahmā.rafanayhō acc.pl.: *dāidī aṁ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašauunō ašacinayhō aidiiuš vāstriiəṅ darəgāi iṣiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā ~* 40.3

abmāka- poss. adj., 'our', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 297, Ved. *asmāka-*, *EWAia* I 151f.

abmākəṅg acc.pl.m.: ~ *āat urunō pasukanəmca ... daitikanəmca ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1

abmākāiš instr.pl.m./ntr.: *təm ~ *azdabīscā uštānāiscā yazamaidē* 37.3

abu- subst., m., 'life', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 106–110, Pahl.tr. *axw*, *axwān*, Ved. *asu-*, *EWAia* I 147, see Y 35.3 no. 7 *ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'for both existences', p. 73

abuiiē dat.sg. YAv. *ay̥he < *ahyaḥ*: (*mīždəm...*) *abiiā huuō nō dāidī ahmāicā ~ manaxiiāicā taṭ abiiā yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2, 41.6

ahubiiā dat.du.: *yā ... vahištā xiiāt ubōibiiā ~ 35.3 | ašabiiā āat sairī ašabiiā vərəzōnē kahmāicīt hātəm jīišəm vahištəm ādā ubōibiiā ~ 35.8 | apō at yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā vā huuōyžavāscā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibiiā ~ cagēmā* 38.3

ay̥huuō loc.du. Ved. cf. -*voh*: *huxšaθrastū nō nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiō ~ hātəm hudāstēmā* 41.2 | *aθā tū nō gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiō ~ hātəm hudāstēmā* 41.3

abura- subst., m., 'lord', title of the deity Ahura Mazdā, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 285–293, Pahl.tr. *ohrmazd*, *xwadāy*, Ved. *āsura-*, *EWAia* I 147f.

aburō nom.sg.: **uitī yā vō vay̥hīs ~ mazdā *nāməm dadāt ... tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

aburā voc.sg.: *staotāiš θβāt ~ staotōibiiō aibī* 35.10 | *taṭ at *varəmaidē ~ mazdā ... hiiat ... 35.3 | imā at uxδā vacā ~ mazdā ašəm *manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9 | *abiiā θβā āθrō vərəzōnā paouruiiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ~ 36.1 | nōmaxiiāmahi išūidiiāmahi θβā mazdā ~ 36.5 | sraēštəm at tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahi mazdā ~ imā raocā* 36.6 | *yāscā tōi gənā ~ mazdā ašāt hacā vairiā tā yazamaidē* 38.1 | *yadā tū ī ~ mazdā mōnghācā vaocascā dāscā varəscā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahi ... aθā išūidiiāmahi θβā mazdā ~ 39.4² | āhū at paitī ādāhū mazdā ~ mazdāmca būiricā kərəšuuā raitī tōi xrapaitī ... mīždəm ... mazdā ~ 40.1² | dāidī at nərəš mazdā ~ ašauuō ašacinayhō* 40.3 | *aθā vō utā xiiāmā mazdā ~ ašauuanō vərəšiiā ištəm raitī* 40.4 | *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ~ apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* 41.2 | *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ~ θβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu* 41.4 | *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ~ mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā hiiat mīždəm *mauuiθīm fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ~ abiiā huuō nō dāidī* 41.5²

aburəm acc.sg.: ~ *mazdəm ašauuanəm ašabe ratūm yazamaide* 35.1 | *iθā at yazamaidē ~ mazdəm yō gəmca ašəmca dāt* 37.1

aburāi dat.sg.: **huxšaθrō.təmāi ... hiiat mazdāi ~ 35.5 | stūtō garō vahmōṅg ~ mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahi* 41.1

aburahiiā gen.sg.: ~ *zī at vō mazdā yasnəmca vahməmca vahištəm aməhmaidī* 35.7 | *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ātarə mazdā ~ 36.2 | ātarš mazdā ~ ahī mainiiuš vōi abiiā spōništō ahī hiiat vā tōi nāmanəm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ~ tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3² | *apō at yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīscā *hōbuuantīscā frauuazayhō aburānīš ~ *hauuapayhā* 38.3

aburānī- adj., 'lordly', 'belonging to the lord', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 295, Pahl.tr. transcr., see Y 38.3 no. 4 *ahurānīš* 'lordly ones', pp. 230–232

aburānīš acc.pl.: *apō at yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīscā *hōbuuantīscā frauuazayhō ~ aburahiiā *hauuapayhā* 38.3

aibī postpos., 1. acc. 'towards' 2. abl. 'from', OAv., YAv. *aīβi*, *auui*, *AirWb* 87f., Ved. *abhi*, *EWAia* I 91

1. *ahmaṭ hīiaṭ* ~ 35.5, 40.1, see p. 77f. | 2. *staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō ~ uxδā θβāt uxδōibiiō yasnā θβāt yasnoibiiō* 35.10, see p. 109f.

aibī.jarətar- subst., m., 'welcomer', YH YAv., *AirWb* 90, Pahl.tr. *abar griftār*, glossed: *kū ō xwēš gīrēm*, *EWAia* I 468f., NARTEN, YH 88–90

aibī.jarətārō nom.pl.: *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm ... mahī* ~ 35.2

aidiiu- adj., 'not injuring', 'non-destructive', 'innocuous', OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 61f., Ved. *ādyu-*, hapax in RV 7.34.12, *EWAia* I 65, 699f., Ilr **a-di(H)-u-*, NARTEN, YH 280f. with ref.; see Y 40.3 no. 4 *aidiiūš vāstriiəṅg* 'non-violent herdsmen', p. 296f.

aidiiūš acc.pl.m.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinayhō ~ vāstriiəṅg* 40.3

aidiiūnəm gen.pl.m.: *daitikanəmcā ~ hīiaṭ urunō yazamaidē* 39.2

aməša- adj., 1. 'immortal' 2. m.: 'immortal', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 145–147, Pahl.tr. *amarg*, Ved. *amṛta-*, *EWAia* II 318f., see Y 37.4 no. 2 *spəntəm aməšəm* 'bounteous immortal', pp. 188–190, and Y 39.3 no. 2 *spəntəṅg aməšəṅg* 'bounteous immortals', p. 273f.

aməšəm acc.sg.: 2. *ašəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hīiaṭ sraēštəm hīiaṭ spəntəm* ~ 37.4

aməšā acc.pl.: 2. *~ spəntā huxšaθrā hūdāṅhō yazamaide* 35.1

aməšəṅg acc.pl.: 2. *āṭ iθā yazamaidē vanhūšcā iṭ vanhūšcā iṭ spəntəṅg* ~ 39.3

aniiadā adv., 'elsewhere', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 138, cf. Y 51.10 *aniiāθā* 'otherwise', Ved. *anyāthā*, *anyātra*. Ilr **anīa-da*, see Y 35.2 no. 1 *iiadacā aniiadacā* 'here and elsewhere', pp. 61–63, < **anīa-da*, derived from pronominal adj. **anīa-* 'other'

aniiada° *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštanəm iiadacā ~cā vərəzīiamnanəmcā vāuuərazananəmcā mahī aibī.jarətārō* 35.2

aoj verb, 'to declare', 'to proclaim', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 37f., Pahl.tr. *guftan*, Ved. *oh*, 3pl. *óhate*, *EWAia* I 283, IE **h₁eyǵ^h*, LIV² 253, KELLENS, *Verbe av.* 92; see Y 41.5 no. 1 *aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 'we declare ourselves, aspire and volunteer', p. 317f.

aoj- rqt pres.

aogəmadaē° 1pl.ind.med.: *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā ~cā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 41.5

ap- subst., f., 'water', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 325–29, Pahl.tr. *āb*, MP *āb*, Ved. *áp-*, *EWAia* I 81f., KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 371–374

apas° acc.pl.: *iθā āṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yō ... ~cā dāṭ uruuarāscā vanhūšcā* 37.1 | *~cā vā azīšcā vā mātəṛqšcā vā ... *āuuəocāmā* 38.5

apō acc.pl.: *~ aṭ yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīšcā *həbuuantīšcā frauuazayhō ahurānīš ahurahīā *hauuapayhā* 38.3

ast- subst., ntr., 1. 'bone', 2. 'body', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 211f., Ved. *ásthi-*, *EWAia* I 150f., IE **h₂ost-h₂/n-*, KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 336–339; see Y 41.3 no. 1 *gaiiascā astəntāscā* 'life and corporality', p. 313

azdabiš° instr.pl.: 2. *tām ahmākāiš + ~cā uštānāišcā yazamaidē* 37.3

astəntāt- subst., f., 'corporality', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 214, Pahl.tr. *az tō amā tan ud gyān bawād*, Ved. cf. *ásthi-/asthán-*, *EWAia* I 150f., IE **h₂ost-h₂/n-*, NARTEN, *YH* 294 fn. 27; see Y 41.3 no. 1 *gaiiascā astəntāscā* 'life and corporality', p. 313

astəntās° nom.sg.: *aθā tū nē gaiiascā ~cā xiiā ubōiio aṇhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.3

asurunuuant- adj., 'not listening', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 223, private formation from pres.part. *surunuuant-* of root → *sru* 'to hear, listen'

asurunuuatas° acc.pl.m.: *fraēšiiāmahi ... surunuuatascā ~cā xšaiiantascā axšaiiantascā* 35.4

aša- subst., ntr., 'rightness', 'order', 'truth', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 229–38, Pahl.tr. *ahlāyih, ašavahišt, rāstih, tarsāgāhīh*, PrIr **árta-* or *árta-*, Ved. *ṛtá-*, *EWAia* I 254f., CANTERA 2003, see Y 35.1 no. 2 *ašahe* 'Truth', pp. 53–58

ašəm acc.sg.: *imā āt uxōā vacā ahurā mazdā ~ *manaiiā vabehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9 | *iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yā gəmčā ~cā dāt* 37.1 | *~ at vahištəm yazamaidē hiiat sraēštəm hiiat spəntəm aməšəm ...* 37.4

ašā instr.sg.: *taṭ at *varəmaidī ... ~ srīrā hiiat ...* 35.3 | *vohū θβā manayhā vohū θβā ~ ... pairijasāmaidē* 36.4

ašāi° dat.sg.: **huxšaθrō.təmāi xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuən mahicā hiiat mazdāi ahurāi ~cā vahištāi* 35.5 | *stūtō garō vahmāṇg ahurāi mazdāi ~cā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahi* 41.1

ašāt abl.sg.: *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ~ hacā vairiia tā yazamaidē* 38.1

ašāat° abl.sg.: *~cā hacā vaṇhōušcā manayhō vaṇhōušcā xšaθrāt staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibi* 35.10

ašāhiiā gen.sg.: *~ āat sairi ~ vərəzēnē ... jijišəm vahištəm ādā* 35.8² | *vaṇhōuš xāētāuš xāētātā vaṇhōuš ~ θβā pairijasāmaidē* 39.5 | *(mīždəm) yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm ~cā vīspāi yauuē* 41.6

ašāxiiā° gen.sg.: *(mīždəm) yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā ~cā vīspāi yauuē* 40.2

ašāhe gen.sg.: YAv. *ahurəm mazdəm ašauuanəm ~ ratūm yazamaide* 35.1 | *yasnəm sūrəm haptanḥāitīm ašauuanəm ~ ratūm yazamaide* 41.8

ašacinah- adj., 'desiring truth', YH YAv., *AirWb* 240, Pahl.tr. *ahlāyih kāmāg* or *kāmāgdom*, Ved. cf. *cānas-* 'delight, satisfaction', *EWAia* I 528, see Y 40.3 no. 2 *ašacinayhō* 'truth-desiring', p. 296

ašacinayhō acc.pl.: *dāidī at nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ~* 40.3

ašayhac- adj., 'who is in companionship with truth', 'who is in alliance with truth', 'whose companion is Truth', YH YAv. (Y 56.3), *AirWb* 240, NARTEN, *YH* 288f.; KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 297f.

ašayhācim acc.sg.m.: *humāim θβā ižim yazatəm ~ dadəmaidē* 41.3

ašauuan- adj., 'righteous', 'truthful', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 246–253, Pahl.tr. *ahlaw*, Ved. *ṛtávan-*, *EWAia* I 256, TICHY 1986

ašauuanəm acc.sg.m.: *ahurəm mazdām ~ ašabe ratūm yazamaide* 35.1 | *yasnəm sūrəm haptayhāitīm ~ ašabe ratūm yazamaide* 41.8

ašaonō gen.sg.m.: *vīspām ~ stīm yazamaide* 35.1

ašauuanō nom.pl.m.: *aθā vā utā xiiāmā mazdā ahurā ~ ərəšiiā ištām rāitī* 40.4

ašāunō acc.pl.m.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ~ ašacinayhō* 40.3

ašāunəm gen.pl.m./f.: *tām ~ frauuašīš narəmcā nāirinəmcā yazamaide* 37.3 | *~ āaṭ urunō yazamaide* 39.2

aši- subst., f., 'bestowal', 'reward', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 241–244, Pahl.tr. *tarsāgāhīh*, *tarsāgāh*, PrIr **ār-ti-*

ašīm acc.sg.: *vaṇ^hīm ābīš ~ vaṇ^hīm ištām vaṇ^hīm āzūitīm vaṇ^hīm frasastīm vaṇ^hīm *parəndīm yazamaide* 38.2

aṭ particle, 1. enclitic, emphasizing the preceding word: 'just', 'precisely', 'indeed' 2. introducing a sentence or clause, sandhi form *ad-*; virtually only OAv., in YAv. largely replaced by *āaṭ*, *AirWb* 67–69, Pahl.tr. *ēdōn*, IE **at*, DUNKEL 1988; NARTEN, *YH* 94f., 104f., see Y 35.3 no. 2 *aṭ* 'certainly, precisely', p. 71f.

1. *taṭ ~ *varəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadicā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3 | 1. *gauuōi *ad-āišt tāišt šiiāoθanāišt yāišt vahištāišt ... rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 35.4 | 1. **huxšaθrō.təmāi *bā *~ xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā *huuənmahicā hiiat mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5 | 1. *ahurahiiā zī ~ vā mazdā yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm aməhmaidī ... taṭ ~ vā vərəziiāmahi* 35.7² | 1. *θβəm ~ aēšəm paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē* 35.9 | 1. *sraēštəm ~ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6 | 1. *tām ~ yasnanəm pauuātātā yazamaide* 37.2 | 1. *tām ~ āhūiriiā nāmōnī mazdā.varā *spəntō.təmā yazamaide* 37.3 | 1. *ašəm ~ vahištəm yazamaide hiiat sraēštəm hiiat spəntəm aməšəm ...* 37.4 | 1. *apō ~ yazamaide *maēkaiiaṇtišcā *həbuuaṇtišcā frauuazayhō ahurāništ ahurahiiā *hauuapayhā* 38.3 | 1. *āhū ~ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 40.1 | 1. *dāidī ~ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinayhō* 40.3

aθā adv., 1. predicative pronominal adv. 'thus', 'so' 2. in correlation with *yaθā* 'as', 'as ... so' 3. co-ordinating 'equally', 'likewise', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 62–64, Pahl.tr. *ēdōn*, Ved. *átha*, *EWAia* I 59, Ir **athā*, dem.pron. *a-* + modal suffix Ir. *-*thā*, IE **e-th₂eh₁*, DUNKEL 1988, 63, see Y 40.4 no. 2 *aθā* 'likewise; thus', p. 301f.

1. *~ *haxəmqm xiiāt yāišt hišcamaidē ~ vā utā xiiāmā mazdā ahurā ašauuanō ərəšiiā ištām rāitī* 40.4² | 1. *~ tū nā gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.3 | 2. *yaθā aṭ utā ... vaēdā haiθīm ~ haṭ vohū ... fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō yōi iṭ ~ vərəziiān yaθā iṭ astī* 35.6² | 2. *yaθā tū i ahurā mazdā mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varəscā yā vohū ~ tōi dadəmahī ~ cīšmahī ~ θβā āišt yazamaide ~ nəmašiiāmahī ~ išūidiiāmahī θβā mazdā ahurā* 39.4⁵ | 3. *~ xəētūš ~ vərəzēnā* 40.4²

auu verb, 1. acc. 'to help someone' 2. acc. 'to facilitate something', 'to expedite something', 'to promote something', OAv., *AirWb* 162, Ved. *avⁱ*, *EWAia* I 134f., see Y 38.5 no. 9 *auuā* 'I want to promote, facilitate', pp. 253–255

auua- a-pres.

auuā 1sg.subj.act.: 2. *~ ... darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī *viiādā paitī.səndā* 38.5

auua- dem.pron., ‘that there’, far-deictic, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 163–168, *EWAia* I 135, *AiGr.* III §253; see Y 36.2 no. 1 *huuō* ‘that one there’, pp. 119–123

huuō nom.sg.m.: *uruuāzištō* ~ *nā yātāiā paitī.jamiiā ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā* 36.2 | (*mīždām*) *ahiiā* ~ *nā dāidī ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiāicā* 40.2, 41.6

auuaŋ nom.sg.ntr.: *barəzištəm* **barəzəmanəm* ~ *yāt huuarə auuācī* 36.6

axšaiiant- adj., ‘not ruling’, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 52, privative formation from pres.part. *xšaiiant-* of root *xšā* ‘to rule’

axšaiiantas° acc.pl.m.: *frāēšiiāmahi* ... *surunuuatascā asurunuuatascā xšaiiantascā* ~ *cā* 35.4

axti- subst., f., 1. ‘evil’, ‘harm’ 2. ‘disease’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 51, Pahl.tr. *xīndagīh*, Ved. °*akti-* in *sīrṣaktī-* ‘headache’, see Y 36.1 no. 2 *axtiš* ‘harm’, pp. 113–118

axtiš nom.sg.: 1. **pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā θβā θβā mainiiū spōništā yā ā* ~ *ahmāi yām axtōiōi dāñhē* 36.1

axtōiōi dat.sg.: 1. *mainiiū spōništā yā ā axtiš ahmāi yām* ~ *dāñhē* 36.1

azī- adj., f., ‘milch cow’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 228, Ved. *ahī-*, *EWAia* I 156, NARTEN, YH 232–234, see Y 38.5 no. 2 *azī-* ‘milch cow’, p. 247

azīš° acc.pl.f.: *apascā vā* ~ *cā vā mātəqšcā vā agəniā* ... **āuuaocāmā* 38.5

¹*ā* prep., postp., preverb, 1. ‘towards’ 2. ‘at’, postpos. + abl. (NARTEN, YH 175f.), OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 300–303, Ved. *ā*, *EWAia* I 157f.

2. *spəntəṅ aməšəṅ* ... *yōi vañhōuš* ~ *manəñhō šieinī yāscā* **uitī* 39.3

²*ā* emphatic postpositive particle, ‘even’, ‘indeed’, OAv., *AirWb* Ø, Ved. *ā*, *EWAia* I 157f., NARTEN, YH 252 with fn. 9; DUNKEL 1982, 89–102, esp. 96f., 100; see Y 39.1 no. 5 *ā* ‘indeed’, p. 267

**pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā θβā θβā mainiiū spōništā yā* ~ *axtiš ahmāi yām axtōiōi dāñhē* 36.1 | *pasukanəm cā yōi nā jījīšəntī yaēibiiāscā tōi* ~ *yaēcā aēibiiō* ~ *añhən* 39.1²

ādā- subst., f., ‘offering’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 320f., Pahl.tr. *dahišn*, Ilr **ā-dhā-*, NARTEN, YH 267–270, see Y 40.1 no. 1 *adābhū* ‘offerings’, p. 284, and Y 38.5 no. 11 **viiādā* ‘distributions’, p. 255f.

adābhū loc.pl.: *ābhū aŋ paitī* ~ *mazdā ahurā mazdām cā būiricā kərəšuuā* 40.1

ābhūriia- adj., ‘Ahurian’, ‘lordly’, ‘divine’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 346f., Pahl.tr. *xwadāy*, Ved. cf. *asuryā-*, *āsurā-*, *EWAia* I 147f., NARTEN, YH 176–180

ābhūriiā acc.pl.ntr.: *tām aŋ* ~ *nāmənī mazdā.varā* **spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē* 37.3

āiiu- subst., ntr., ‘life’, ‘lifetime’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 333 s.v. *āiiu-*, 1264f. s.v. ²*yav-*, ³*yav-*, Ved. *āyu-*, *EWAia* I 171f., Ilr **āiū-*, IE **h₂óiu-*, gen.sg. Av. *yaoš*, Ved. *yóh* < IE **h₂éu-s*; KUIPER, *Notes* 31f.; EICHNER, MSS 31 (1973), 84f. fn. 5; see Y 38.2 no. 3 *yaošti-* ‘vitalization’, pp. 214–221

yauuē dat.sg.: (*mīždām*) *yā taŋ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā ašaxiiācā vīspāi* ~ 40.2 | *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi* ~ 41.2 | (*mīždām*) *yā taŋ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm ašaxiiācā vīspāi* ~ 41.6

āp verb, 'to obtain', 'to reach', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 70–72, Pahl.tr. *ayāftan*, PrIr **ap-*, Ved. *āp*, *āpa* (perf.), *EWAia* I 167, Ir **Hap-*, IE **h₁ep*, *LIV*² 237 with n.10, KELLENS, *Verbe av.* 365 with n.1; NARTEN, *YH* 292 fn. 22 with ref.

āpa- a-aor.

apaēmā 1pl.opt.act.: *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā ~ vīspāi yauuē* 41.2

ārmaiti- subst., f., 'right-mindedness', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 335–337, Pahl.tr. *bow-andag-menišnīh*, *spandarmad*, Ved. *arāmati-*, *EWAia* I 110

ārmaitīm acc.sg.: *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaθrəm vaŋhīmca daēnəm vaŋhīmca fšeratūm vaŋhīmca* ~ 37.5

ārmatōiš gen.sg.: *vaŋhōuš xšaētōuš xšaētātā vaŋhōuš ašahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē vaŋhuiiā +fšeratuuo vaŋhuiiā* ~ 39.5

ārmataiiō nom.pl.: *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiiā tā yazamaidē ižā yaoštaiiō fšarštaiiō* ~ 38.2

ātar- subst., m., 'fire', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 312–316

ātarš nom.sg.: *~ vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī* 36.3

ātarə voc.sg.: *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ~ mazdā ahurahiiā* 36.2 | *hiiat vā tōi nāmanəm vāzištəm ~ mazdā ahurahiiā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3

āθrō gen.sg.: *ahiiā θβā ~ vərəzēnā paouruiiē +pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā* 36.1

āt particle, 1. encl. 'now' 2. adv. at the beginning of a sentence, introducing the concluding section, 'finally', *YH* YAv., *AirWb* 325, Ved. *āt* adv. 'then, further, so', *EWAia* I 163; NARTEN, *YH* 111–114 and 257–259; DUNKEL 1988, 56, see *Y* 39.1 no. 1 *iθā āt* 'in this way now', p. 258, *Y* 39.3 no. 1 *āt* 'finally', p. 272f., *Y* 35.6 no. 1 *+taṭ.ēd-ād-ū* 'therefore now ... also', pp. 83–85. Originally abl. sg. of dem. pron. *a-*, sandhi form *ād-*; YAv. *āat* intruded into the *YH* in the course of the transmission.

āt 1. *yaθā ~ utā ... vaēdā haiθīm* 35.6 | 1. *imā ~ uxōā vacā ahura mazdā ašəm +manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9 | 1. *iθā ~ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yā gəmca ašəmca dāt* 37.1 | 1. *iθā ~ yazamaidē gōuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā* 39.1 | 2. *~ iθā yazamaidē vaŋhūšcā iṭ vaŋhūšcā iṭ spəntəŋ aməšəŋ* 39.3

ād^o 1. *yaθā āt utā ... vaēdā haiθīm aθā haṭ vohū +taṭ.ēd-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi* 35.6

āat 1. *ašahiiā ~ sairī ... kahmāicīṭ hātəm jījišəm vahištəm ādā* 35.8 | 1. *iməm ~ zəm gənābīš haθrā yazamaidē* 38.1 | 1. *ahmākēŋ ~ urunō pasukanəmcā ... daitikanəmcā ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1 | 1. *ašāunəm ~ urunō yazamaidē* 39.2

āzūiti- subst., f., 'libation', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 343f., Pahl.tr. *carbīh*, Ved. *āhuti-*, *EWAia* II 808f., see *Y* 38.2 no. 7 *āzūiti-* 'libation', p. 224f.

āzūitīm acc.sg.: *vaŋhīm ābīš ašīm vaŋhīm išəm vaŋhīm ~ vaŋhīm frasastīm vaŋhīm +parəndīm yazamaidē* 38.2

bar verb, 'to carry', 'to bear', *AirWb* 933–943, Pahl.tr. *burdan*, Ved. *bhar*, *EWAia* II 246–249, IE **b^ber*, *LIV*² 76f.

bara- a-pres.

baraitī 3sg.ind.act.: *iməm āat zəm gənābīš haθrā yazamaidē yā nā* ~ 38.1

barəzəman- subst., ntr., 'height', YH, YAv. *barəsman-*, *AirWb* 950, Pahl.tr. *bālistān bālist*, Ved. cf. *bṛhānt-*, *EWAia* I 232, see Y 36.6 no. 5 *barəzištəm* +*barəzəmanəm* 'highest of heights', p. 153f.

barəzəmanəm gen.pl.: *barəzištəm* + ~ *auuat yāt huuarē auuācī* 36.6

barəzišta- adj., 'highest', YH YAv., *AirWb* 950f., superl. of *barəzañt-*, Pahl. tr. *bālist*, Ved. *bārhiṣṭha-*, *EWAia* I 232, see Y 36.6 no. 5 *barəzištəm* +*barəzəmanəm* 'highest of heights', p. 153f.

barəzištəm nom.sg.ntr.: ~ +*barəzəmanəm auuat yāt huuarē auuācī* 36.6

bā particle, 'truly', 'really', YH YAv., *AirWb* 912, NARTEN, YH 108 fn. 86; see Y 35.5 no. 3 +*bā* +*aṭ* 'indeed the very', p. 80f.

+*huxšaθrō.təmāi* + ~ +*aṭ xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā* +*huuənmahicā hūiat mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5

bəraj- subst., f., 'esteem', 'respect', 'honour', YAv., *AirWb* 957, Pahl.tr. *ārzōg*, Ved. *bṛh-* in *bṛhaspāti-*, *EWAia* II 232f., IIr **b^hṛj^h-*, IE **b^hṛg^h-*, *LIV*² 79f., KELLEN, *Noms-racines* 350–353; see Y 35.1 no. 1 *bərajā* 'with esteem', pp. 50–53

bərajā instr.sg.: ~ *vañhəuš ašahe daēnaiiā vañhuiiā māzdaiiasnōiš* 35.1

bəzuuañt- adj., 'firm', 'dense', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 962, < IIr. **baj^h-uñt-*, IE **b^hṇḡ^h-*, cf. Ved. *bahú-* 'many, dense' (< IE **b^hṇḡ^h-ú-*), OAv. *dəbqzah-*, YAv. *bqzah-* 'thickness, density', *EWAia* II 204f., 220f. with references

bəzuuaitē dat.sg.ntr.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinayhō aidiiūš vāstriiōng darəgāi ižiāi ~ haxmainē* 40.3

bū verb, 'to become', *AirWb* 928–933, Pahl.tr. *būdan*, PrIr **bū*, Ved. *bhū*, *EWAia* II 255–257, IIr **bhū*, IE **b^huh₂*, *LIV*² 98–101, see Y 41.4 no. 2 +*buiiāmā* 'may we become', p. 315

bū- root aor.

buiiāmā 1pl.opt.act.: *aēšācā θβā ēmauuantascā* + ~ 41.4

būiri- adj., 1. 'abundant' 2. ntr. 'abundance', 'wealth', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 969, Ved. *bhūri-* adj., *EWAia* II 268f., see Y 40.1 no. 2 *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'exercise your wisdom and wealth!', pp. 284–287

būiri^o acc.sg.: 2. *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdāmcā ~cā kərəšuuā* 40.1

būmī- subst., f., 'earth', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 969, Ved. *bhūmī-*, *EWAia* II 268, NARTEN, YH 169 fn. 7

būmīm^o acc.sg.: *iθā āṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yē ... raocāscā dāt ~cā vīspācā vohū* 37.1

cagəman- subst., ntr., '(divine) provision', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 576, Ved. Ø, NARTEN, YH 221 fn. 85; see Y 38.3 no. 10 *cagəmə* '(divine) provision', p. 237f.

cagəmə nom. or acc.sg.: *apō aṭ yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā vā huuōyzaθāscā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibiiā ahubiiā* ~ 38.3

-*cā* encl. coordinating particle, 'and', OAv., YAv. -*ca*, *AirWb* 563–575, Ved. -*ca*, *EWAia* I 520f.

ABca: **huxšaθrō.təməi* ... *hiiat mazdāi ahurāi ašāi~ vahištāi* 35.5 | *taṭ aṭ vō vərəziiāmahi fra* ~ *vātāiiāmahi* **yā.tā isāmaidē* 35.7 | *yā nā baraiti yās~ tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ... tā yazamaidē* 38.1 | *yazamaidē ... spəntəng aməšəng ... yōi vanhəuš ā manahō šieintī yās~ *uiti* 39.3 | *ahurāi mazdāi ašāi~ vahištāi* 41.1 | *aēšācā θβā əmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōiš~ tū nā darəgəmcā uštācā hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.4

Acā Bcā: *vīspəm ašaonō stīm yazamaide mainiiəuuīm~ gaēθiiəm~* 35.1 | *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarstanəm iiada~ aniiada~ vərəziiamnanəm~ vāuuərazananəm~ mahi aibi.jarətarō* 35.2² | *gauuōi ... fraēšiiāmahi rāmā~ vāstrəm~ dazdiiāi surunuuatascā asuruuatas~ xšaiiantascā~ axšaiiantascā~* 35.4³ | *vərəziiōtū~ iṭ ahmāi fra~ vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō yōi* 35.6 | *θβəm aṭ aēšəm paitiiāstārəm~ fradaxštārəm~ dadəmaidē* 35.9 | *yeyhē hātəm (= Y 27.15 āaṭ yesnē paiti ... yāyhamcā tās~) tās~ yazamaide* 35.10, 36.6, 37.5, 38.5, 39.5, 40.4, 41.7 | *vanhūiiā θβā cistōiš *šiiəoθənāiš~ vacəbīš~ pairijasāmaidē* 36.4 | *iṭā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yō gəm~ ašəm~ dāt apas~ dāt uruuarās~ vanhīš* 37.1² | *təm ahmākāiš *azdəbīš~ uštānāiš~ yazamaidē təm ašāunəm frauuašīš narəm~ nāirinəm~ yazamaidē* 37.3² | *apō aṭ yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīš~ *həbuuantīš~ frauuazəhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā *hauuapəyhā* 38.3 | *iṭā aṭ yazamaidē gəuš uruuanəm~ tašānəm~* 39.1 | *narəm~ nāirinəm~* 39.2 | *aṭ iṭā yazamaidē vanhūš~ iṭ vanhīš~ iṭ spəntəng aməšəng* 39.3 | *āhū aṭ paiti ādāhū mazdā ahurā mazdəm~ būiri~ kərəsuuā* 40.1 | (*mīždəm*) *ahiiā huuō nā dāidī ahmāi~ ahuiē manaxiiāi~ taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauua~ haxēmā ašaxiiā~ vīspāi yauuē* 40.2² | *aṭā tū nā gaiias~ astəntās~ xiiā ubōiiō anhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.3 | *hanaēmā~ zaēmā~ mazdā ahurā θβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu aēšā~ θβā əmauuantascā~ *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū nā darəgəm~ uštā~ hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.4³ | *θβōi staotarascā~ mąθranascā~ ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīšāmadaēcā* 41.5 | (*mīždəm*) *ahiiā huuō nā dāidī ahmāi~ ahuiē manaxiiāi~ taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauua~ sarəm ašaxiiā~ vīspāi yauuē* 41.6²

A Bcā Ccā: *ahmākəng āaṭ urunō pasukanəm~ ... daitikanəm~ ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1–2

Acā Bcā Ccā: *i mainimadi~ vaocōimā~ *varəzimā~ yā hātəm *šiiəoθənanəm vahištā xiiāt* 35.3 | *dadəmahī~ cišmahī~ *huuənmahī~* 35.5 | *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vō mazdā yasnəm~ vahməm~ vahištəm aməhmaidī gəuš~ vāstrəm* 35.7 | *ašāaṭ~ hacā vanhəuš~ manahō vanhəuš~ xšaθrāt staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibi* 35.10 | *iṭā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yō ... raocās~ dāt būmīm~ vīspā~ vohū* 37.1 | *yō gəmcā ašəmcā dāt ... ahiiā xšaθrā~ mazənā~ hauuapəyhāiš~* 37.2 | *apō aṭ yazamaidē ... hupərəθβās~ vā huuōyzaθās~ hūšnāθrās~ ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagəmə* 38.3 | *apas~ vā azīš~ vā mātərqš~ vā ... *āuuəocāmā* 38.5 | *stūtō garō vahməng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahī~ cišmahī~ ā~ [ā]juuədauiāmahi* 41.1 | *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaē~ usmahī~ vīšāmadaē~* 41.5

Acā Bcā Ccā Dcā: *yadā tū i ahurā mazdā mənghā~ vaocas~ dās~ varəs~ yā vohū aṭā tōi dadəmahī* 39.4

Acā Bcā Ccā Dcā Ecā: *vohu~ manō yazamaidē vohu~ xšaθrəm vanhīm~ daənəm vanhīm~ fsəratūm vanhīm~ ārmaitīm* 37.5

cisti- subst., f., 'insight' 'understanding', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 598f., Ved. *citti-*, *EWAia* I 547f.

cistōiš gen.sg.: *vanhūiiā θβā ~ *šiiəoθənāišcā vacəbīšcā pairijasāmaidē* 36.4

ciš verb, 'to assign', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 429–431, Pahl.tr. *cāšīdan*, PrIr **ciš*, Ved. Ø, IE **keis* or **k^weis*, also continued in Lat. *cura* 'care', *LIV*² 381f., NARTEN 1975, 91 (= *Kl.Schr.* 218f.), *YH* 108–111; see *Y* 35.5 no. 2, pp. 78–80

cinah-/ciš- (< **cins-*) pres.

cīšmahī 1pl.ind.act.: *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mānghācā ... yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā ~ aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē* 39.4

cīšmahī^o 1pl.ind.act.: **huxšaθrō.təmāi ... xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā ~cā *huuən mahicā* 35.5 | *stūtō garō vahmōng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā ~cā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiimahī* 41.1

-cīt encl. particle, 1. indef., attached to *ka-* to form indefinite pronouns 2. emphatic, attached to an adj.; OAv., YAv. *-ciṭ*, *AirWb* 588–594, Ved. *cid*, *EWAia* I 543

1. *kahmāi~ hātəm jijišəm vahištəm ādā* 35.8 | 2. *ašāunəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō. zātanəm~* 39.2

daēnā- subst., f., 'belief', 'vision', 'conception', 'religion', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 662–667, Pahl.tr. *dēn*, PrIr **daianā-*, Ir **d^haiH-anā-*, Ved. cf. *dhī* 'to see, perceive', *EWAia* I 777, 797, NARTEN 1986, 263 (= *Kl.Schr.* 321); LANKARANY, *Daēnā*; see *Y* 35.1 no. 3 *daēnaiiā* 'belief', pp. 58–60

daēnəm acc.sg.: *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaθrəm vaŋhīmā ~ vaŋhīmā fsəratūm vaŋhīmā ārmaitīm* 37.5

daēnaiiā gen.sg.: *bəraja ~ vaŋhuiiā māzdaiiasnōiš* 35.1

daēnā nom.pl.: *ašāunəm ... yaēšəm vabehiš ~ vanaiṇtī vā vānghan vā *vaonarə vā* 39.2

daēnābiiō dat.pl.: *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmaṭ hiiat aibī hiiat mīzdəm *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā ~ mazdā ahurā* 40.1 | *hiiat mīzdəm *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā ~ mazdā ahurā ahiiā huuō nō dāidī* 41.5

daitika- subst., m., 'wild animal', 'non-domesticated animal', *YH* YAv., *AirWb* 678, Pahl.tr. *daitikān* (transcr.), Ved. cf. *dánt-* 'tooth', *EWAia* I 694, *AiGr.* II.2 312, NARTEN, *YH* 254 fn. 14 with ref., derivative with suffix *-ika-* from *dat-a-* 'provided with teeth'

daitikanəm gen.pl.: *~cā aidiiūnəm hiiat urunō yazamaidē* 39.2

darəga- adj., 'long', OAv., YAv. *darəya-*, *AirWb* 693f., Pahl.tr. *dēr*, OP *darga-*, Ved. *dīrghā-*, *EWAia* I 728f., Ir **d_gHg^bá-*, IE **d_lh_g^bó-*, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 90

darəgəm acc.sg.ntr. (adverbial): *aēšācā θβā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū nō ~cā uštācā hātəm hudāstēmā* 41.4

darəgāi dat.sg.ntr.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinəhō aidiiūš vāstriiōng ~ ižiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē* 40.3

darəgāiiu- adj., 'whose life is long', OAv., *AirWb* 694, Ved. *dīrghāyu-*, *EWAia* I 729

darəgāiiāu loc.sg.ntr.: *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā θβahmī rafənahī ~* 41.4

darəgō.bāzu- adj., 1. 'long-armed' 2. metaph. 'far-reaching', YH YAv., *AirWb* 695, Ved. Ep. *dīrghabāhu-*, *EWAia* I 729, see Y 38.5 no. 7 *darəgō.bāzāuš* 'long-armed, far-reaching', pp. 251–253

darəgō.bāzāuš nom.sg.m.: 2. *auuā vā vaŋ^hiš rātōiš ~ nāšū *paitī *viiādā paitī.sāṇdā* 38.5

dā verb, 1. 'to give' 2. 'to set' 3. 'to create' 4. acc. + dat. 'to consign acc. to dat.' 5. acc. + dat. 'to attribute acc. to dat.' 6. *frā* acc. 'to offer (a prize)' 7. acc. + acc. 'to appoint, designate acc. as acc.' 8. acc. + acc. 'to render acc. as acc.' 9. acc. + acc. 'to regard acc. as acc.' 10. acc. + dat. 'to assign (a name) to dat.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 711–723, Ved. *dā*, *dadāmi* 'to give', *dhā*, *dadhāmi* 'to set', *EWAia* I 713–715, 783–787

dadā-/dad- redupl.pres.

dadāt 3sg.inj.act. Ved. *dadhāt*: 8. **uitī yā vā vaŋ^hiš ahurō mazdā *nāmam dadāt vaŋhudā hiiat vā ~ tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4 | 10. **uitī yā vā vaŋ^hiš ahurō mazdā *nāmam ~ vaŋhudā hiiat vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4 see Y 38.4 no. 2, p. 240f.

dadəmahī 1pl.ind.act.: 5. *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēnghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā vohū aθā tōi ~ aθā cīsmahī aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē* 39.4

dadəmahī° 1pl.ind.act.: 5. **huxšaθrō.tāmāi ... xšaθrəm ... ~cā cīsmahicā *huuqñ-mahicā* 35.5 | 5. *stūtō garō vahmēng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi ~cā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiimahī* 41.1

dadəmaidē 1pl.ind.mid.: 7. *θβam aṭ aēšam paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā ~* 35.9 | 9. *humāim θβā ižim yazatəm ašənhācim ~* 41.3

dazdiiāi inf.: 2. *gauuōi ... fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā ~* 35.4 HOFFMANN/FORSS-MAN 243, *EWAia* I 785, NARTEN, YH 105 fn. 74

dā-/d- root aor.

dās° 2sg.inj.act.: 3. *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēnghācā vaocascā ~cā varāscā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī* 39.4

dāt 3sg.inj.act.: 3. *iθā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdam yā gamcā ašəmcā ~ apascā ~ uruuarāscā vaŋ^hiš raocāscā ~ būmīmcā* 37.1³

dāidī 2sg.ipt.act.: 1. (*mīždəm ...*) *ahiiā huuō nā ~ ahmāicā ahuiē manaxiiāicā taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2, 41.6 | 1. *~ aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinayhō* 40.3

dāybe 2sg.subj.mid.: 4. *mainiiū spēništā yā ā axtiš ahmāi yām axtōiiōi ~* 36.1

dadā- perf.

°*dadāθā* 2sg.ind.act. *frā*: 6. *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmat hiiat aibi hiiat mīždəm *mauuaiθīm fra~ daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā* 40.1 | 6. *hiiat mīždəm *mauuaiθīm fra~ daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā ahiiā huuō nā dāidī* 41.5

drigudāiiab- adj., 'who cares for the destitute', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 774, Ved. cf. *gódhāyas-*, *EWAia* I 478, NARTEN, YH 240 fn. 165; see Y 38.5 no. 5 *drigudāiiayhō* 'caring for the destitute', p. 250f.

drigudāiiayhō voc.pl.f.: *apascā vā ... mātəraqšcā vā agēniā ~ višpō.paitiš *āuuaocāmā* 38.5

ərəšiiā- adj., 'inspired', hapax, OAv. (YH), cf. *aršiiā-* YAv: personal name, *AirWb* 356, Ved. *ṛṣi-* m. 'inspired poet or sage', *EWAia* I 261, NARTEN, YH 284 fn. 53; see Y 40.4 no. 6 *ərəšiiā* 'inspired', p. 305f.

ərəšiiā nom.pl.m.: *aθā vā utā xiiāmā mazdā ahurā ašāuuanō ~ ištəm rāitī* 40.4

āmauuant- adj., 'strong', 'powerful', OAv., YAv. *amauuant-*, *AirWb* 141f., Pahl. tr. *amāwand*, Ved. *āmavant-*, *EWAia* I 96f., Ir **ama-uant-*, NARTEN, *YH* 186 fn. 74, 296f. fn. 34; see *Y* 41.4 no. 3 *aēšācā ... āmauuantascā* 'vigorous and strong', p. 316

āmauuantas° nom.pl.m.: *aēšācā ōβā ~cā *buiāmā* 41.4

fārašti- subst., f., 'perfection', hapax, OAv. (YH), cf. YAv. *frašō.kərəti-*, *AirWb* 1009, Ved. Ø, NARTEN, *YH* 202, see *Y* 38.2 no. 4 *fārašti-* 'perfection', p. 221f.

fāraštaiiō nom.pl.: *yāscā tōi gānā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiā tā yazamaidē ižā yaoštaiiō ~ ārmataiīō* 38.2

fradaxštar- subst., m., 'teacher', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 982, Ved. *dakṣ* 'to be capable', *EWAia* I 689f., IE **dek^(w)s* or **deg^(w)s*, *LIV*² 112, see *Y* 35.9 no. 5 *fradaxštārəm* 'teacher', p. 105

fradaxštārəm° acc.sg.: *ōβām aš aēšām ~cā fradaxštārəm cā dadəmaidē* 35.9

frasasti- subst., f., 'praise', 'glory', 'fame', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1000f., Ved. *prásasti-*, *EWAia* II 173f., 599, see *Y* 38.2 no. 8 *frasasti-* 'glory', p. 225

frasastīm acc.sg.: *vañhīm ābīš ašīm vañhīm išəm vañhīm āzūitīm vañhīm ~ vañhīm *parəndīm yazamaidē* 38.2

frauuaši- subst., f., 'choice', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 992–995, Pahl.tr. *frawahr*, MP *fraward*, *frawahr*, PrIr **fra-uar-ti-*, from verb *fra-var* 'to prefer, choose', IE **pra-uh₁-ti-*, *EWAia* II 511f., NARTEN 1985; *YH* 180f., see *Y* 37.3 no. 1 *frauuašiš* 'choices' and no. 2 *tām yazamaidē* 'we worship him', pp. 171–186

frauuašiš acc.pl.: *tām ašāunəm ~ narəmcā nāirinəmcā yazamaidē* 37.3

frauuzah- adj., 'moving swiftly', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 991f., Pahl.tr. transcr., glossed *wārānīg*, *EWAia* II 536, see *Y* 38.3 no. 3 *frauuzayhō* 'moving swiftly', p. 229f.

frauuzayhō acc.pl.: *apō aš yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīscā *hōbuuantīscā ~ ahurānīs ahurahiā *hauuapayhā* 38.3

frī verb, act. 'to please someone (acc.) with something (instr.)', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1016f., Pahl.tr. *franāmīdan*, Ved. *prī*, *EWAia* II 181f., *LIV*² 490, NARTEN, *YH* 228 fn. 112; see *Y* 38.4 no. 4 *friiənmahī* 'we please', pp. 242–244

frīnā-/frīn- pres.

friiənmahī 1pl.ind.act.: *uitī yā vā vañhīs ahurō mazdā *nāməm dadāt vañbudā hīat vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē tāiš ~ tāiš nəmaxiiāmahī tāiš išūidiiāmahī* 38.4

fsəratū- subst., f., 'joy' 'enjoyment', OAv., *AirWb* 1027, Pahl.tr. *sālārīb*, Ved. cf. *psāras-*, *psarā-* 'joy, exhilaration', *EWAia* II 198, disyllabic **fsratū-* instead of **šratū-*, see *Y* 37.5 no. 1 *fsəratū-* 'joy, enjoyment', pp. 192–195

fsəratūm acc.sg.: *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaθrəm varj^hīmā daēnəm varj^hīmā*
~ *varj^hīmā ārmaitīm* 37.5

fsəratuuō gen.sg.: *varj^hhūs x^aētūs x^aētātā varj^hhūs ašahiā θβā pairijasāmaidē varj^hhuiā*
+~ 39.5

gaēθiia- adj., 'bodily', 'material', 'physical', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 479f., Pahl.tr. *gētīg*, *EWAia* I 467

gaēθiām abl.sg.f.: *vīspəm ašaonō stīm yazamaide mainiiuuīmā ~cā* 35.1

gaiia- subst., m., 'life', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 503, Pahl.tr. *yān*, PrIr **gai-a-*, Ved. *gáya-*, *EWAia* I 467, Ir **gaiH-a-*, IE **g^woih₃-e/o-*, THIEME, *Fremdling* 61f. fn. 1 on the semantic development 'life' → '(living) possession'

gaiias^o nom.sg.: *adā tū nā ~cā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātəm hudāstāmā* 41.3

gam verb, 1. 'to go' 2. 'to come' 3. *pairī* 'to approach acc.' 4. *pairī* 'to attend to acc. with instr.' 5. *paitī* acc. + dat. 'to come near to acc. for dat.' 6. *upā* acc. + instr. 'to come to acc. by means of instr.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 493–502, Pahl.tr. *rasīdan*, rarely: *madan*, *mad ēstādan*, MP *madan*, *āmadan*, Ved. *gam*, *gáccha-*, *EWAia* I 465f., Ir **gam*, IE **g^wem*, *LIV*² 209f.

jasa- pres.

**jasāmaidē* 1pl.ind.mid. *pairī*: 4. *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzēnā paouruiiē +pairi~ mazdā ahurā* 36.1 | 4. *hiiat vā tōi nāmanəm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahiā tā θβā pairi~* 36.3 | 4. *vohū θβā manayhā vohū θβā ašā varj^hhuiā θβā cistōiš +šiiəodənāišcā vacēbīscā pairi~* 36.4 | 4. *vīspāiš θβā humatāiš vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš huuarštāiš pairi~* 36.5 | 4. *varj^hhūs x^aētūs x^aētātā varj^hhūs ašahiā θβā pairi~* 39.5

jam-/gm- root aor.

**jamiiā* 2sg.opt.act. *paitī*: 5. *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.~ ātarə mazdā ahurahiā uruuāzištahiā uruuāziiā ... nā mazištāi yāñhəm paitī.~* 36.2²

**jamiiāmā* 1pl.opt.act. *upā*: 6. (*mīzδəm*) *ahiiā huuō nā dāidī ahmāicā abuiiē manaxiiāicā taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā.~* 40.2, 41.6

gar- subst., f., 1. 'welcome' 2. 'praise' 3. 'hymn', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 512f., Pahl.tr. *gīrišn* (Y 41.1), PrIr *gar-*, Ved. *gír-*, *EWAia* I 486f., Ir **grH-*, IE **g^wṛH-*, KELLEN, *Noms-racines* 27–29; NARTEN, *YH* 184 fn. 62 on the semantic development from 'welcome' to 'praise'

garō acc.pl.: 2. *stūtō ~ vahmāṇg ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī* 41.1

gauu- subst., f., 1. 'cow' 2. 'animal', OAv.YAv., Ved. *gāv-*, *AirWb* 505–509, *EWAia* I 478–480, see Y 35.4 no. 1 *gauuōi* 'for the cow', p. 74f.

gəm acc.sg.: 1. *iθā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yē ~cā ašəmācā dāt* 37.1

gauuōi dat.sg.: 1. *~ rāmācā vāstrəmācā dazdiiāi* 35.4

gōuš abl.sg.: 1. *tām aṭ yasnanəm paouruatātā yazamaidē yōi ~ hacā šiiēintī* 37.2

gōuš gen.sg.: 1. *ahurahiā zī aṭ vā mazdā yasnamcā vahmāmcā vahištəm amōhmaidī ~cā vāstrəm* 35.7 | 1. *iθā aṭ yazamaidē ~ uruuānəmācā tašānəmācā* 39.1

gənā- subst., f., 'noblewoman', 'divine woman', OAv., YAv. *γənā-*, *AirWb* 525f., Pahl.tr. *zan*, PrIr **gnā-*, Ved. *gnā-*, *EWAia* I 503f., IIr **gnāH-*, IE **g^wneh₂-*, NARTEN, *YH* 189–195, see *Y* 38.1 no. 1 *gənā-* 'noblewoman', pp. 196–209

gənā nom.pl.: *yā nā baraitī yāscā tōi ~ ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiia tā yazamaidē* 38.1

gənābīš instr.pl.: *imām āāt zqm ~ haθrā yazamaidē* 38.1

hac verb, 1. mid. acc. 'to follow acc.' 2. mid. acc. 'to accompany acc.' 3. mid. instr. 'to associate onself with instr.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1739–1742, Pahl.tr. *abāg būdan*, *abāgēnīdan*, PrIr **hač*, Ved. *sac*, *sácate*, *EWAia* II 686f., IIr **sač*, IE **sek^w*, *LIV*² 525f., see *Y* 40.4 no. 4 *yāiš hišcamaidē* 'with which we associate ourselves', p. 303f.

hišac-/hišc- redupl. root pres.

hišcamaidē 1pl.subj.mid., cf. Ved. *síṣakti*: 3. *aṭā *haxōmām xiiāt yāiš ~* 40.4

hacā prep., abl. 'from', 'in agreement with', 'on account of', OAv., YAv. *haca*, *AirWb* 1746–53, Pahl.tr. *az*, Ved. *sácā* adv. 'together with', *EWAia* II 688, KELLEN/PIRART, *TVA* II 38

ašāatcā ~ vanhōušcā manahō vanhōušcā xšaθrāt staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibi 35.10 | *tām at yasnanām pauraatātā yazamaidē yōi gōuš ~ šieinīti* 37.2 | *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt ~ vairiia tā yazamaidē* 38.1

haiθiia- adj., 'true', 'right', 'real', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1760f., OP *hašiya-*, PrIr **hat-īā-*, Ved. *satyā-* 'true, real', *EWAia* II 690f., IIr **sat-īā-*, IE **snt-īa-*, NARTEN, *YH* 116f. fn. 116

haiθīm acc.sg.ntr.: *yaṭā āt utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā ~ aṭā haṭ vohū* 35.6

han verb, 'to obtain', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1768f., Pahl.tr. *arzānīg būdan*, PrIr **han*, Ved. *san*, *EWAia* II 696f., IIr **sanH*, IE **senh₂*, *LIV*² 532f., NARTEN, *YH* 295 fn. 30 with ref.

hana- a-aor.

hanaēmā° 1pl.opt.act. Ved. *sánema*: *~cā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā θβahmī rafānahī darəgāiiāu* 41.4

hañt- part., cf. → *ah* 'to be', OAv.YAv., Ved. *sánt-*

haptayhāiti- adj., 'consisting of seven chapters', name of a text and ritual, YAv., *AirWb* 1766

haptayhāitīm acc.sg.: *yasnam sūrām ~ ašauuanām ašahe ratūm yazamaide* 41.8

haθrā adv., postpos. + instr. 'together with instr.', OAv., YAv. *haθra*, *AirWb* 1762f., Pahl.tr. *abāg*, PrIr **haθrā*, Ved. *satrā*, *EWAia* II 691, IIr **sa-trā*

imām āāt zqm gənābīš ~ yazamaidē 38.1

hauuapayha- subst., ntr., 'expertise', 'skilfulness', 'skills', OAv. (*YH*), *AirWb* 1785, 1847, PrIr **haṭ-apah-a-*, Ved. cf. *āpas-*, *EWAia* I 84, NARTEN, *YH* 171–173, 216; see *Y* 38.3 no. 6 **hauuapayhā* 'by his skill', p. 235f.

hauuapayhā instr.sg.: *apō aṭ yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīscā *hōbuuantīscā frauuazayhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā* *~ 38.3

hauuapayhāiš instr.pl.: *yā gāmcā aṣəmācā dāt ... ahiiā xšaθrācā mazōnācā ~cā* 37.2

baxəman- subst., ntr., ‘fellowship’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1746, Pahl.tr. *hambrād*, Ved. *sákman-*, hapax in RV 1.31.6, *EWAla* II 684, Ir **sak-man-*, NARTEN, *YH* 141 fn. 20–21, 282 fn. 45

baxəmə acc.sg.: (*mīzdəm*) *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī ... taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā ~ aṣāxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* 40.2

baxmainē dat.sg.: *dāidī aṭ nərəṣ mazdā ahurā aṣāuonō aṣacinayhō aidiiūš vāstriiōng darəḡāi īziiāi bəzuuaitē ~ ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənanayhō* 40.3

baxəmqm nom.pl.: *aṭā *~ xiiāt yāiš hiścamaidē* 40.4

hōbuuant- adj., ‘sap-providing’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1807, Pahl.tr. transcr., glossed: *garān tazišn*, Ved. Ø, see Y 38.3 no. 2 **hōbuuantīscā* ‘and sap-providing’, p. 229

hōbuuantīš° acc.pl.f.: *apō aṭ yazamaidē *maēkaiiantīscā *~cā frauuazayhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā *hauuapayhā* 38.3

¹*hiiāt* explicative particle, YH, YAv. *yaṭ*, *AirWb* 1251–1253, originally nom./acc. sg. of the relative pronoun, used as explicative particle instead of polysyllabic rel. pronouns to connect an attribute to a noun, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 253; HUM-BACH, *Gāthās*² II 127f.

**huxšaθrō.təmai* ... ~ *mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5 | *aṣəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē ~ sraēštəm ~ spəntəm aməṣəm ~ *raocōyhuuat ~ *vīspā.vohū* 37.4 | *daitikanqmā aidiiūnqm ~ urunō yazamaidē* 39.2

²*hiiāt* conj., 1. correlative with *taṭ*: ‘this ... that’ 2. ‘when’, OAv., YAv. *yaṭ*, *AirWb* 1253–1260, Ved. *yāt*

1. *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ... ~ ī mainimadicā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3 | 2. **uitī yā vā vayhīš ahurō mazdā *nāmqm dadāt vayhudā ~ vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

budāb- adj., ‘well providing’, OAv., YAv. *huḍāb-*, *AirWb* 1823f., 1825f., Pahl. tr. *hudābag*, *hudāg*, Ved. *sudās-*, **sudhās-*, Ir **su-d^(h)aH-as-*, NARTEN, *YH* 285f., *AmSp.* 87 n. 3

huḍāyḥō YAv. acc.pl.m.: *aməṣā spəntā huxšaθrā ~ yazamaide* 35.1

budāstəma- adj. superl., ‘most beneficent’, YH, YAv. *huḍāstəma-*, *AirWb* 1825, see Y 41.2 no. 1 *hātqm budāstəmə* ‘O most beneficent of those who exist’, p. 311

budāstəmə voc.sg.m.: *huxšaθrastū nē nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō ayhuuō hātqm ~ 41.2* cf. Y 45.6 | *aṭā tū nē gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiiō ayhuuō hātqm ~ 41.3* | *aēšācā θβā ōmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū nē darəḡəmcā uštācā hātqm ~ 41.4*

humata- adj., 1. ‘well thought’ 2. subst.ntr. ‘good thought’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1832, Pahl.tr. *humat* (transcr.), Skt. *sumata-*

humatāiš instr.pl.: 2. *vīspāiš θβā ~ vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš huuarštāiš pairijasāmaidē* 36.5
humatanqm gen.pl.: 2. ~ *hūxtanqm huuarštanqm ... mahī aibī.jarətārō* 35.2

hupərəθβa- adj., 'easy to cross', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1827, *EWAia* II 85f., Ir **hu-pr-tu-a-*, NARTEN, *YH* 218f.; see *Y* 38.3 no. 7 *hupərəθβa-* 'easy to cross', p. 236

hupərəθβās° acc.pl.f.: *apō at yazamaidē ... ~cā vā huuōyžadāscā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagāmā* 38.3

huuar- subst., ntr., 'sun', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1847f., Pahl.tr. *xwaršēd*, PrIr **huuar-/ *huuan-*, Ved. *svār-*, *EWAia* II 793f., Ir **suHar-/ *suHan-*, IE **suh₂el-/ *suh₂en-*

huuarē nom.sg.: *barəzištəm *barəzəmanəm auuat yāt ~ auuācī* 36.6

huuaršta- adj., 1. 'well performed', 'well done' 2. subst. ntr. 'good deed', OAv., YAv. *huuaršta-*, *AirWb* 1850f., Pahl.tr. *huwaršt*

huuarštāiš instr.pl.: 2. *vīspāiš θβā humatāiš vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš ~ pairijasāmaidē* 36.5

huuarštanəm gen.pl.: 2. *humatanəm hūxtanəm ~ mahī aibi.jarətārō* 35.2

huuō dem.pron. → *auua-*

huuōyžadā- adj., 'smoothly flowing', 'whose flow is good', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1857, Ved. cf. *ogha-*, *aughā-* 'flood', *EWAia* I 277, Ir **su-ugz^h-atha-*, NARTEN, *YH* 219–21; see *Y* 38.3 no. 8 *huuōyžadā-* 'smoothly flowing', p. 236f.

huuōyžadās° acc.pl.f.: *apō at yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā vā ~cā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagāmā* 38.3

buxšaθra- adj., 'of good rule', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1819f., Pahl.tr. *xwadāy*, Ved. *sukṣatrá-*, *EWAia* II 734–736

buxšaθras° nom.sg.m.: *~tū nō nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātəm budāstēmā* 41.2

buxšaθrā acc.pl.m.: *aməšā spəntā ~ huōāyho yazamaide* 35.1

buxšaθrō.təma- adj., 'of best rule' YH YAv., *AirWb* 1820, Ved. cf. *sukṣatrá-*, see *Y* 35.5 no. 2 *xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuqnmahicā* 'we offer, assign and impart the rule', pp. 78–80

buxšaθrō.təmāi dat.sg.m.: **~ *bā *at xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuqnmahicā hiiat mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5

bū verb, 1. 'to impel' 2. acc. + dat. 'to transfer acc. to dat.', 'to impart acc. to dat.', OAv.YAv., Ved. *sū*, *suṁvāti* 'to set in motion, vivify, urge', see *Y* 35.5 no. 2 *xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuqnmahicā* 'we offer, assign and impart the rule', pp. 78–80

hunā-/hun- pres.

**huuqnmahi°* 1pl.ind.act.: 2. **buxšaθrō.təmāi ... xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ~cā* 35.5

hūmāiia- adj., 'whose powers are good', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1833f., Ved. *sumāyā-*, *EWAia* II 349f., KELLEN, MSS 32 (1974), 93 with n. 21; NARTEN, *YH* 290 n. 11

humāim acc.sg.m.: ~ *θβā īžīm yazatəm aṣaṇhācim dadəmaidē* 41.3

hūšnāθra- adj., 'whose places for bathing are good', 'with good places for bathing', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1841, Ved. cf. *snā* 'to bathe', *EWAia* II 769f., IIr **su-snā-tra-*, IE *(s)*neh₂*, *LIV*² 572f., NARTEN, *YH* 219; see Y 38.3 no. 9
hūšnāθra- 'whose places for bathing are good', p. 237

hūšnāθrās° acc.pl.f.: *apō aṭ yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā vā ~cā ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagəmə* 38.3

hūxta- adj., 1. 'well spoken' 2. 'subst. ntr. good word', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1819, Pahl.tr. *hūxt* (transcr.), Ved. *sūktā-*, *EWAia* II 734–736

hūxtanəm gen.sg.: 2. *humatanəm ~ huuarštənəm ... mahī aibī.jarətārō* 35.2

hūxtāiš instr.pl.: 2. *vīspāiš θβā humatāiš vīspāiš ~ vīspāiš huuarštāiš pairijasāmaidē* 36.5

i- dem.pron., 'this', cf. particle *īṭ*, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 160f., Ved. *ay-/i-*, *EWAia* I 103, see Y 36.2 no. 1 *huuō* 'that one there', pp. 119–123

īṭ acc.sg.ntr.: *vohū *taṭ.āḍ-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā ~ ahmāi fracā vātōiiōtū ~ aēibiiō yōi ~ aḍā vərəziiān yaḍā īṭ astī* 35.6³

ī acc.pl.ntr.: ~ *mainimadicā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 96 fn. 39 | *yaḍā tū ~ ahurā mazdā mēnghācā vaocascā dāscā varəscā yā vohū* 39.4, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 264 fn. 47

iiadā adv., 'here', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 379, formation instead of *idā*, Ved. *ihā*, analogical on *aniiadā* 'elsewhere', see NARTEN, *YH* 87–88 and Y 35.2 no. 1 *iiadacā aniiadacā* 'both here and elsewhere', pp. 61–63

iiada° *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštənəm ~cā aniiadacā vərəziiāmnānəm cā vāuuəṛə-zananəm cā mahī aibī.jarətārō* 35.2

ima- dem.pron., near-deictic, 'this here', YH YAv., *AirWb* 368–371, PrIr *ima-*, Ved. *imā-*, *EWAia* I 103, 194, IIr **imā-*, IIr. secondary pronominal stem, NARTEN, *YH* 21, 127f. fn. 173

iməm acc.sg.f.: ~ *āaṭ zəm gənābīš haḍrā yazamaidē* 38.1

imā acc.pl.ntr.: ~ *āṭ uxḍā vacā ahurā mazdā aṣəm *manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9 | *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiimahī mazdā ahurā ~ raocā* 36.6

iš verb, 'to have power', 'to be able', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 26, Ved. *iś*, *EWAia* I 207, IE **Heḡk*, *LIV*² 223, NARTEN, *YH* 120 with fn. 139

iš- root pres.

išāmaidē 1pl.subj.mid.: *taṭ aṭ vā vərəziiāmahī fracā vātōiiāmahī yā.tā ~* 35.7

¹*iš* verb, 'to seek', 'to desire', *AirWb* 28–31, Pahl.tr. *xwāstan*, PrIr *iš*, Ved. *iṣ*, *ic-chāti*, *EWAia* I 270f., IIr *(H)*aḡs*, IE **h₂eḡs*, *LIV*² 260

išta- perf. pass.part.

ištām acc.sg.ntr.: *aḍā vā utā xiiāmā mazdā ahurā aṣauuanō əṛəšiiā ~ rāiti* 40.4

²*iš* verb, 1. acc. 'to set in motion' 2. *frā* acc. + inf. 'to urge acc. to inf.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 31f., Pahl.tr. *framūdan*, Ved. *iṣ*, *EWAia* I 271–272, IE ^{*}*h₁eṣh₂*, *LIV*² 234

išīia- pres.

^o*išīiāmabī* 1pl.ind.act.: *frā* 2. *gauuōi ... fraēšīiāmabī rāmācā vāstrəmācā dazdīiāi surunuuatascā asurunuuatascā* 35.4

išta- adj., cf. → ¹*iš*

ištām 40.4

išūidiia- verb, 'to bring' strengthening', 'to bring refreshment', acc. + instr. 'to bring invigoration', OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 375f., Ved. cf. *iṣudhyánt-*, *iṣudhyá-* f. 'striving', *EWAia* I 200f., NARTEN, *YH* 162 fn. 104: denom. pres. stem derived from the subst. *išud-* 'strengthening' = Ved. *iṣ-idh-* (← ^{*}*iṣ-údh-* after *sam-idh-* 'fuel'), criticized by KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA* II 224, III 70f.

išūidiia- denom.pres.

išūidīiāmabī 1pl.ind.act.: *nəmaxīiāmabī ~ θβā mazdā ahurā* 36.5 | *uitī yā vō vaṇhīš aburō mazdā *nāmam dadāt vaṇhudā hūiat vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē tāiš friiṇmahī tāiš nəmaxīiāmabī tāiš ~ 38.4* | *aθā nəmaxīiāmabī aθā ~ θβā mazdā ahurā* 39.4

iθā adv., 'thus', 'so', 'in this way', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 365f., Pahl.tr. *ēdōn*, Ved. cf. *itthā*, *EWAia* I 190, NARTEN, *YH* 167f. fn. 1; see *Y* 37.1 no. 1 *iθā* 'in this way', p. 155f., *Y* 39.1 no. 1 *iθā āt* 'in this way now', p. 258, , and *Y* 39.3 no.1, p.272f.

~ āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yō gəmācā ašəmācā dāt 37.1 | *~ āt yazamaidē gōuš uruūānəmācā tašānəmācā* 39.1 | *āt ~ yazamaidē vaṇhūšcā īt vaṇhīšcā īt spəntəng aməšəng* 39.1

iš- subst., f., 'impulse', 'strength', 'strengthening', cf. *ižā-*, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 373f., Pahl.tr. *xwāhišn*, Ved. *iṣ-*, *EWAia* I 198, IIr ^{*}*iš-*, IE ^{*}*h₁eṣh₂*, SCHINDLER, *Wurzelnomen* 11; NARTEN, *YH* 205f.; see *Y* 38.2 no. 6 *iš-* 'strength, strengthening', p. 223f.

išəm acc.sg.: *vaṇhīm ābiš ašīm vaṇhīm ~ vaṇhīm āzūtīm vaṇhīm frasastīm vaṇhīm *parəndīm yazamaidē* 38.2

īt emphasizing particle, originally nom./acc.sg.ntr. of dem.pron. → *i-*, 1. after rel.pron. or adv. 'really' 2. after *-cā ... -cā*, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 367, Ved. *id* (*it*), *EWAia* I 190, DELBRÜCK, *AiSyntax* 495

1. *vohū ... fracā vātōiīōtū īt aēibiiō yōi īt aθā vərəzīiṇ yaθā ~ astī* 35.6

īt ... īt 2. *āt iθā yazamaidē vaṇhūšcā ~ vaṇhīšcā ~ spəntəng aməšəng* 39.3, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 261 fn. 35

ižā- subst., f., 'fat-offering', 'refreshment', 'invigoration', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 378f., Pahl.tr. *abzōn*, *abzōnīg*; *šīrēnīh*, Ved. *idā-*, *ilā-*, *irā-*, *EWAia* I 187, 195, IIr ^{*}*iš-ā-*, see *Y* 38.2 no. 2 *ižā-* 'invigoration', pp. 211–214

ižā nom.pl.: *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairīiā tā yazamaidē ~ yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō* 38.2

īziia- adj., 'refreshing', 'invigorating', YH (YAv. only in Vr 12.4), *AirWb* 379, Pahl.tr. *abzōn* (Y 40.3), *abzōnīg* (Y 41.3), Ved. *īdya-*, cf. *īd-*, *īdā-* (*īlā-*), *īrā-*, *EWAia* I 187, NARTEN, YH 290 fn. 12, derivative with suffix **iā-* from *īžā-* 'refreshment'

īžīm acc.sg.m.: *humāīm ōβā ~ yazatəm ašaṇhācim dadəmaidē* 41.3

īziiāi dat.sg.ntr.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinaṇhō aidiiūš vāstriiōṇg darəgāi ~ bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənaṇhō* 40.3

ji verb, 'to win', 'to gain', YH YAv., *AirWb* 502f., Ved. *jī*, desid. *jīgīša-* (< **jījīša-*), *EWAia* I 573f., IE **g^wej-*, *LIV*² 206, NARTEN, YH 121; see Y 39.1 no. 3 *jījīšəntī* 'they desire to gain', p. 259f.

jījīša- desid.pres.

jījīšəntī 3pl.ind.act.: *pasukanəmcā yōi nā ~ ... daitikanəmcā ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1

jījīšā- subst., f., 'desire to gain', YH YAv., *AirWb* 609, Ved. *jīgīšā-* 'desire to win, obtain something', from the desiderative pres. *jīgīša-* of the root *ji* 'to win', *EWAia* I 573f., *LIV*² 206, NARTEN, YH 121; see Y 35.8 no. 2 *jījīšəṇm* 'the desire to gain', p. 94

jījīšəṇm acc.sg.: *kahmāicīṭ hātəṇm ~ vahištəṇm ādā* 35.8

jīti- subst., f., 1. 'life' 2. adj. 'living', YH YAv., *AirWb* 609, Ved. cf. *jīrá-* 'lively', *EWAia* I 467f., IE **g^wih₃-ti-*, NARTEN, YH 245 fn. 178 with ref.

jītaiiō voc.pl.: 2. *mātarō ~* 38.5

ka- pron., 1. interrog. pron. 'who?' 2. indef. pron. + encl. *-cīṭ* 'whoever', OAv. YAv., *AirWb* 422–427, Ved. *ká-*, *EWAia* I 284f., IE **k^we-/k^wo-*

kahmāi^o dat.sg.: 2. *~cīṭ hātəṇm jījīšəṇm vahištəṇm ādā* 35.8

kar verb, 1. 'to make' 2. 'to do', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 444–448, Pahl.tr. *kardan*, Ved. *kar*, *EWAia* I 307–309, Ir **kar/*čar*, IE **k^wer*, *LIV*² 391f.

car-/kərə- root aor.

kərəšuuā 2sg.ipt.mid., cf. OP *kušuvā*, Ved. *kṛṣvā*: *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdəmcā būiricā ~* 40.1

kəhrp- subst., f., 'visible form', 'manifestation', 'shape', 'appearance', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 467–469, Pahl.tr. *kirb*, MP *kirb*, Ved. *kṛp-* f. 'appearance', *EWAia* I 393, see Y 36.6 no. 3 *sraēštəṇm ... kəhrpəṇm kəhrpəṇm* 'the most beautiful manifestation of manifestations', p. 150f.

kəhrpəṇm acc.sg.: *sraēštəṇm aṭ tōi ~ kəhrpəṇm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6

kəhrpəṇm gen.pl.: *sraēštəṇm aṭ tōi kəhrpəṇm ~ āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6

kudō.zāta- adj., 'wherever born', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 473, Pahl.tr. *kū zād*, Ved. cf. *ihéha jātá-* 'born here and there', NARTEN, YH 255–257, see Y 39.2 no. 2 *kudō.zātanəmcīṭ* 'wherever they may have been born', p. 269f.

kudō.zātanəṇm^o gen.pl.m.: *ašāunəṇm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē ~cīṭ* 39.2

maēkaiiaṇt- adj., ‘tasty’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1104, Pahl.tr. transcr., glossed: *paššing ī pad urwar ēstēd miznē*, Ved. Ø, see Y 38.3 no. 1
 *maēkaiiaṇtīscā ‘tasty’, p. 228f.

maēkaiiaṇtīš° acc.pl.f.: *apō aṭ yazamaidē +cā +hābuaṇtīscā frauuazayhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā *hauuapaṇhā* 38.3

mainiiauu- adj., ‘spiritual’, YAv., *AirWb* 1139f., Pahl.tr. *mēnōg*

mainiiauuīm acc.sg.ntr.: *vīspam aṣaonō stīm yazamaide +cā gaēṭiiāmcā* 35.1

mainiiu- subst., m., ‘spirit’, ‘mind’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1136–39, Pahl.tr. *mēnōg*, *mēnōgīh*, Ved. *manyú-* m. ‘spirit, mind, mood, zeal, anger’, *EWAia* II 313f.

mainiiuš nom.sg.: *ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī ~ vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī* 36.3

mainiiū instr.sg.: *ahiiā ṭṭā āṭrō vərəzēnā paouruiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā ṭṭā ṭṭā ~ spāništā* 36.1

man verb, 1. + acc. ‘to think acc.’ 2. + double acc. ‘to think that acc. is acc.’, OAv. YAv., *AirWb* 1121–1124, Pahl.tr. *menīdan*, Ved. *man*, *EWAia* II 305–306, IE **men*, *LIV*² 435f.

man- root aor.

mānghā° (< **man-sa°*) 2sg.inj.mid.: 1. *yaṭā tū ī ahurā mazdā +cā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā vohū aṭā tōi dadəmahī* 39.4, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 263f.

mainimadi° 1pl.opt.mid.: 1. *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ... hiiat ī +cā vaocōimācā *varəzimācā ... yā ... vahištā xiiat* 35.3, see Y 35.3 no. 5, p. 73

māh- (< **mans-*) s-aor.

aməhmaidī 1pl.ind.mid.: 2. *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vō mazdā yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm ~ gəuścā vāstrəm* 35.7

manah- subst., ntr., ‘thought’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1126–1133, Pahl.tr. *menišn*, *menišnīh*, Ved. *mānas-*, *EWAia* II 307, IE **ménos*/**ménes-*

manō acc.sg.: *vohucā ~ yazamaidē vohucā xšaṭrəm ...* 37.5

manayhā instr.sg.: *vohū ṭṭā ~ vohū ṭṭā aṣā ... pairijasāmaidē* 36.4

manayhō abl.sg.: *aṣāatcā hacā vaṇhəuścā ~ vaṇhəuścā xšaṭrāt staotāiš ṭṭāt ahurā staotōibiio aibi* 35.10 | *spəntəṅ aməṣəṅ ... yōi vaṇhəuš ā ~ śiieintī yāscā ūiti* 39.3

manahiia- adj., ‘spiritual’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1133f., Pahl.tr. *ī mēnōgān*, Ved. *manasyā-* adj., *EWAia* II 307f., derivative in *-ia-* from *manah-* ‘thought’

manaxiiāi° dat.sg.m.: *ahiiā huuo nō dāidī ahmāicā ahuiē +cā taṭ ahiiā yā taṭ upā. jamiiāmā* 40.2, 41.6

manā- (or: *maniiā-*) subst., f., + acc. ‘concentration on acc.’, ‘thinking of acc.’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1134, Ved. *manā-* ‘devotion, zeal’, *EWAia* II 305f., NARTEN, *YH* 128f., see Y 35.9 no. 3 *aṣəm *manaiiā* ‘with concentration on truth’, p. 98f.

manaiiā instr.sg.: *imā aṭ uxōā vacā ahura mazdā aṣəm +cā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9

mauuaiṭiia- adj., ‘worthy of someone like me’, ‘appropriate to someone like me’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1141, derivative from *mauuant-* ‘someone

like me', Ved. cf. *mávant-*, Ir **ma- μ at- μ a-*, NARTEN, YH 274–276; see Y 40.1 no. 4 *mīždām *mauuaiθīm* 'the prize (which you have allocated) to someone like me', pp. 289–291

mauuaiθīm acc.sg.ntr.: *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ... hīiaṭ mīždām *~ fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā* 40.1 | *hīiaṭ mīždām *~ fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā* 41.5

mazan- subst., ntr., 'greatness', hapax, OAv. (YH), YAv. cf. *masan-*, AirWb 1156f., EWAia II 339f., NARTEN, YH 173 fn. 18

mazēnā instr.sg.: *yō gāmcā ašāmcā dāt ... ahīā xšaθrācā ~cā hauuapañhāišcā* 37.2

¹*mazdā-* subst., m., 'the Wise one', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1162–1164, Pahl.tr. *ohr-mazd*, Ved. cf. *medhā-* f. 'wisdom, insight', EWAia II 378, IE **m̥s-dheh₁-*, see Y 40.1 no. 2 *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'exercise your wisdom and wealth!', pp. 284–287

mazdā nom.sg.: **uitī yā vō vañhīš ahurō ~ *nāmāq dadāt ... tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

mazdā voc.sg.: *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ahurā ~... hīiaṭ ...* 35.3 | *imā aṭ uxδā vacā ahurā ~ ašām *manaiiā vahehīā frauuaocāmā* 35.9 | *ahīā θβā āθrō vərəzēnā paouruiē *pairijasāmaidē ~ ahurā* 36.1 | *nəmaxiiāmahi išūidiiāmahi θβā ~ ahurā* 36.5 | *sraēštām aṭ tōi kəhrpām kəhrpām āuuaēdaiiamahī ~ ahurā imā raocā* 36.6 | *yāscā tōi gānā ahurā ~ ašāt hacā vairiia tā yazamaidē* 38.1 | *yaθā tū ī ahurā ~ māñghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā vohū aθā tōi dadāmahī ... aθā išūidiiāmahi θβā ~ ahurā* 39.4² | *āhū aṭ paitī ādāhū ~ ahurā mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā rāitī tōi xrapaitī ... mīždām ... ~ ahurā* 40.1² | *dāidī aṭ nərəš ~ ahurā ašāunō ašacināñhō* 40.3 | *aθā vō utā xiiāmā ~ ahurā ašauuanō ərašiiā ištām rāitī* 40.4 | *vohū xšaθrām tōi ~ ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* 41.2 | *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ~ ahurā θβahmī rafānahī darəgāiiāu* 41.4 | *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā ~ aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsamadaēcā hīiaṭ mīždām *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā daēnābiiō ~ ahurā ahīā huuō nā dāidī* 41.5²

mazdām acc.sg.: *ahurām ~ ašauuanām ašahe ratūm yazamaide* 35.1 | *iθā aṭ yazamaidē ahurām ~ yō gāmcā ašāmcā dāt* 37.1

mazdāi dat.sg.: **huxšaθrō.tāmāi ... hīiaṭ ~ ahurāi* 35.5 | *stūtō garō vahmāñg ahurāi ~ ašāicā vahištāi dadāmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]juuaēdaiiamahī* 41.1

mazdā gen.sg.: *ahurahīā zī aṭ vō ~ yasnāmcā vahmāmcā vahištām aməhmaidī* 35.7 | *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamīā ātarā ~ ahurahīā* 36.2 | *ātarš vōi ~ ahurahīā ahī mainiiuš vōi ahīā spəništō ahī hīiaṭ vā tōi nāmanām vāzištām ātarā ~ ahurahīā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3²

mazdā- subst., f., 'wisdom', hapax, OAv. (YH), AirWb 1162, Ved. *medhā-* 'wisdom', IE suffixed *ā*-stem **m̥s-d^hh₁-éh₂-*, KUIPER, IJ 18 (1976), 29; KELLEN/PIRART, TVA II 283, 285; SCARLATA, Wurzelkomposita 257, see Y 40.1 no. 2 *mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'exercise your wisdom and wealth!', pp. 284–287

mazdām acc.sg.: *āhū aṭ paitī ādāhū mazdā ahurā ~cā būiricā kərəšuuā* 40.1

mazdā.vara- adj., 'constituting the wish of the Wise one', 'welcome to the Wise one', hapax, OAv. (YH), AirWb 1162, NARTEN, YH 179

mazdā.varā acc.pl.ntr.: *tēm aṭ āhūirīā nāmānī ~ *spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē* 37.3

mazišta- adj.superl., 'greatest', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1158f., Pahl.tr. *mahist*, Ved. *mahiṣṭha-* 'greatest', *EWAia* II 338

mazištāi dat.sg.m.: *ātarə mazdā aburahiiā uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziiā nāmištahiiā nāmanhā nā ~ yāṇhām paitī.jamiiā* 36.2

mātar- subst., f., 1. 'mother' 2. 'mother-cow' as a metaphor for the waters, YH YAv., *AirWb* 1167, Pahl.tr. *mādar*, Ved. *mātār-*, *EWAia* II 345f., see Y 38.5 no. 3 *mātəṛāscā* 'and as mother-cows', pp. 247–249

mātarō voc.pl.: *~ jītaiiō* 38.5

mātəṛāš° acc.pl.: 2. *apascā vā azišcā vā ~cā vā ... *āuuuacāmā* 38.5

māzdaiiasni- adj., 'Mazda-worshipping', 'Mazdayasnian', YAv., *AirWb* 1169f., Pahl.tr. *māzdēs*

māzdaiiasnōiš gen.sg.: *bəṛəjā daēnaiiā vanhuiiā* ~ 35.1

mąθrān- subst., m., 'poet', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1179, Pahl.tr. *mānsr*, Ved. cf. *mantrín-*, *EWAia* II 311, IIr **mantra-Han-*, IE **mentro-Hen/Hon-*, on the suffix *-ān-* see K. HOFFMANN, MSS 6 (1955) (= *Aufs.* II 378–383)

mąθranas° nom.pl.: *θβōi staotarascā ~cā ahurā mazdā aogamadaēcā usmahicā viśamadaēcā* 41.5, NARTEN, YH 298 fn. 39 (on the shortening of *-ā-* in the antepenultima syllable)

mīžda- subst., ntr., 1. 'prize' 2. 'reward' 3. 'fee', *AirWb* 1187f., Pahl.tr. *mizd*, Ved. *mīḍhá-*, *EWAia* II 357f., IIr **mīždhá-*, IE **mis-d^hh₁-é/ó-*, HINTZE, *Lohn* 65–67, 235–240; see Y 41.4 no. 1 *zaēmācā* 'may we obtain', p. 315, and Y 41.5 no. 2 *hiiat mīždəm ...* 'the prize which ...', p. 318f.

mīždəm acc.sg.: 1. *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ... hiiat ~ *mauuaiθīm fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā ahiiā huuō nā dāidī* 40.1, 41.5

na- pers.pron. 1pl., 'us', 'our', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1031–1033, Ved. *nas*, *EWAia* II 30

nā (< **nāh*, Lat. *nōs*) acc. *uruuāzištō huuō ~ yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ātarə mazdā aburahiiā uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziiā ... ~ mazištāi yāṇhām paitī.jamiiā* 36.2² | *imām āat zām gənābiš haθrā yazamaidē yā ~ baraitī* 38.1 | *pasukanāmcā yōi ~ jījišəntī* 39.1

nā dat. (*mīždəm ...*) *ahiiā huuō ~ dāidī* 40.2, 41.6 | *aēšācā θβā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū ~ darəgamcā uštācā hātām hudāstəmā* 41.4

nā gen. or dat. *aθā tū nā gaiiāscā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātām hudāstəmā* 41.3

nā gen. *huxšaθrastū ~ nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātām hudāstəmā* 41.2

naē- particle, 'not', 'non-', OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1033f., 1035f., 1072–1079, IIr **nai*, NARTEN, YH 91f., see Y 35.2 no. 2 *naēnaēstārō* '(we are) not revilers', pp. 63–66, either < IIr. **nai*, OP *naiy* 'not', cf. YAv. *naēcīš*, or < **nai*d before *n-* by internal sandhi

*~naēstārō *yaθənā vohunām mahi*. 35.2

naēstar- subst., m., ‘reviler’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1035f., Ved. cf. *ninditar-* ‘blamer’, *EWAia* II 54f., IIr **naīd-tar-*, NARTEN, *YH* 91f., see Y 35.2 no. 2 *naēnaēstārō* ‘(we are) not revilers’, pp. 63–66

naēstārō nom.pl.: *naē- ~*yaθənā vohunəm mahī* 35.2

nar- subst., m., ‘man’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1047–1053, Pahl.tr. *mard*, Ved. *nár-*, *EWAia* II 19f., IIr **Hnár-*, IE **h₂nér-*, see Y 40.3 no. 3 *nərqš* ‘men’, p. 296

nā nom.sg.: *~ vā nāirī vā* 35.6 | *huxšaθrastū nā ~ vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aṇhuuō* 41.2

nərqš acc.pl.: *dāidī aṭ ~ mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinəṇhō* 40.3, cf. Y 38.5 no. 3 *mātərqšcā* ‘and as mother-cows’, p. 249 with fn. 103

narəm° gen.pl.: *tēm ašāunəm frauuašīš ~cā nāirinəmcā yazamaidē* 37.3 | *ašāunəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanəmcīṭ ~cā nāirinəmcā* 39.2

nāirī- subst., f., ‘woman’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1065, Pahl.tr. *nārīg*, Ved. *nārī-*, *EWAia* II 19f.

nāirī nom.sg.: *yaθā aṭ utā nā vā ~ vā vaēdā haiθīm aṭ haṭ vohū* 35.6 | *huxšaθrastū nā nā vā ~ vā xšaētā ubōiiō aṇhuuō hātəm budāstəmā* 41.2

nāirinəm° gen.pl.: *tēm ašāunəm frauuašīš narəmcā ~cā yazamaidē* 37.3 | *ašāunəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanəmcīṭ narəmcā ~cā* 39.2

nāman- subst., ntr., ‘name’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1062–1064, Ved. *náman-*, *EWAia* II 35–37, see Y 37.3 no. 2 *tēm yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’, pp. 177–186

nāməm acc.pl.: **uitī yā vā vaṇhīš ahurō mazdā ~ dadāt vaṇhudā hīiaṭ vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

nāmōnī acc.pl.: *tēm aṭ āhūirīā ~ mazdā.varā *spəntō.tēmā yazamaidē* 37.3

nāmanəm gen.pl.: *hīiaṭ vā tōi ~ vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahīā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3

nəmišta- adj.superl, ‘most venerating’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1080, Pahl.tr. *niyāyišnōmand*, Ved. cf. *namrá-*, *EWAia* II 17, NARTEN, *YH* 147 fn. 49; see Y 36.2 no. 4 *nəmištahīā nəmaṇhā* ‘with the veneration of the most venerating one’, p. 127f. and p. 138 fn. 78

nəmištahīā gen.sg.m.: *ātarə mazdā ahurahīā uruuāzištahīā uruuāziīā ~ nəmaṇhā nā mazištāi yāṇhəm paitī.jamīā* 36.2

nāš- subst., f., ‘achievement’, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1056f., *EWAia* II 27f., NARTEN *apud* KELLEN, *Noms-racines* 293, and *YH* 247f., see Y 38.5 no. 8 *nāšū* **paitī* ‘in achievements’, p. 253

nāšū loc.pl.: *darəgō.bāzāuš ~ *paitī* 38.5

nəmah- subst., ntr., ‘homage’, ‘reverence’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1069f., Pahl.tr. *niyāyišn*, *namāz*, Ved. *nāmas-*, *EWAia* II 16, IE **némes-*, see Y 36.2 no. 4 *nəmištahīā nəmaṇhā* ‘with the veneration of the most venerating one’, p. 127f.

nəmaṇhā instr.sg.: *ātarə mazdā ahurahīā uruuāzištahīā uruuāziīā nəmištahīā ~ nā mazištāi yāṇhəm paitī.jamīā* 36.2

nəmaxīia- verb, 1. acc. 'to pay homage to acc.' 2. acc. + instr. 'to pay homage to acc. with instr.' 3. adv. + acc. 'to pay homage to acc.', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1071, Pahl.tr. *niyāyišnēnīdan*, Ved. *namasyā-*, *EWAia* II 16, IIr **namas-īá-*, NARTEN, YH 229

nəmaxīia- denom.pres.

nəmaxīiāmahi 1pl.ind.act.: 1. ~ *išūidīiāmahi* *θβā mazdā ahurā* 36.5 | 2. *uitī yā vō vaŋ^hīš ahurō mazdā* **nāmam dadāt vaŋbudā hīiaŋ vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē tāiš friiŋmahī tāiš* ~ *tāiš išūidīiāmahi* 38.4 | 3. *aθā* ~ *aθā išūidīiāmahi* *θβā mazdā ahurā* 39.4

paitīiāstar- subst., m., 'receiver', 'listener', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 841, PrIr *paiti-ā-s-tar-*, with zero grade root analogical on *paitīiāsti-* 'receiving, listening' (*paiti-ā-s-ti-* < IIr. **pati-ā-tsti-*), from verb *paiti-ā-dā* 'to receive, accept', see Y 35.9 no. 4 *paitīiāstārəm* 'listener', pp. 99–105

paitīiāstārəm acc.sg.: *θβam at aēšam* ~ *cā fradaxštārəm* *cā dadəmaidē* 35.9

paitī adv., 1. 'towards' 2. postpos. + loc. 'at', OAv., YAv. *paiti*, *AirWb* 822–827, Pahl.tr. *pad*, Ved. *prāti*, *EWAia* II 176f.

2. *darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū* **~* 38.5, see Y 38.5 no. 8, p. 253 | 2. *āhū at* ~ *adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdamcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 40.1

paitī.sənda- adj., 'pleasant', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 835, MP *passand* 'pleasure, liking', NP *pasand*; cf. Y 51.14 *āsənda-* (i.e. *asənda-*) 'unpleasant', Ved. cf. *chānda-* 'pleasing, alluring, inviting', *EWAia* I 555f., NARTEN, YH 245; see Y 38.5 no. 10 *paitī.sənda* 'pleasant', p. 255

paitī.sənda acc.pl.f.: *anuā ... viiādā* ~ 38.5

paouruiia- adj., 'first', OAv., YAv. *paoiriia-*, *AirWb* 874–876, Pahl.tr. *fradom*, Ved. *pūrvyā-* 'former, ancient, first', *EWAia* II 157, see Y 36.1 no. 1 *paouruiiē* 'at the beginning', p. 112f.

paouruiiē loc.sg.ntr. (= adv.): *ahīiā* *θβā āθrō vərəzēnā* ~ **pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā* 36.1

parəndi- subst., f., 'bloom of plenty, abundance', YH, YAv. *pārəndi-*, *AirWb* 889f., PrIr **par-andi-*, Ved. *púrandhi-*, *EWAia* II 145f., IIr **p₁H-and^bi-*, IE **p₁h₁-h₂and^bi-*, NARTEN, YH 206–210; see Y 38.2 no. 9 *parəndi-* 'abundance', p. 225f.

parəndim acc.sg.: *vaŋ^hīm ābīš ašīm vaŋ^hīm išəm vaŋ^hīm āzūitīm vaŋ^hīm frasastīm vaŋ^hīm* **~ yazamaidē* 38.2

pasuka- subst., m., 'domestic animal', YH YAv., *AirWb* 880, Ved. cf. Ep. *paśukā-*, *EWAia* II 108–110, NARTEN, YH 253, 254 fn. 14

pasukanam gen.pl.: *ahmākēng āat urunō* ~ *cā ... daitikanamcā ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1

pauruuatāt- subst., f., 'exquisiteness', 'excellence', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 872f., PrIr **parya-tāt-*, Ved. cf. *pūrva-*, *EWAia* II 157, NARTEN, *YH* 174f.; see Y 37.2 no. 2 *yasnanəm pauruuatātā* 'with the most excellent worship', p. 168f.

pauruuatātā instr.sg.: *tām aṭ yasnanəm ~ yazamaidē* 37.2

rafənah- subst., ntr., 'help', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1510, *EWAia* II 432f., on the meaning, see NARTEN, *YH* 296

rafənahī loc.sg.: *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā θβahmī ~ darəgāiiāu* 41.4

raocah- subst., ntr., 'light', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1489–1491, Pahl.tr. *rōšn*, *rōšnīh*, Ved. -*rocas-* in TB *svá-rocas-* 'having its own light', *EWAia* II 463f., see Y 36.6 no. 2 *imā raocā* 'this light here', p. 149f.

raocā acc.pl.: *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā ~* 36.6

raocās° acc.pl.: *iθā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yē ... ~cā dāt būmīmcā vīspācā vohū* 37.1

raocōḡhuuaṇt- adj., 'full of light', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1491, Pahl.tr. *rōšn tan ī ōy*

raocōḡhuuaṭ acc.sg.ntr.: *aṣəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hīiaṭ sraēštəm hīiaṭ spəntəm aməṣəm hīiaṭ +~* 37.4

rap verb, + dat. 'to help dat.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1508, Pahl.tr. *rāmēnītār*, *rāmēnītārīh*, Ved. *rap*, *EWAia* II 432f., *LIV*² Ø, JOHNSTON, *JRAS* 1934, 535–546; KELLEN, *Verbe av.* 104, 107 n. 28. Against a connection with Ved. *rāpa-* GOTÖ, *I. Präsensklasse* 260f.

rapa- a-pres.

rapōiš 2sg.opt.act.: *aēšācā θβā āmauuaṇtascā *buiiāmā ~cā tū nō darəgəmcā uštācā hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.4

ratu- subst., m., 1. the time when the action of 'ordering' is performed: 'the appropriate ritual time' 2. what is produced by the action of 'ordering': 'the order, rule, judgment' 3. the one who performs the action of 'ordering': 'the organizer, judge, authority', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1497–1502, Pahl.tr. *rad*, *radīh*, Ved. *ṛtú-*, *EWAia* I 257

ratūm acc.sg.: 3. *ahurəm mazdəm aṣauuanəm aṣahe ~ yazamaide* 35.1 | 3. *yasnəm sūrəm haptayhāitīm aṣauuanəm aṣahe ~ yazamaide* 41.8

rāiti- subst., f., 1. + acc. 'granting' 2. 'generosity' 3. 'gift', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1519–1520, Ved. *rātī-*, *EWAia* II 446f., HINTZE, *Lohn* 51–53

rāitī instr.sg.: 1. *aθā vē utā xīiāmā mazdā ahurā aṣauuanō ərəšiiā ištəm ~* 40.4 | 2. *~ tōi xrapaitī ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī hīiaṭ mīždəm *mauuaiḡīm fradadāθā* 40.1

rātōiš abl.sg.: 2. *auuā vē vaṇhīš ~ darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī *viiādā paitī.səṇdā* 38.5

rāman- subst., ntr., 'peace', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1524, Pahl.tr. *rāmišn*, *EWAia* II 435f.

rāmā acc.sg.: *~cā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 35.4

sar- subst., f., 'union', 'community', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1564 s.v. ²*sar-*, Pahl.tr. *sālārīh*, Ved. cf. *ā-sīrta-* 'mixed', *EWAia* I 809, IIr **ēar-*, KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 390–392; NARTEN, *YH* 301 with n. 48; see *Y* 41.6 no. 1 *sarəm* 'union', pp. 321–323

sarəm acc.sg.: (*mīzdəm*) *yā taṭ upā.jamūāmā tauuacā ~ ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* 41.6

sairī loc.sg.: *ašahiiā āaṭ ~ ašahiiā vərəzānē kahmāicīṭ hātəm jījišəm vahištəm ādā* 35.8

spənta- adj., 'bounteous', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1619–1621, Pahl.tr. *abzōnīg*, OAv. *spəñ*^o (*Y* 45.9), Khotan. *śśandaā-* 'earth', NP cf. *sipand* (HÜBSCHMANN, *Armen. Grammatik* I 277), Ved. cf. *śunā-* ntr. 'success, prosperity', *śvāntā-* lit. 'swelling', from *sū*, Av. *sū* 'to swell', *EWAia* II 646, 678, 623f., see *Y* 37.4 no. 2 *spəntəm aməšəm* 'bounteous immortal', pp. 188–190, and *Y* 39.3 no. 2 *spəntāng aməšāng* 'bounteous immortals', p. 273f.

spəntəm acc.sg.m.: *ašəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hīiaṭ sraēštəm hīiaṭ ~ aməšəm ...* 37.4

spəntāng acc.pl.m.: *āṭ iṭā yazamaidē vaṇhūšcā iṭ vaṇhūšcā iṭ ~ aməšāng* 39.3

spəntā acc.pl.m.: *aməšā ~ huxšaṭrā huḍāṇhō yazamaide* 35.1

spəntō.təma- adj., 'most bounteous', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1622, Pahl.tr. *abzōnīgtom*, superl. of → *spənta-* 'bounteous'

spəntō.tēmā acc.pl.ntr.: *tēm aṭ āhūirīā nāmōnī mazdā.varā ~ yazamaidē* 37.3

spəništa- adj., 'most bounteous', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1618f., Pahl.tr. *abzōnīg*, superl. of → *spənta-* 'bounteous'

spəništō nom.sg.m.: *ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiā ahī mainiiuš vōi ahiiā ~ ahī* 36.3

spəništā instr.sg.m.: *ahiiā ṭβā āṭrō vərəzānā paouruiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā ṭβā ṭβā mainiiū ~* 36.1

sraēšta- adj., 'most beautiful', *YH YAv.*, *AirWb* 1632, Pahl.tr. *nēktom*, Ved. *śréṣṭha-*, *EWAia* II 669f., superl. of → *srīra-*

sraēštəm acc.sg.ntr.: *ašəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hīiaṭ ~ hīiaṭ spəntəm aməšəm ...* 37.4

sraēštəm acc.sg.f.: *~ aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6

sraēštā voc.pl.f.: *apascā vā ... agəniiā drigudāiiianhō vīspō.paitiš vahištā ~ *āuuaocāmā* 38.5

srīra- adj., 'beautiful', 'splendid', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1646f., Pahl.tr. *nēk*, *nēk pad dīdan*, Ved. cf. antonym *a-srīrā-* 'ugly', *EWAia* II 669f., see *Y* 35.3 no. 4 *ašā srīrā* 'by beautiful truth', p. 72f.

srīrā instr.sg.ntr.: *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidē ... ašā ~ hīiaṭ ...* 35.3

sru verb, 'to hear', 'to listen', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1639–1643, MP *srūdan*, NP *surūdan*, PrIr **sraṇ/*sru*, Ved. *śru*, *śṛṇōti*, *EWAia* II 666f., IIr **craṇ/*cru*, IE **kleṇ/*klu*, *LIV*² 334f.

surunu- pres.

surunuuant- pres.part.act.

surunuuatat^o acc.pl.m.: *fraēšiiāmahī ... ~cā asurunuuatascā xšaiiantascā axšaiiantascā* 35.4, cf. → *asurunuuant-*

staota- subst., m., 'praise', *AirWb* 1588, Pahl.tr. *stāyišn*, Ved. cf. *stóma-*, *EWAia* II 757f., IIr **stau̯ta-*, IE **steu̯-te/o-*, NARTEN, *YH* 135 with fn. 213; see *Y* 35.10 no. 1 *staotāiš* 'through these (verses) ... praise', pp. 107–109

staotā° nom.pl.: *ašāatcā hacā vanhāušcā mananhō vanhāušcā xšadrāt ~āiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī* 35.10

staotōibiiō abl.pl.: *staotāiš θβāt ahurā ~ aibī uxδā θβāt uxδōibiiō yasnā θβāt yasnōibiiō* 35.10

staotar- subst., m., 'praiser', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1589, Ved. *stotár-*, *EWAia* II 758, IIr **stau̯tar-*, IE **steu̯ter-/tor-*

staotaras° nom.pl.: *θβōi ~cā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 41.5, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 298 fn. 38 (on the shortening of *-ā-* in the antepenultima syllable)

sti- subst., f., 'existence', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1592f., Ved. *stí-*, *EWAia* II 759, IE **h₁s-tí-*

stīm acc.sg.: *vīspəm ašaonō ~ yazamaide* 35.1

stūt- subst., f., 'hymn', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1608, Pahl.tr. *stāyišn*, PrIr **stút-*, Ved. *stút-*, *EWAia* II 757f.

stūtō acc.pl.: *~ garō vahmāng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī* 41.1

sūra- adj., 'strong', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1584f., Pahl.tr. *abzār* 'powerful', Ved. *śúra-*, *EWAia* II 650f., IE **k_uh₁-ro-*

sūrəm acc.sg.m.: *yasnəm ~ haptanhāitīm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide* 41.8

ši verb, 1. act. 'to dwell' 2. with postpos. *hacā* + abl. 'to be on the side of abl.' 3. with postpos. *ā* + abl. 'to be on the side of abl.' (NARTEN, *YH* 175f.), OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1706f., Pahl.tr. *māndan*, Ved. *kṣi*, *EWAia* I 427f., IE **t_{ke}j*, *LIV*² 643f. with n. 2

šaii-/ši- root pres.

šieieñtī 3pl.ind.act.: 2. *tēm at yasnanəm pauruuatātā yazamaidē yōi gəuš hacā ~* 37.2 |

3. *spəntəng aməšəng ... yōi vanhāuš ā mananhō ~ yāscā ūitī* 39.3

šiiəoθəna- subst., ntr., 'action', 'deed', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1710–1713, Pahl.tr. *kunišn*, Ved. *cyautná-*, *EWAia* II 554, IIr **čīay̯-tñ-á-*, NARTEN 1968, 16f. fn. 50

šiiəoθənāiš instr.pl.: *tāiš⁺ ~ yāiš vahištāiš* 35.4 | *vohū θβā mananhā vohū θβā ašā vanhuiā² θβā cistōiš⁺ ~cā vacəbīšcā pairijasāmaidē* 36.4

šiiəoθənanəm gen.pl.: ... *yā hātəm⁺ ~ vahištā xīiā²* 35.3

θa- dem.pron., 'this', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 613–623, Pahl.tr. *ān*, *ōy*, *awēšān*, Ved. *tá-*, *EWAia* I 608f., on the deictic function see *Y* 36.2 no. 1 *huuō* 'that one there', pp. 119–123

tām acc.sg.m.: ~ *aṭ yasnanəm pauruatātā yazamaidē* 37.2 | ~ *aṭ āhūiriā nāmōnī mazdā.varā *spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē* ~ *ahmākāiš *azdabišcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē* ~ *ašāunəm frauuašiš narəmcā nāirinəmcā yazamaidē* 37.3³

taṭ acc.sg.ntr.: ~ *aṭ *varəmaidī... hiiat ī mainimadicā... yā... vahištā xiiat* 35.3 | *vahištəm* ... ~ *aṭ vā vərəziiāmahī* 35.7, cf. NARTEN, YH 118 fn. 128 | (*mīzdəm* ...) *ahiiā huuō nō dāidī ahmāicā ahuiē manaxiiāicā* ~ *ahiiā yā* ~ *upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2², 41.6²

tā instr.sg.ntr.: *hiiat vā tōi nāmanəm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā* ~ *θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3

tōi nom.pl.m.: *pasukanəmcā yōi nā jijišəntī yaēibiiāscā* ~ *ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā aṇhən* 39.1

tāiš instr.pl.ntr.: ~ **šiiāōθənāiš yāiš vahištāiš* 35.4 | *uitī yā vā vay*hiš ahurō mazdā *nāməm dadāt vānhudā hiiat vā dadāt* ~ *vā yazamaidē* ~ *friiənmahī* ~ *nəmaxiiāmahī* ~ *išūidiiāmahī* 38.4⁴

tā acc.pl.f.: *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiiā* ~ *yazamaidē* 38.1

tās° acc.pl.f.: *yerjhē hātəm* (= Y 27.15 *āat yesnē paitī* ... *yānhəmcā tascā*) ~ *cā yazamaide* 35.10, 36.6, 37.5, 38.5, 39.5, 40.4, 41.7

tašan- subst., m., 'fashioner', OAv.YAv., AirWb 645f., Pahl.tr. *gōspand tāšīdar*, Ved. *tákšan-*, EWAia I 613f., IE **tetkon-*, see Y 39.1 no. 2 *gōuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā* 'the cow's soul and (her) maker', p. 258f.

tašānəm acc.sg.: *iθā aṭ yazamaidē gōuš uruuānəmcā* ~ *cā* 39.1

taṭ.əθ adv., 'therefore', hapax, OAv. (YH), AirWb 321, Ved. *tátas* 'then', EWAia I 617, see Y 35.6 no. 1 **taṭ.əθ-ād-ū* 'therefore now ... also', pp. 83–85

~-ād-ū vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō* 35.6

tu- (*θβa-*) pers.pron., 'you', OAv.YAv., AirWb 786–792, Pahl.tr. *tō*, Ved. *tu°*, *tva-*, EWAia I 682f.

θβəm acc.sg., Ved. *tvām*: *imā aṭ uxδā vacā ahurā mazdā ... frauuaocāmā* ~ *aṭ aēšəm paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē* 35.9

θβā acc.sg.encl., Ved. *tvā*: *ahiiā* ~ *āθrō vərəzēnā paouruiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā* ~ *θβā mainiiū spəništā* 36.1² | *hiiat vā tōi nāmanəm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā tā* ~ *pairijasāmaidē* 36.3 | *vohū* ~ *manəhā vohū* ~ *ašā vānhuiiā* ~ *cistōiš *šiiāōθənāišcā vacəbišcā pairijasāmaidē* 36.4³ | *nəmaxiiāmahī išūidiiāmahī* ~ *mazdā ahurā vīspāiš* ~ *humatāiš vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš huuarštāiš pairijasāmaidē* 36.5² | *aθā* ~ *āiš yazamaidē* ... *aθā išūidiiāmahī* ~ *mazdā ahurā* 39.4² | *vānhōuš xāētōuš xāētātā vānhōuš ašahiiā* ~ *pairijasāmaidē* 39.5 | *humāim* ~ *ižim yazatəm ašənhācim dadəmaidē* 41.3

θβā instr.sg., Ved. *tvā*: *aēšācā* ~ *əmauuaṇtascā *buiiāmā* 41.4

tōi dat.sg.encl., Ved. *te*: *aθā* ~ *dadəmahī* 39.4

tauua° gen.sg., Ved. *táva*: *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā* ~ *cā haxəmə ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* 40.2 | *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā* ~ *cā sarəm ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē* 41.6

tōi gen.sg.encl., Ved. *te*: *hiiat vā* ~ *nāmanəm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahiiā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3 | *sraēštəm aṭ* ~ *kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6 | *yāscā* ~ *gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiiā tā yazamaidē* 38.1 | *rāitī* ~ *xrapaitī ahmat hiiat aibī hiiat mīzdəm *mauuiiθīm fradadāθā* 40.1 | *vohū xšāθrəm* ~ *mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* 41.2

tū encl. particle, 1. 'now', 'then' 2. 'but' 3. 'indeed', OAv.YAv., AirWb 654f. (*²tū* = *¹tū*), Pahl.tr. *tō*, Ved. *tú* 'now, then, but', EWAia I 651, STRUNK 1975, 320–324; NARTEN, YH 264 fn. 46; see Y 39.4 no. 1 *tū* 'indeed', p. 276

3. *yaθā ~ ī ahurā mazdā mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā vohū* 39.4 | 3. *huxšaθras-nā nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiio aṇhuuō hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.2 | 3. *aθā ~ nā gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiio aṇhuuō hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.3 | 3. *aēšācā θβā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā ~ nā darəgəmcā uštācā hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.4

θβa- pers.pron., 'you', cf. → *tu-*

²θβa- pron.poss.adj.2sg., 'your', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 792f., Pahl.tr. (ī) *tō*, Ved. *¹tva-*, *EWAia* I 682f., *AiGr.* III 493

θβā instr.sg.m.: *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzēnā paouruiiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā θβā ~ mainiiū spēništā* 36.1

θβahmī loc.sg.ntr.: *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā ~ rafənahī darəgāiiāu* 41.4

θβōi nom.pl.m.: ~ *staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 41.5

³θβa- indef.pron, 1. encl. indef. pronoun 'the one' with oppositional, contrasting function 2. **θβāt** adverbial abl.sg. 'now...now...now' (only YH), OAv., *AirWb* 793, Pahl.tr. *tō*, Ved. *²tva-*, *EWAia* I 683, IIr **tva*, NARTEN, YH 136f.; CARDONA 1987 (on Ved. *²tva-* and Y 44.3 **θβāt**); see Y 35.10 no. 2 **θβāt** ... **θβāt** ... **θβāt** 'now ... now ... now', p. 109

θβāt abl.sg. (adverbial): 2. *staotāiš ~ ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxōā ~ uxōōibiiō yasnā ~ yasnōibiiō* 35.10³

θβāt indef.pron., cf. → **³θβa-**

uba- adj., 'both', OAv., YAv. *uua-* (< **uβa-*), *AirWb* 399f., Pahl.tr. *har(w)*, OP *ubā* 'both' (du.), PrIr **uba-*, Ved. *ubhā-*, *EWAia* I 224, IIr **ubhā-*, NARTEN, YH 290–295; see Y 35.3 no. 7 *ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'for both existences', p. 73

ubōibiiā dat.du.m.: *vahištā xiiāt ~ ahubiiā* 35.3 | *ašahiiā āat sairī ašahiiā vərəzēnē kahmāicīt hātqm jīišqm vahištqm ādā ~ ahubiiā* 35.8 | *apō at yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā vā huuōyžadāscā hūšnāθrāscā ~ ahubiiā cagəmə* 38.3

ubōiio loc.du.m.: *huxšaθrastū nā nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ~ aṇhuuō hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.2 | *aθā tū nā gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ~ aṇhuuō hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.3

uitī adv., 1. 'thus' 2. 'equally', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 386f., Pahl.tr. *ēdōn*, Chr.Sogd. *yty /iti/*, Manich.Sogd. *'ty*, both of which represent **ati* < **uti*, cf. Ved. *īti* 'thus, in this way', *EWAia* I 189, KELLEN/PIRART, TVA III 145; see Y 38.4 no. 1 **uitī* 'thus', p. 240

1. *~ *yā vā vaṇhīš ahurō mazdā *nāmqm dadāt vaṇhudā hiiāt vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4 | 2. *spəntəng aməšəng yauuaējiio yauuaēsuoō yōi vaṇhōuš ā manəṇhō šīieṇtī yāscā* *~ 39.3

uruuan- subst., m., 'soul', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1537–1541, Pahl.tr. *ruwān*, MP *ruwān*, Ved. Ø, *EWAia* II 150, III 428, according to J. C. WRIGHT, BSOAS 30 (1967), 529 with n. 3 and 53, 1990, 535f. with Ved. *rāvan-*, but according to HOFFMANN (*apud* NARTEN, YH 248 fn. 1) from **luuan-* with Grk. *λύω*

uruuānəm acc.sg.: *iθā āt yazamaidē gōuš ~ cā tašānəmcā* 39.1

urunō acc.pl.: *ahmākēng āaṭ ~ pasukanqmcā ... daitikanqmcā ... ~ yazamaidē* 39.1–2² | *ašāunqam āaṭ ~ yazamaidē* 39.2

uruuarā- subst., f., ‘plant’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 401–404, Pahl.tr. *urwar*, MP *urwar*, Ved. *urvārā-* f. ‘fertile soil, land’, *EWAia* I 228f.

uruuarās° acc.pl.: *iṭā āṭ yazamaidē ahuram mazdām yā ... apascā dāt ~cā vanḥiṣ* 37.1

uruuāzi- subst., f., ‘joy’, OAv., *AirWb* 1545, Pahl.tr. *urwāhmanīh*, Ved. Ø, IN-SLER 1970, 197; NARTEN, *YH* 147 fn. 48

uruuāziiā instr.sg.: *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ātarā mazdā ahurahiā uruuāzištahiā ~ ... paitī.jamiiā* 36.2

uruuāzišta- adj., ‘most joyful’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1545, Ved. Ø, superl. from verb *uruuāz* ‘to be joyful’

uruuāzištō nom.sg.m.: *~ huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ātarā mazdā ahurahiā uruuāzištahiā uruuāziiā ... paitī.jamiiā* 36.2

uruuāzištahiā gen.sg.m.: *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā ātarā mazdā ahurahiā ~ uruuāziiā ... paitī.jamiiā* 36.2

uštāna- subst., m., ‘life’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 418f., Pahl.tr. *gyān*, Ved. Ø, according to KARL HOFFMANN (oral communication) < **ušta-ana-* ‘desired breathing’ (‘gewünschtes Atmen’) or **uštā-ana-* ‘breathing according to wish’ (‘nach Wunsch Atmen’), but according to BAILEY, *ZorProbl.* 96, 99, 118 and TPS 1954, 135ff. < **ud-sthana-* ‘energy’

uštānāiš° instr.pl.: *tām ahmākāiš *azdabīscā ~cā yazamaidē* 37.3

ušti- subst., f., 1. ‘wish’ 2. loc.sg. *uštā* = adv. ‘according to wish’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 417, Pahl.tr. *nēk*, *nēkīh*, *pad nēkīh*, Ved. cf. *váṣti-*, *EWAia* II 527f., IIr **uc-ti-*, IE **uk-ti-*

uštā loc.sg. (adverbial): 2. *aēšācā ṭpā āmauuantascā *buiiāmā rapōišcā tū nā daragamcā ~cā hātqm hudāstēmā* 41.4

utā conjunction, 1. ‘and’ 2. ‘also’, YH, YAv. *uta*, *AirWb* 384–386, Pahl.tr. *ēdōn*, OP *utā*, Ved. *utā*, *EWAia* I 212, NARTEN, *YH* 284f.; KLEIN, *Particle* u 9ff., JAOS 98 (1978), 266ff.

1. *yaṭā āṭ ~ nā vā nāiri vā vaēdā haiṭīm aṭā haṭ vohū* 35.6 | 2. *aṭā vā ~ xiiāmā mazdā ahurā ašauuanō arāšiiā ištām raitī* 40.4

uxda- subst., ntr., OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 381f., Pahl.tr. *saxwan*, *gōwišn*, Ved. *ukthá-*, *EWAia* II 489–491, IIr **ukthá-*, NARTEN, *YH* 126–128; see Y 35.9 no. 2 *uxdā vacā* ‘words as solemn utterances’, p. 97f.

uxdā nom.pl.: *staotāiš ṭpāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī ~ ṭpāt uxdoibiiō yasnā ṭpāt yasnōibiiō* 35.10

uxdā acc.pl.: *imā āṭ ~ vacā ahura mazdā ašām *manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9

uxdoibiiō abl.pl.: *staotāiš ṭpāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxda ṭpāt ~ yasnā ṭpāt yasnōibiiō* 35.10

-ū encl. particle, 'also', 'and', hapax, OAv. (YH), Ved. *u*, EWAia I 209, NARTEN, YH 112; see Y 35.6 no. 1 **taṭ.ḁ-ād-ū* 'therefore now ... also', pp. 83–85

**taṭ.ḁ-ād-~ vərəziiōtūcā īt ahmāi fracā vātōiiōtū īt aēibiiō* 35.6

va- encl. pers.pron. 2pl., 'you', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1310–1313, Pahl.tr. *ašmā*, Ved. *va-*, EWAia II 532

vā acc.: *apō at yazamaidē ... hupərəθβāscā ~ huuōyžadāscā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagēmā* 38.3 | *uitī yā vā vaṇhīš ahurō mazdā *nāmąm dadāt vaṇhudā hiiat ~ dadāt tāiš ~ yazamaidē* 38.4² | *apascā ~ azišcā ~ mātəṛqšcā ~ ... *āuuuacāmā* 38.5³

vā dat., Ved. *vaḥ* (< **yas*): *ahurahiiā zī at ~ mazdā yasnəmca vahməmca vahištəm aməhmaidī ... taṭ at ~ vərəziiāmahi* 35.7², NARTEN, YH 116–119, see Y 35.7 no. 1 *vā* 'for you', pp.87–90 | **uitī yā ~ vaṇhīš ahurō mazdā *nāmąm dadāt vaṇhudā hiiat vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

vā gen., Ved. *vaḥ*: *~ vaṇhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī* 38.5 | *avā ~ utā xiiāmā mazdā ahurā ašauuanō ərəšiiā ištəm raitī* 40.4

vac verb, 1. acc. 'to speak acc.' 2. double acc. 'to call acc. as acc.' 3. *ā* double acc. 'to call upon acc. as acc.' 4. *frā* 'to proclaim', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1330–1332, PrIr **uac*, Ved. *vac*, EWAia II 489–491, Ir **uac*, IE **uek*^w, LIV² 673f.

vāc-/uc- root aor.

auuācī 3sg.ind.pass.: 2. *barəzištəm *barəzəmanąm auuat yāt huuarē ~* 36.6

vaoca- (< **ua-uč-a-*) redupl. them. aor.

vaocas^o 2sg.inj.act.: 1. *yaṭā tū ī ahurā mazdā mənghācā ~cā dāscā varəscā yā vohū aṭā tōi dadəmahī* 39.4

**uuuacāmā* 1pl.inj.act. *frā*: 4. *imā āt uxδā vacā ahura mazdā ašəm *manaiiā vahehiiā fra~* 35.9, see pp. 95–97 | *ā*: 3. *apascā vā azišcā vā mātəṛqšcā vā ... *ā~* 38.5

vaocōimā^o 1pl.opt.act.: 1. *taṭ at *varəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadicā ~cā *varəzimācā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3

vacab- subst., ntr., 'verse', 'speech', 'word', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1340–1342, Pahl. tr. *gōwišn*, Ved. *vācas-*, EWAia II 491, Ir **uac-as-*, IE **uek*^w*es-*

vacā acc.pl.: *imā āt uxδā ~ ahura mazdā ašəm *manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā* 35.9

vacəbīš^o instr.pl.: *vohū θβā manayhā vohū θβā ašā vaṇhuiiā θβā cistōiš *šiiəoθənāišcā ~cā pairijasāmaidē* 36.4

vahiiab-, f. *vahehī-*, adj., comp. of *vohu-*, 1. 'better' 2. 'very good', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1405f., Pahl.tr. *weh*, *wehtar*, *wehīh*, MP *weh*, NP *bih*, Ved. *vāsyas-*, *vāśīyas-*, EWAia II 533f., NARTEN, YH 128f. fn. 178

vahehiiā instr.sg.f.: 2. *imā āt uxδā vacā ahura mazdā ašəm *manaiiā ~ frauuaocāmā* 35.9

vahehīš nom.pl.f.: 2. *ašāunąm ... yaēšąm ~ daēnā vanaiṇtī vā vənghən vā *vaonarə vā* 39.2

vahišta- adj., 'best', OAv.YAv., AirWb 1399–1402, Pahl.tr. *pāhlom*, *pāhlomih*, MP *wahišt*, NP *bihišt* 'paradise', Ved. *vāsiṣṭha-*, EWAia II 533f.

vahištąm acc.sg.f.: *kahmāicīt hātąm jījišąm ~ ādā ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 35.8

vahištəm acc.sg.ntr.: *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vā mazdā yasnəm cā vahməm cā ~ aməhmaidī gəušcā vāstrəm* 35.7 | *ašəm aṭ ~ yazamaidē hiiat sraēštəm hiiat spəntəm aməšəm* 37.4

vahištāi dat.sg.ntr.: **huxšaθrō.təmāi xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *hūuqnmahicā hiiat mazdāi ahurāi ašāicā ~ 35.5 | stūtō garō vahmōng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā ~ dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī* 41.1

vahištā nom.pl.ntr.: *yā hātəm *šūiaoθananəm ~ xiiāt* 35.3

vahištāiš instr.pl.ntr.: *tāiš šūiaoθanāiš yāiš ~ 35.4*

vahištā voc.pl.f.: *apascā vā ... agəniīā drigudāiiayhō vīspō.paitīš ~ sraēštā *āuuaocāmā* 38.5

vahma- subst., m., ‘prayer’, ‘praise’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1403f., Pahl.tr. *niyāyišn*, Ved. Ø, NARTEN, *YH* 118 fn. 126; SKJÆRVØ 2005, 274 with fn. 16

vahməm acc.sg.: *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vā mazdā yasnəm cā ~ cā vahištəm aməhmaidī gəušcā vāstrəm* 35.7

vahmōng acc.pl.: *stūtō garō ~ ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā]uuaēdaiiamahī* 41.1

vairiia- adj., ‘exquisite’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1373, Pahl.tr. *kāmag*, *pad kāmag*, Ved. cf. *vārya-* ntr. ‘treasure’, *EWAia* II 511f., NARTEN, *YH* 191f. fn. 8

vairiīā nom.pl.f.: *yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā ~ tā yazamaidē* 38.1

van verb, ‘to prevail’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1350–1352, Pahl.tr. *wānīdan*, Ved. *van*, *vanóti*, *EWAia* II 499, IE **uēn*, *LIV*² 680, see *Y* 39.2 no. 3 **vaonarə* ‘they have prevailed’, p. 270

vana- pres.

vanaiṇtī 3pl.ind.act.: *ašāunəm ... yaēšəm vahehīš daēnā ~ vā vōnghən vā *vaonarə vā* 39.2

vəs-/vōngh- s-aor. (< **vāns-/vans-*), Ved. *vāms-*

vōnghən 3pl.subj.act.: *ašāunəm ... yaēšəm vahehīš daēnā vanaiṇtī vā ~ vā *vaonarə vā* 39.2, cf. Ved. *vāms-*, NARTEN, *Sigm.Aor.* 234–237

vaon- perf.

vaonarə 3pl.ind.act.: *ašāunəm ... yaēšəm vahehīš daēnā vanaiṇtī vā vōnghən vā *~ vā* 39.2

vanhau- adj., cf. → *vohu-*

vanhudā- subst., ‘providing good (things)’, *YH YAv.*, *AirWb* 1349, Ved. *vasudā-*; *vasudhātama-*, NARTEN, *YH* 222–225; see *Y* 38.4 no. 3 *vanhudā* ‘providing good (things)’, p. 241f.

vanhudā acc.pl.: **uitī yā vā vanhīš ahurō mazdā *nāməm dadāt ~ hiiat vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē* 38.4

var verb, ‘to choose’, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1360–1362, Ved. *var*ⁱ, *EWAia* II 511f., IE **uelh*₁, *LIV*² 677f.

var- root aor.

varəmaidī 1pl.inj.mid.: *taṭ aṭ *~ ... hiiat ī mainimadicā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3

varəz verb, acc. 'to practise', 'to act', 'to do', 'to perform', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1374–1377, Pahl.tr. *warzīdan*, Ved. **vṛj* only in RV *svávṛṣṭi*- epithet of Indra, *EWAia* II 795, IE **uerǵ*, *LIV*² 686f.

varəziia- *ia*-pres.

varəziiāmahi 1pl.subj.act.: *taṭ aṭ vā ~ fracā vātəiiāmahi *yā.tā isāmaidē* 35.7, NARTEN, *YH* 118

varəziiān 3pl.subj.act.: *fracā vātəiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō yōi iṭ aṭā ~ yaṭā iṭ astī* 35.6, NARTEN, *YH* 117 fn. 122

varəziiōtū^o 3sg.pt.act.: **taṭ.əṭ-ād-ū ~cā iṭ ahmāi fracā vātəiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō yōi iṭ aṭā varəziiān yaṭā iṭ astī* 35.6

varəziiamna- pres.part.mid.

varəziiamnanqm gen.pl.ntr.: *humatanqm hūxtanqm huuarštanqm iīadacā anīadacā ~cā vāuuərazananqm cā mahī aibī.jarətarō* 35.2

varəz- root aor.

varəš^o (< Ilr. **uarz-š*) 2sg.inj.act.: *yaṭā tū ī ahurā mazdā mōnghācā vaocascā dāscā ~cā yā vohū aṭā tōi dadəmahī* 39.4

varəzimā 1pl.opt.act.: *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ... hīiaṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā *~cā ... yā ... vahištā xīiaṭ* 35.3

vāuuəraz- perf.

vāuuərazāna- perf.part.mid.

vāuuərazananqm gen.pl.ntr.: *humatanqm hūxtanqm huuarštanqm iīadacā anīadacā varəziiamnanqm cā ~cā mahī aibī.jarətarō* 35.2

vas verb, 'to desire', 'to wish', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1381f., Pahl.tr. *kāmag*, *pad kāmag* etc., Ved. *vaś*, 3sg. *váṣṭi*, *EWAia* II 527f., Ilr **uac*, IE **uek*, *LIV*² 672f.

vas-/us- root pres.

usmahi^o 1pl.ind.act.: *ṭṭōi staotarascā mąṭranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā ~cā vīsəmadaēcā* 41.5

vat verb, 1. 'to understand', 'to become acquainted with', 'to become familiar with' 2. caus.pres. act. *frā* 'to make acc. known to dat.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1343, Pahl.tr. *aipi-vat: andar dānistan; frā-vat: āgāhēnīdan*, Ved. *vat*, *EWAia* II 494f., IE **uet*, *LIV*² 694, NARTEN, *YH* 117 fn. 121; TICHY 1980, 3f. fn. 8; GOTÖ, *I. Präsensklasse* 280f.; semantically different THIEME 1954 ('to inspire', lit.: 'anblasen')

vātəiiia- caus.pres.

vātəiiāmahi 1pl.subj.act. *frā*: 2. *vahištəm ... taṭ aṭ vā varəziiāmahi fracā ~ *yā.tā isāmaidē* 35.7

vātəiiōtū 3sg.pt.act. *frā*: 2. *varəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi fracā ~ iṭ aēibiiō yōi...* 35.6, cf. NARTEN, *YH* 115

¹**vā** emphasizing encl. particle, 'indeed', cf. *vōi*, OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1305f., Ved. cf. *vái*, *EWAia* II 587, Ilr **uá*, NARTEN, *YH* 159 with fn. 91

hīiaṭ ~ tōi nāmanqm vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahīiā tā ṭṭā pairijasāmaidē 36.3

²*vā* disjunctive coordinating encl.particle, 'or', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1306–1310, Ved. *vā*, *EWAia* II 538

A vā B vā: *nā ~ nāirī ~ 35.6 | huxšaθrastū nā nā ~ nāirī ~ xšaētā ubōiō aṇhuuō hātām budāstāmā* 41.2

A vā B vā C vā: *ašāunam ... yaēšam vahehīs daēnā vanaiṇtī ~ vānghan ~ *vaonarā ~ 39.2*

vāstra- subst., ntr., 'pasture', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1414, Pahl.tr. *wāstar*, MP *wāstar*, Ved. cf. *svāsara*- ntr. 'pasture' (< **su-vāsar-a*-), *EWAia* II 796, 531f.

vāstrām acc.sg.: *gauuōi ... rāmācā ~ cā dazdiiāi* 35.4 | *ahurahiiā zī aṭ vā mazdā yasnəm cā vahmām cā vahištām amōhmaidī gōušcā ~ 35.7*

vāstriia- adj., 1. 'belonging to the pasture' 2. subst. m. 'herdsman', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1416f.

vāstriiōng acc.pl.: 2. *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinaṇhō aidiiš ~ 40.3*

vāzišta- adj., 'most enlivening', 'most invigorating', 'most energizing', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1417f., Pahl.tr. transcr., PrIr **uāzišta*-, Ved. cf. caus.pres. *vājāya*-, *EWAia* II 540f., see Y 36.3 no. 2 *nāmanam vāzištām* 'the most invigorating of names', pp. 133–144

vāzištām nom.sg.ntr.: *hiiat vā tōināmanam ~ ātarā mazdā ahurahiiā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3

vərəzāna- subst., ntr., 'community', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1424f., OP *vardana*, NP *barzan* 'quarter', Ved. *vṛjāna*-, *EWAia* II 573

vərəzānā instr.sg.: *ahiiā θβā āθrō ~ paouruiiē *pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā* 36.1

vərəzānē loc.sg.: *ašahiiā āaṭ sairī ašahiiā ~ kahmāicī hātām jīišam vahištām ādā* 35.8

vərəzānā acc.pl.: *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinaṇhō ... aṭā xšaētūš aṭā ~ 40.4*, see Y 40.4 no. 1 *xšaētūš* 'families', p. 300f.

vid verb, 1. act. 'to perceive' 2. perf. act. 'to know' (lit.: 'to have seen') 3. caus. pres. act. *ā* acc. + acc. 'to declare acc. as acc.' (lit.: 'to make something known as something', the transitive correspondent to the middle stative intrans. perf. *vidé* 'is known', JAMISON, *āya-Formations* 166; see Y 36.6 no. 1 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* 'we declare', p. 148f.) 4. caus.pres. act. *ā* acc. + dat. 'to dedicate acc. to dat.' (lit.: 'to make something known to someone'), OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1314–1320, PrIr **uīd/uīd*, Ved. *vid*, *EWAia* II 579f., Ir **uīd*/**uīd*, IE **uīd*/**uīd*, LIV² 665–667

vaēdaiia- caus.pres.

**uuaēdaiiamahī* 1pl.ind.act. *ā* (= Ved. *ā* ... *vedayamāsi*): 3. *sraēštām aṭ tōi kəhrpām kəhrpām ā ~ mazdā ahurā imā raocā* 36.6 | 4. *stūtō garō vahmōng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadāmahicā cīsmahicā ācā [ā] ~ 41.1*

vaēd-/vid- perf. (unredupl.)

vaēdā 3sg.ind.act., Ved. *véda*: 2. *yaṭā aṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā ~ haiṭīm aṭā haṭ vohū* 35.6

viiādā- subst., f., 'apportionment', 'dealing-out', 'gift-dispensing', 'distribution', 'allocation', YH YAv., IIr **yi-ā-dhā-*, NARTEN *apud* KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 211, and YH 246; see Y 38.5 no. 11 **viiādā* 'distributions', p. 255f.

viiādā acc.pl.: *auuā ... ~ paiti.sēndā* 38.5

vis verb, mid. 'to make oneself available as nom.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1326f., Pahl.tr. *padīriftan*, Ved. *viś*, 3sg. *viśāti*, EWAia II 584, IIr **yaic/yc*, IE **yeik/yik*, LIV² 669

vīsa- a-pres.

vīsāmadaē° 1pl.ind.mid.: *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā aogāmadaēcā usmahicā ~cā* 41.5

vīspa- pronominal adj., 'all', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1460–1463, Pahl.tr. *harwisp*, OP *visa-*, MP *wisp*, Ved. *viśva-*, EWAia II 562f., IIr **yaicya-*, IE **yikyo-*

vīspām acc.sg.f.: *~ ašaonō stīm yazamaide* 35.1

vīspāi dat.sg.ntr.: (*mīždəm*) *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā ašaxiiācā ~ yauuē* 40.2 | *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā ~ yauuē* 41.2 | (*mīždəm*) *yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm ašaxiiācā ~ yauuē* 41.6

vīspā acc.pl.ntr.: *iḏā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yā ... raocāscā dāt būmīmā ~cā vohū* 37.1

vīspāiš instr.pl.ntr.: *~ θβā humatāiš ~ hūxtāiš ~ huuarštāiš pairijasāmaidē* 36.5³

vīspā.vohu- adj., 'who provides all that is good', 'who has all that is good', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1465, Pahl.tr. *kē harwisp ābādih az-aš*, Ved. *viśvāvasu-*, NARTEN, YH 183 fn. 59; DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Composés* 164

vīspā.vohū acc.sg.ntr.: *ašəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hiiat sraēštəm hiiat spəntəm aməšəm hiiat *raocōṇhuuat hiiat *~* 37.4

vīspō.paiti- adj., 'providing drink for all', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1468, Pahl.tr. *vīspōpitiš* (in Av. letters), NARTEN, YH 241 with fn. 166, see Y 38.5 no. 6 *vīspō.paitiš* 'providing drink for all', p. 251

vīspō.paitiš voc.pl.f.: *apascā vā ... mātəraščā vā agəniā drigudāiiəṇhō ~ *āuuacāmā* 38.5

vohu-, f. *vaṇ^hbī-* adj., 'good', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1395–1399, Pahl.tr. *weh*, MP *weh*, NP *bih*, PrIr **yahu-*, Ved. *vásu-*, EWAia II 533f., IIr **Hyásu-*, IE **h₁yésu-*

vohū acc.sg.ntr.: *yaḏā āt utā ... vaēdā haiθīm aḏā haṭ ~* 35.6

vohu° acc.sg.ntr.: *~cā manō yazamaidē ~cā xšaθrəm* 37.5² | *~ xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* 41.2

vohū instr.sg.ntr.: *~ θβā manəṇhā ~ θβā ašā vaṇhuiā θβā cistōiš *šiiəoθənāišcā vacābīščā pairijasāmaidē* 36.4²

vaṇhōuš abl.sg.ntr.: *ašāatcā hacā ~cā manəṇhō ~cā xšaθrāt staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī* 35.10² | *spəntəṇṅ aməšəṇṅ ... yōi ~ ā manəṇhō šiiēiṇtī yāscā ūitī* 39.3

vaṇhōuš gen.sg.m./ntr.: *~ x^aētəuš x^aētātā ~ ašahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 39.5²

vaṇ^hhīm acc.sg.f.: *vohucā manō yazamaidē ... ~cā daēnəm ~cā fsəratūm ~cā ārmaitīm* 37.5³ | *~ ābīš ašīm ~ išəm ~ āzūitīm ~ frasastīm ~ *parəndīm yazamaidē* 38.2⁵

vaṇhūiā gen.sg.f.: *bəraṇjā daēnaiiā ~ māzdaiiasnōiś* 35.1 | *vohū* ṭβā *manahā vohū* ṭβā *ašā ~ ṭβā cistōiś ... pairijasāmaidē* 36.4 | *vaṇhōuš xʷaētōuš xʷaētātā* ṭβā *pairijasāmaidē ... ~ *fsəratuuō ~ ārmātōiś* 39.5²

vohū nom.pl.ntr.: *yaṭā tū ī ahurā mazdā mōnghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā ~* 39.4

vaṇhūš° acc.pl.m.: *āt iṭā yazamaidē ~cā iṭ vaṇhūšcā iṭ spəntəng aməšəng* 39.3

vohū acc.pl.ntr.: *iṭā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yō ... raocāscā dāt būmīmācā vīspācā ~* 37.1

vohunəm gen.pl.ntr.: *humatanəm ... mahī aibī.jarətarō naē-naēstārō *yaṭənā ~ mahī* 35.2

vaṇhūš voc.pl.f.: **uitī yā vō ~ ahurō mazdā *nāməm dadāt vaṇhudā hīiat vā dadāt tāiś vā yazamaidē* 38.4 | *aṇuā vō ~ rātōiś darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū *paitī *viiādā paitī.səndā* 38.5

vaṇhūš acc.pl.f.: *iṭā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdəm yō ... apascā dāt uruuarāscā ~* 37.1

vaṇhūš° acc.pl.f.: *āt iṭā yazamaidē vaṇhūšcā iṭ ~cā iṭ spəntəng aməšəng* 39.3

vōi encl. particle, 'indeed', 'truly', cf. ¹*vā*, hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1427f., Ved. *vāi*, *EWAia* II 587, NARTEN, *YH* 155f., emphasizing encl. particle

ātarš ~ mazdā ahurahiiā ahī mainiiuš ~ ahiiā spəništō ahī 36.3²

xrap verb, 'to take shape', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 537f., Ved. ²*kṛp* 'to take shape', *EWAia* I 323f., 409, *LIV*² Ø, NARTEN, *YH* 271f.; see *Y* 40.1 no. 3 *rāitī tōi xrapaitī* 'through your generosity there shall take shape', pp. 287–289

xrap- root aor.

xrapaitī 3sg.subj.act.: *rāitī tōi ~ ahmat hīiat aibī hīiat mīždəm *mauuaiṭīm fradadāṭā* 40.1

xšādra- subst., ntr., 'rule', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 542–546, Pahl.tr. *xwadāyīh*, OP *xšaça-*, MP/NP *šahr*, Ved. *kṣatrā-*, *EWAia* I 421, Ilr **kša-trā-*

xšādrəm acc.sg.: *huxšādrō.təmāi *bā *at ~ ... dadəmahicā cīsmahicā *huuūanmahicā hīiat mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5 | *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā ~ vaṇhūšcā daēnəm vaṇhūšcā fsəratūm vaṇhūšcā ārmātīm* 37.5 | *vohū ~ tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē* 41.2

xšādrā instr.sg.: *yō gəmcā ašəmcā dāt ... ahiiā ~cā mazdācā hauuapəṇhāiścā* 37.2

xšādrāt abl.sg.: *ašāatcā hacā vaṇhūšcā manahō vaṇhūšcā ~ staotāiś ṭβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī* 35.10

xšā verb, 1. 'to rule' 2. gen. 'to rule over', *AirWb* 551–553, OP *xšaya-* pres.stem, MP *šāyēd* 'it is possible', Ved. *kṣā*, *kṣāyati* 'to rule', *EWAia* I 426f., *LIV*² 297f. n. 3, 618f. n. 1, KELLEN, *Verbe av.* 365; NARTEN, *YH* 292 fn. 22

xšaiia- īa-pres.

xšaiiaṇt- pres.part.act.

xšaiiaṇtas° acc.pl.m.: 1. *fraēšiiāmāhī ... surunuuatascā asuruuuatascā ~cā axšaiiaṇtas-cā* 35.4

xša- a-aor.

xšaētā 3sg.opt.mid. 2. *huxšādrastū nā nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiio aṇhuuō hātəm hudāstəmā* 41.2

xʷaētāt- subst., f., 'relationship', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1859, NARTEN, *YH* 266; see *Y* 39.5 no. 1 *xʷaētōuš xʷaētātā* 'with a relative's relationship', pp. 280–282, possibly < **xʷaētutāt-* by syllable haplology

xʷaētātā instr.sg.: *vaṇhōuš xʷaētōuš ~ vaṇhōuš ašahiiā ṭβā pairijasāmaidē* 39.5

x^oaētū- subst., m., 'members of a household (*dāmāna*)', 'family', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1858f., Pahl.tr. *xwēš*, *xwēšān*, *pad xwēših*, PrIr **h_uaītu-*, Ved. cf. *svā*- 'one's own', *EWAia* II 787f., Ir **s_uai-tu-*, NARTEN, *YH* 265f., 266 fn. 59; BENVENISTE, *JA* 223 (1932), 121ff.; see *Y* 39.5 no. 1 *x^oaētūš x^oaētātā* 'with a relative's relationship', pp. 280–282

x^oaētūš gen.sg.: *vanhēuš ~ x^oaētātā vanhēuš ašahiā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 39.5

x^oaētūš acc.pl.: *dāidī aṭ nərəqš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinaṇhō ... aṭā ~ aṭā vərəzēnā* 40.4

ya- rel.pron., 'who', 'which', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1199–1228, Ved. *yá-*, *EWAia* II 390

yā nom.sg.m.: **pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā θβā θβā mainiiū spēništā ~ ā axtiš ahmāi yām axtōiiōi dāṇhē* 36.1 | *iṭā aṭ yazamaidē ahurām mazdām ~ gāmcā ašāmcā dāt* 37.1

yām acc.sg.m.: *mainiiū spēništā yā ā axtiš ahmāi ~ axtōiiōi dāṇhē* 36.1

hiiat nom.sg.ntr.: *~ vātōināmanām vāzištām ātarā mazdā ahurahiiā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē* 36.3

hiiat nom./acc.sg.ntr.: **huxšaθrō.tāmāi ... ~ mazdāi ahurāi* 35.5, cf. → *hiiat* explicative particle

hiiat acc.sg.ntr.: *taṭ aṭ *varəmaidī ... ~ ī mainimadicā ... yā ... vahištā xiiāt* 35.3, cf. ²*hiiat* conj. | *ahmat ~ aibī* 35.5 | *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmat ~ aibī ~ mīždām *mauuaiṭīm fradadāṭā* 40.1² | *~ mīždām *mauuaiṭīm fradadāṭā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā ahiiā huuō nā dāidī* 41.5

yā instr.sg.ntr.: (*mīždām*) *ahiiā huuō nā dāidī ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiāicā taṭ ahiiā ~ taṭ upā.jamiiāmā* 40.2, 41.6

yāt abl.sg. (adverbial): cf. → *yāt*

yeṇhē YAv. gen.sg.m.: *~ hātām (= Y 27.15 āaṭ yesnē paitī ... yāṇhāmā tāscā) tāscā yazamaide* 35.10, 36.6, 37.5, 38.5, 39.5, 40.4, 41.7

yōi nom.pl.m.: *fracā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō ~ iṭ aṭā vərəziiṇ yaṭā iṭ astī* 35.6 | *tām aṭ yasnanām pauuuatātā yazamaidē ~ gōuš hacā śiieintī* 37.2 | *ahmākēṇ āaṭ urunō pasukanāmā ~ nā jijišēntī ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1 | *spəntēṇ aməšēṇ ... ~ vanhēuš ā manayhō śiieintī yāscā ūitī* 39.3

yaē° nom.pl.m.: *pasukanāmā yōi nā jijišēntī yaēibiiāscā tōi ā ~cā aēibiiō ā aṇhən ... daitikanāmā ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1

yā nom.pl.ntr.: *ī mainimadicā ... ~ .. vahištā xiiāt* 35.3 | **uitī ~ vā vanḥiṣ ahurō mazdā *nāmām dadāt vanhūdā hiiat vā dadāt tāiṣ vā yazamaidē* 38.4 | *yaṭā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēṇghācā vaocāscā dāscā varāscā ~ vohū* 39.4

yāiṣ instr.pl.ntr.: *tāiṣ śiiaoṭanāiṣ ~ vahištāiṣ* 35.4 | *aṭā *haxēmām xiiāt ~ hiścamaidē* 40.4

yaēibiias° dat.pl.m.: *pasukanāmā yōi nā jijišēntī ~cā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā aṇhən ... daitikanāmā ... urunō yazamaidē* 39.1

yaēšām gen.pl.m.: *ašāunām ... narāmā nāirināmā ~ vahehiṣ daēnā vanaiṇtī ...* 39.2

yā nom.sg.f.: *imām āaṭ zām gənābiṣ haṭrā yazamaidē ~ nā baraitī yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ... tā yazamaidē* 38.1

yās° nom.pl.f.: *imām āaṭ zām gənābiṣ haṭrā yazamaidē yā nā baraitī ~cā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāṭ hacā vairiiā tā yazamaidē* 38.1 | *spəntēṇ aməšēṇ ... yōi vanhēuš ā manayhō śiieintī ~cā *uitī* 39.3

yā in *yā.tē* → *yānt-*

yaošti- subst., f., 'vitalization', hapax, OAv. (YH), *AirWb* 1232, MP cf. *yōjdahr-gar* 'purifier', Ved. cf. *āyu-* 'life', gen. *yóh*, *EWAia* I 171f., II 420f., IE **h₂óiu-*, SZEMERÉNYI 1979, 165f., see Y 38.2 no. 3 *yaošti-* 'vitalization', pp. 214–221

yaoštaiiō nom.pl.: *yāscā tōi gānā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairiā tā yazamaidē īzā ~ yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō* 38.2

yasna- subst., m., 1. 'worship', 'sacrifice' 2. name of a text, the 'Worship in Seven Chapters', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1270–1273, Pahl.tr. *yazišn*, *yasn*, Ved. *yajñá-*, *EWAia* II 394, on the meaning of the root *yaz*, see Y 37.1 no. 2 *yazamaidē* 'we worship', pp. 156–162

yasnam acc.sg.: 1. *ahurahiiā zī at vō mazdā ~cā vahmāmācā vahištām amōhmaidī gāušcā vāstrām* 35.7 | 2. *~ sūrām haptayhāitīm ašauuanām ašabe ratūm yazamaide* 41.8

yasnā nom.pl.: 1. *staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxδā θβāt.uxδōibiiō ~ θβāt yasnōibiiō* 35.10

yasnōibiiō abl.pl.: 1. *staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxδā θβāt.uxδōibiiō yasnā θβāt ~ 35.10*

yasnanām gen.pl.: 1. *tēm at ~ pauruunātātā yazamaidē* 37.2

yaθā adv., 1. 'as' 2. correlative with *aθā* 'so ... as', OAv., YAv. *yaθa*, *AirWb* 1240–1249, Ved. *yáthā*

2. *~ āt utā ... vaēdā haiθīm aθā haθ vohū ... fracā vātōiōtū īt aēibiiō yōi īt aθā vərəziian ~ īt astī* 35.6² | 2. *~ tū ī ahurā mazdā mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varāscā yā vohū aθā tōi dadamahi aθā ... aθā ... aθā ... aθā ...* 39.4

yaθənā relative particle connecting a nominal complement, OAv., YAv. *yaθna*, *AirWb* 1249–1250, IIr **iat na*, cf. the interrogative particle Y 44.20 *ciθənā* < **cit +na*, see Y 35.2 no. 3 **yaθənā*, pp. 66–68

humatanām ... mahī aibī.jarətarō naēnaēstārō ~ vohunām mahī 35.2

yauu- subst., cf. → *āiiu-*

yauuaēji- adj., 'living forever', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1266, Pahl.tr. *hamāg zīwandag*, *EWAia* I 171f., 467f., compd. of *yauuaē-* < **iauaī* 'forever', originally dat.sg. of *āiiu-* 'life', and the root noun *jī-* 'living', KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 91f.; NARTEN, YH 260 fn. 31, 292f. fn. 23; see Y 38.2 no. 3 *yaošti-* 'vitalization', pp. 214–221

yauuaējiīō acc.pl.m.: *āt iθā yazamaidē ... spəntəng aməšəng ~ yauuaēsuiō* 39.3

yauuaēsū- adj., 'thriving forever', YH YAv., *AirWb* 1266f., Pahl.tr. *hamāg sūd*, *EWAia* I 171f. II 623f., compd. of *yauuaē-* < **iauaī* 'forever', orig. dat.sg. of *āiiu-* 'life', and the root noun *sū-* 'thriving', Ved. *śū* 'to swell, become strong', cf. NARTEN, YH 260 fn. 31, 292f. fn. 23; KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 101f.

yauuaēsuiō acc.pl.m.: *āt iθā yazamaidē ... spəntəng aməšəng yauuaējiīō ~ 39.3*

yaz verb, 1. mid. 'to worship acc.' 2. mid. 'to worship acc. by means of instr.' 3. mid. 'to worship acc. in the form of acc.', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1274–1279, Pahl.tr. *yaštan*, MP *yaštan*, PrIr **iaž*, Ved. *yaj*, *EWAia* II 392, IIr **iaj*, IE

**Hjaḡ*, LIV² 224f., see Y 37.1 no. 2 *yazamaidē* ‘we worship’, pp. 156–162, and Y 37.3 no. 2 *tēm yazamaidē* ‘we worship him’, pp. 177–186

yaza- *a-pres.*

yazamaide 1pl.ind.mid.: 1. *ahurəm mazdəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm ~ aməšā spəntā huxšaθrā huδāñhō ~ vīspəm ašaonō stīm ~ 35.1³ | 1. yeñhē hātəm (= Y 27.15 āat yesnē paitī ... yāñhəm cā tascā) tāscā ~ 35.10, 36.6, 37.5, 38.5, 39.5, 40.4, 41.7 | 1. yasnəm sūrəm haptanñhātīm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm ~ 41.8*

yazamaidē 1pl.ind.mid.: 1. *iθā āt ~ ahurəm mazdəm yē gəm cā ašəm cā dāt 37.1 | 1. ašəm at vahištəm ~ hīiat sraēštəm hīiat spəntəm aməšəm ... 37.4 | 1. vohucā manō ~ vohucā xšaθrəm vañhīm cā daēnəm vañhīm cā fsəratūm vañhīm cā ārmaitīm 37.5 | 1. iməm āat zəm gənābīš haθrā ~ yā nā baraitī yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāt hacā vairīiā tā ~ 38.1² | 1. vañhīm ābīš ašīm vañhīm išəm vañhīm āzūitīm vañhīm frasastīm vañhīm *parəndīm ~ 38.2 | 1. apō at ~ *maēkaiiantīscā *həbuuantīscā frauuazanñhō ahurānīš ahurahīiā *hauuapayñhā 38.3 | 1. iθā āt ~ gəuš uruūānəm cā tašānəm cā 39.1 | 1. ašāunəm āat urunō ~ 39.2 | 1. ahmākəñg āat urunō pasukanəm cā ... daitikanəm cā ... urunō ~ 39.2 | 1. āt iθā ~ vañhūšcā iθ vañhīscā iθ spəntəñg aməšəñg 39.3 | 2. tēm at yasnanəm pauraumatātā ~ 37.2 | 2. tēm ahmākāiš *azdābīscā uštānāišcā ~ 37.3 | 2. uitī yā vā vañhīš ahurō mazdā *nāməm dadāt vañhudā hīiat vā dadāt tāiš vā ~ tāiš friiənmahī tāiš nəmaxīiāmahī tāiš išūidīiāmahī 38.4 | 2. yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mənghācā ... yā vohū ... aθā θβā āiš ~ 39.4 | 3. tēm at āhūirīiā nāmənī mazdā varā *spəntō.təmā ~ ... tēm ašāunəm frauuāšīš narəm cā nāirinəm cā ~ 37.3²*

yazata- adj., ‘venerable’, YH YAv., AirWb 1279f., Pahl.tr. *yazišn*, MP *yazad*, NP *īzad*, Ved. *yajata-*, EWAia II 394, KELLENs 1976, 121–126; NARTEN, YH 287–290, formation with suffix *-atā-*, IE. *-eto-, which mostly has gerundive meaning, see AiGr. II.2 168f.

yazatəm acc.sg.m.: *humāim θβā ižīm ~ ašayñhācim dadəmaidē* 41.3

yā.tē adv., Y 35.7, cf. → *yānt-*

yāh- subst., ntr., ‘supplication’, ‘entreaty’, OAv.YAv., AirWb 1291, Pahl.tr. *kār*, Ved. cf. *yā* ‘to request, ask for’, EWAia II 408f., derivative with suffix *-ah-* from *yā* ‘to request, ask for’, Ir **iaH-ah-*, see Y 36.2 no. 5 *mazištāi yāñhəm* ‘for the greatest of the appeals’, pp. 128–131

yāñhəm gen.pl.: *uruūāzištō huūō nā yātāiā paitī.jamīiā ātarə mazdā ahurahīiā uruūāzištahīiā uruūāziīā ... nā mazištāi ~ paitī.jamīiā* 36.2

yānt- pronominal adj., ‘how much’, ‘as much as’, hapax, OAv. (YH), AirWb 1197, 1282f., Pahl.tr. *cand*, OP cf. *yātā*, PrIr **iānt-/iāt-*, Ved. *yāt-*, EWAia I 410, Ir **iaHant-/iaHat-*, IE **iáh₂ant-/iáh₂nt-*, KLINGENSCHMITT 1972, 108 n. 6; NARTEN, YH 119f., 166

yā.tē gen.sg.: *vahištəm ... tat at vā vərəziīāmahī fracā vātāiīāmahī ~ isāmaidē* 35.7

yāta- subst., ntr., ‘request’, hapax, OAv. (YH), AirWb 1284, Ved. cf. *yā* ‘to request, ask for’, EWAia II 408f., derivative with suffix *-ta-* from *yā* ‘to request, ask for’, see Y 36.2 no. 3 *yātāiīā* ‘for the sake of the request’, pp. 124–127

yātāiīā dat.sg.: *uruuāzištō huuō nā ~ paitī.jamiiā ātarə mazdā aburahiiā ... nā mazištāi yāñhəm paitī.jamiiā* 36.2

yāt adv., 'since', OAv., *AirWb* 163, 1282, 1285, 1205, Ved. *yāt*, *EWAia* II 410, originally abl.sg. of relative pronoun → *ya-*, NARTEN, *YH* 164–167, see *Y* 36.6 no. 4 *yāt* 'ever since', p. 151f.

*barəzištəm *barəzəmanəm auuat ~ huuarō auuācī* 36.6

zam- subst., f., 'earth', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1662–1665, MP *zamīg*, NP *zamī*, PrIr *zam-*, Ved. *kṣám-/kṣm-*, *gm-*, *jm-*, *EWAia* I 424f., Ir **jam-*, IE **d^hég^hom-/ *d^hég^hém-/ *d^hég^hm-* → *g^hm-*, KELLENS, *Noms-racines* 395–399

zəm acc.sg.: *iməm āat ~ gənābīš haθrā yazamaidē* 38.1

zā verb, 'to race ahead', + loc. 'to obtain', + loc. 'to win', OAv.YAv., *AirWb* 1795 s.v. *haz-*, 1688, Pahl.tr. *griftan*, *griftār budan*, glossed as *ō xwēš kardan*, PrIr **zā*, Ved. *hā*, *EWAia* II 813f., Ir **jā*, IE **g^heh₁*, *LIV*² 173, NARTEN, *YH* 295f., see *Y* 41.4 no. 1 *zaēmācā* 'may we obtain', p. 315

zaēmā root aor. (acrostatic)

1pl.opt.act.: *hanaēmācā ~ cā mazdā ahurā θβahmī rafənahī darəgāiīāu* 41.4

zī encl. particle, 'on account of', 'because', 'for', *AirWb* 1693–1697, Pahl.tr. *cē*, Ved. *hí*, *EWAia* II 814f., IE **g^hi*, KELLENS/PIRART, *TVA* II 182–186, 322

aburahiiā ~ at vā mazdā yasnəm cā vahməm cā vahištəm amōhmaidī 35.7

V. References

Book publications are quoted by abbreviation, articles by the year of publication.

- ABAEV, V. I. 1958–1989: *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*. 4 vols. Leningrad.
- AcIr = *Acta Iranica*
- Acta Orient. Hung.* = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Budapest.
- AcOr = *Acta Orientalia* ediderunt Societates Orientales Danica Norvegica Svecica. Leiden 1923–1948, from vol. 21 Copenhagen 1953ff.
- AiGr. = s. WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER)
- AION = *Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*. Nuova Serie. Napoli.
- AirWb. = s. BARTHOLOMAE
- AKM = *Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- American Heritage Dictionary* = MORRIS, W. (ed.) 1969: *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Boston.
- BAILEY, DKS = BAILEY, H. W. 1979: *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge.
- BAILEY, ZorProb. = BAILEY, H. W. 1943: *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*. Oxford (Ratanbai Katrak Lectures) [repr. with *Introduction* Oxford 1971].
- BAILEY, H. W. 1957: "Dvārā Matīnām." In: BSOAS 20, pp. 41–59.
- 1973: "Indo-Iranian Problems." In: PERALA RATNAM (ed.): *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture. Commemoration volume on the 69th birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira*. Vol. 2. New Delhi (Sata-pitaka series), pp. 15–19.
- BARTHOLOMAE, AirWb. = BARTHOLOMAE, CHR. 1904: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Straßburg [repr. Berlin/New York 1979].
- BARTHOLOMAE, ArFo = BARTHOLOMAE, CHR. 1882–1886: *Arische Forschungen*. 2 vols. Halle.
- BARTHOLOMAE, CHR. 1892: "Arica I." In: IF 1, pp. 178–194.
- 1895–1905: "Vorgeschichte der Iranischen Sprachen." In: GIP I.1, pp. 1–151.
- 1901: "Arica XIV." In: IF 12, pp. 92–150.
- BAUNACK = BAUNACK, TH. 1888: "Der Yasna Haptañhāiti." In: J. and TH. BAUNACK: *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griechischen und arischen Sprachen*. Vol. 1, part 2. Leipzig, pp. 303–463.
- BB = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen (Bezenbergers Beiträge)*. Göttingen 1887–1906.
- BEEKES, Grammar = BEEKES, R. S. P. 1988: *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*. Leiden/New York/København/Köln.
- BEEKES, R. S. P. 1981: "The neuter plural and the vocalization of the laryngeals in Avestan." In: IJ 23, pp. 275–287.
- BENVENISTE, *Infinitifs* = BENVENISTE, E. 1935: *Les infinitifs avestiques*. Paris.

- BENVENISTE, *Institutions* = BENVENISTE, E. 1969: *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Vol. I: *Economie, parenté, société*. Vol. II: *Pouvoir, droit, religion*. Paris.
- BENVENISTE, E. 1934: "Termes et noms achéménides en araméen." In: JA 225, pp. 177–193.
- 1937: "Expression i.-e. de l'éternité." In: BSL 38, pp. 103–112.
- 1964: "Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice." In: JA 252, pp. 45–58.
- BENVENISTE/RENOU, *Vṛtra* = BENVENISTE, E./L. RENOU 1934: *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna. Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*. Paris (Cahiers de la société asiatique 3).
- BÖHTLINGK/ROTH, *PW* = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. Hrsg. von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bearb. von O. BÖHTLINGK und R. ROTH. 7 vols. St. Petersburg 1855–1875 [repr. Delhi 1990].
- VAN DEN BOSCH, L. 1985: "The Āprī hymns of the R̥gveda and their interpretation." In: IJ 28, pp. 95–122 and 169–189.
- BOYCE, *HZ* = BOYCE, M. 1975–1991: *A History of Zoroastrianism*. Vol. I: *The Early Period* (1975, 21989). Vol. II: *Under the Achaemenians* (1982). Vol. III (with F. GRENET): *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (1991). Leiden/Köln (HdO 1.8.1.2.2).
- BOYCE, *Textual Sources* = BOYCE, M. 1984: *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism*. Manchester.
- BOYCE, *Zoroastrianism* = BOYCE, M. 1992: *Zoroastrianism. Its Antiquity and Constant Vigour*. Costa Mesa, California (Columbia lectures on Iranian studies 7).
- BOYCE, M. 1970a: "Zoroaster the Priest." In: BSOAS 33, pp. 23–38.
- 1970b: "Haoma, priest of the sacrifice". In: *Henning Mem. Vol.*, pp. 62–80.
- 1995: "The Absorption of the Fravašis into Zoroastrianism." In: *Acta Orient. Hung.* 48, pp. 25–36.
- BRERETON, *Ādityas* = BRERETON, J. 1981: *The R̥gvedic Ādityas*. New Haven (American Oriental Series 63).
- BSL = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Paris 1869/1971ff.
- BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. London 1940ff.
- BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. London 1917–1940.
- BTT = Berliner Turfantexte.
- CAMPANILE, *Cultura poetica* = CAMPANILE, E. 1977: *Ricerche di cultura poetica indo-europea*. Pisa.
- CANTERA, *Studien* = CANTERA, A. 2004: *Studien zur Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta*. Wiesbaden (Iranica 7).
- CANTERA, A. 2003: "Zu avestisch *aša-*." In: *Fs H.-P. Schmidt*, pp. 250–265.
- CANTERA, A./M. DE VAAN 2005: "The colophon of the Av. ms. Pt4 and Mf4." In: *StIr* 34, pp. 31–42.
- CARDONA, G. 1987: "On Indo-Iranian **tva-* 'the one'." In: C. WATKINS (ed.): *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill (1929–1985). Papers from the Fourth East Coast Indo-European Conference Cornell University, June 6–9, 1985*. Berlin/New York, pp. 1–6.
- CHANTRAINE, *DELG* = CHANTRAINE, P. 1968–1980: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. Paris.
- CHANTRAINE, P./O. MASSON 1954: "Sur quelques termes du vocabulaire religieux des Grecs: la valeur du mot *ἄγος* et de ses dérivés." In: *Fs Debrunner*, pp. 85–107.
- CHEUNG, *Etym. Dict.* = CHEUNG, J. 2007: *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*. Leiden/Boston.

- CHRISTENSEN, K5 = CHRISTENSEN, A. (ed.) 1938: *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici bibliothecae universitatis Hafniensis*. Vol. VIII: *The Avesta codex K5, containing the Yasna with its Pahlavi translation and commentary*. Second part. Copenhagen.
- CII = *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. London 1955ff.
- CIRCASSIA, Druuāspā = CIRCASSIA, S. 1999: *L'inno avestico a Druuāspā*. Ravenna [Tesi di laurea in filologia Iranica. Unpublished PhD dissertation].
- DARMESTER, ZA = DARMESTER, J. 1892–1893: *Le Zend-Avesta. Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique*. Vol. I: *La liturgie (Yasna et Vispéred)*. Vol. II: *La loi (Vendidad) – L'épopée (Yashts) – Le livre de prière (Khorda Avesta)*. Vol. III: *Origines de la littérature et de la religion zoroastriennes; appendice a la traduction de l'Avesta (Fragments des nasks perdus et index)*. Paris [repr. 1960].
- DARROW, W.R. 1988: "Keeping the Waters Dry. The Semiotics of Fire and Water in the Zoroastrian Yasna." In: JAAR 56, pp. 417–442.
- DELBRÜCK, Ai.Syntax = DELBRÜCK, B. 1888: *Altindische Syntax*. Halle an der Saale (Syntaktische Forschungen V) [repr. Darmstadt 1976].
- DHABHAR, Catalogue = DHABHAR, B.N. 1923: *Descriptive catalogue of all manuscripts in the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari*. Bombay.
- DHABHAR, Pahlavi Yasna = DHABHAR, B.N. 1949: *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad. Edited with an Introduction and a Glossary of Select Terms*. Bombay (Pahlavi Text Series 8).
- DHABHAR, Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk = DHABHAR, B.N. 1963: *Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*. Bombay.
- DHABHAR, Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk = DHABHAR, B.N. 1927: *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*. Bombay (Pahlavi Text Series 3).
- DONIGER O'FLAHERTY, Rig Veda = DONIGER O'FLAHERTY, W. 1981: *The Rig Veda. An Anthology*. London.
- DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Composés = DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, J. 1936: *Les composés de l'Avesta*. Liège.
- DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, J. 1970: "Reflections on yaoždā, with a Digression on xvaētva-daθa." In: J. PUHVEL (ed.): *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans. Studies in Indo-European Comparative Mythology*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, pp. 203–210 [= id. 1978: *Opera Minora*. Vol. III: *Iran–Grèce–Israël–etc.* Téhéran, pp. 170–177].
- DUNKEL, G. 1982: "Autour de ā rg-védique." In: IJ 24, pp. 89–102.
- 1988: "Indogermanisch *at, Vedisch *átha." In: HS 101, pp. 53–78.
- EMMERICK, SGS = EMMERICK, R.E. 1968: *Saka Grammatical Studies*. London (London Oriental Series 20).
- EMMERICK, R.E. 1966: "Some Reinterpretations in the Avesta." In: TPS 1966 (1967), pp. 1–23.
- 2000: "Polyandry in the Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa." In: C. CHOJNACKI/J.-U. HARTMANN/V.M. TSCHANNERL (eds.): *Vividharatna-karaṇḍaka. Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*. Swisttal-Odendorf (Indica et Tibetica 37), pp. 233–238.
- EIr = YARSHATER, E. (ed.) 1982ff.: *Encyclopædia Iranica*. London/Boston/New York.
- ERNOUT/MEILLET = ERNOUT, A./A. MEILLET 1959: *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*. 4th revised edition. Paris.
- EWAia see MAYRHOFFER, EWAia.
- Flexion und Wortbildung = RIX, H. (ed.) 1975: *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Regensburg, 9.–14. September 1973*. Wiesbaden.
- FORSSMAN, B. 1993: "Lateinisch ieunus und ieientare." In: Fs Rix, pp. 95–105.

- FRISK, GEW = FRISK, H. 1960–1979: *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg.
- FRITZ, M. 2000: "Die indoiranische Bezeichnung für 'heiraten'." In: B. FORSSMAN/R. PLATH (eds.): *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen*. Wiesbaden, pp. 111–118.
- Fs Boyce = *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*. 2 vols. Leiden 1985 (AcIr 24–25).
- Fs Debrunner = *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung. Festschrift Albert Debrunner gewidmet von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*. Bern 1954.
- Fs Gnoli = CERETI, C. G./M. MAGGI/E. PROVASI (eds.) 2003: *Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the occasion of his 65th birthday on 6th December 2002*. Wiesbaden (Beiträge zur Iranistik 24).
- Fs Humbach 1986 = SCHMITT, R./P. O. SKJÆRVØ (eds.) 1986: *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*. München (MSS, Beiheft 13, neue Folge).
- Fs Kuiper = HEESTERMAN, J. C./G. H. SCHOKKER/V. I. SUBRAMONIAM (eds.) 1968: *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper on his Sixtieth Birthday*. The Hague/Paris.
- Fs Lazard = DE FOUCHÉCOURT, C.-H./PH. GIGNOUX (eds.) 1989: *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*. Paris (StIr, Cahier 7).
- Fs Lommel = SCHLERATH, B. (ed.) 1960: *Festgabe für Herman Lommel zur Vollendung seines 75. Lebensjahres am 7. Juli 1960 von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern in Verehrung gewidmet*. Wiesbaden.
- Fs Mayrhofer 1986 = *Festgabe für Manfred Mayrhofer*. Wien 1986 [= *Die Sprache* 32].
- Fs Palmer = MORPURGO DAVIES, A./W. MEID (eds.) 1976: *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday on June 5, 1976*. Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 16).
- Fs Rix = MEISER, G. (ed.) 1993: *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 72).
- Fs H.-P. Schmidt = ADHAMI, S. (ed.) 2003: *Paitimāna. Essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt. Volumes I–II*. Costa Mesa, California.
- Fs Shaked = *Studies in honour of Shaul Shaked*. Jerusalem 2002 [= *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26].
- Fs Skalmowski = VAN TONGERLOO, A. (ed.) 2003: *Iranica Selecta. Studies in honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Turnhout (Silk Road Studies 8).
- Fs Sundermann = RECK, CHR./P. ZIEME (eds.) 1995: *Iran und Turfan. Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Wiesbaden (Iranica 2).
- Fs Thieme 1980 = BUDDRUS, G./A. WEZLER (eds.) 1980: *Festschrift Paul Thieme zur Vollendung des 75. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern und Freunden*. Reinbek [= StII 5/6].
- Fs Thieme 1996 = SCHMIDT, H.-P./A. WEZLER (eds.) 1996: *Veda-Vyākaraṇa-Vyākhyāna. Festschrift Paul Thieme zum 90. Geburtstag am 18. März 1995*. Reinbek [= StII 20].
- Fs Thordarson = HAUG, D./E. WELO (eds.) 2005: *Hapačahaptāitiš. Festschrift for Fridrik Thordarson on the occasion of his 77th birthday*. Oslo.

- Fs Vogel = India Antiqua. A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented by his Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel.* Leyden 1947.
- Fs Watkins = JASANOFF, J./H. C. MELCHERT/L. OLIVER (eds.) 1998: Mir Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins.* Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 92).
- Fs Weller = Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern.* Leipzig 1954.
- Fs Yarshater = Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater.* Leiden 1990 (AcIr 30).
- GAEDICKE, *Akkusativ* = GAEDICKE, C. 1880: *Der Akkusativ im Veda.* Breslau.
- GARCÍA-RAMÓN, J. L. 1998: "Indogermanisch *g^{uh}- '(wiederholt) schlagen', 'töten'." In: *Fs Watkins*, pp. 139–154.
- GELDNER, *Avesta* = GELDNER, K. F. 1886–1896: *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis.* 3 vols. Stuttgart.
- GELDNER, *Metrik* = GELDNER, K. F. 1877: *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta nebst Übersetzung ausgewählter Abschnitte.* Tübingen.
- GELDNER, *Prolegomena* = GELDNER, K. F. 1896: *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis.* Vol. I: *Yasna.* Stuttgart, pp. i–liv.
- GELDNER, *Rig-Veda* = GELDNER, K. F. 1951: *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt.* 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Oriental Series 33–35).
- GELDNER, *Studien zum Avesta* = GELDNER, K. F. 1882: *Studien zum Avesta.* Hft. I. Straßburg.
- GELDNER, K. F. 1885: "Miscellen aus dem Avesta." In: KZ 27, pp. 225–261.
- 1887: "Zur Erklärung [sic] des Avestâ." In: KZ 28, pp. 185–207 and 400–411.
- 1889: "Yasna 46." In: BB 14, pp. 1–29.
- 1896–1904: "Awestalitteratur." In: GIP II, pp. 1–53.
- GERSEVITCH, *Mithra* = GERSEVITCH, I. 1959: *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra. With an Introduction, Translation and Commentary.* Cambridge [repr. 1967].
- GIP = *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie.* Vol. I (1895–1901), vol. II (1896–1904). Ed. by W. GEIGER and E. KUHN. Straßburg.
- GIPPERT, J. 1986: "Zur Metrik der Gathas." In: *Die Sprache* 32, pp. 257–275.
- 2002: "The Avestan language and its problems." In: N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (ed.): *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples.* Oxford, pp. 165–187.
- GNOLI, *Zoroaster's Time* = GNOLI, GH. 1980: *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland. A Study on the Origins of Mazdeism and Related Problems.* Naples.
- GNOLI, GH. 1963a: "Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione." In: AION 13, pp. 163–193.
- 1963b: "Note su Yasht VIII, 23–25." In: *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 34, pp. 91–101.
- GONDA, *Religionen Indiens* = GONDA, J. 1960: *Die Religionen Indiens.* Vol. I: *Veda und älterer Hinduismus.* Stuttgart.
- GONDA, *Sel. Studies* = GONDA, J. 1975: *Selected Studies. Presented to the Author by the Staff of the Oriental Institute, Utrecht University, on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday.* 5 vols. Leiden.
- GONDA, J. 1947: "Skt. *utsava*- 'festival'." In: *Fs Vogel*, pp. 146–155 [= id., *Sel. Studies*, II, pp. 275–284].
- 1956: "Semantisches zu idg. *rēg*- 'König' und zur Wurzel *rēg*- ('sich aus)strecken'." In: KZ 73, pp. 151–167.

- GOTŌ, *I. Präsensklasse* = GOTŌ, T. 1987: *Die I. Präsensklasse im Vedischen. Untersuchungen der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia*. Wien (SÖAW 489).
- GOTŌ, T. 1991: "Materialien zu einer Liste altindischer Verbalformen: 4. *dogh/dugh/doh/duh*, 5. *sav/su*, 6. *'sav'/sū*, 7. *'sav'/sū*." In: *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 16, pp. 681–707.
- GRASSMANN = GRASSMANN, H. 1873: *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. Leipzig [repr. Wiesbaden 1976, 1996].
- Gs Kronasser = NEU, E. (ed.) 1982: *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Wiesbaden.
- HALE, *Āsura-* = HALE, W. E. 1986: *Āsura- in Early Vedic Religion*. Delhi.
- HARÐARSON, *Wurzelaor.* = HARÐARSON, J. A. 1993: *Studien zum urindogermanischen Wurzelaorist und dessen Vertretung im Indoiranischen und Griechischen*. Innsbruck.
- HAUDRY, *L'emploi des cas* = HAUDRY, J. 1977: *L'emploi des cas en védique. Introduction à l'étude des cas en indo-européen*. Lyon.
- HdO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Leiden/Köln.
- Henning Mem. Vol. = BOYCE, M./I. GERSHEVITCH (eds.) 1970: *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*. London.
- HERTEL, *Erklärung des Awesta* = HERTEL, J. 1929: *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas*. Leipzig (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 40.2).
- HERTEL, *Neujahrsopfer* = HERTEL, J. 1938: *Das indogermanische Neujahrsopfer im Veda*. Leipzig (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 90.1).
- HETTRICH, *Hypotaxe* = HETTRICH, H. 1988: *Untersuchungen zur Hypotaxe im Vedischen*. Berlin/New York.
- HINTZE, *Lohn* = HINTZE, A. 2000: *'Lohn' im Indoiranischen. Eine semantische Studie des Rigveda und Avesta*. Wiesbaden (Beiträge zur Iranistik 20).
- HINTZE, *Zamyād-Yašt* = HINTZE, A. 1994: *Der Zamyād-Yašt. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Wiesbaden (Beiträge zur Iranistik 15).
- HINTZE, A. 1989: "F1, E1 und drei neue Yašt-Handschriften." In: MSS 50, pp. 31–50.
- 1995: "The Rise of the Saviour in the Avesta." In: *Fs Sundermann*, pp. 77–97.
- 2002: "On the literary structure of the Older Avesta." In: BSOAS 65, pp. 31–51.
- 2003: "When the stars rise: the Avestan expression *aīšisrūθrima- aibigaiia-*." In: *Fs Gnoli*, pp. 143–155.
- 2004a: "On the Ritual Significance of the Yasna Haptanhāiti." In: M. STAUSBERG (ed.): *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. Leiden (Numen Book Series 102), pp. 291–316.
- 2004b: "Do ut des: Patterns of Exchange in Zoroastrianism." In: JRAS 14, pp. 27–45.
- 2005: "Indo-Iranian gar 'to raise aloft'." In: G. SCHWEIGER (ed.): *Indogermanica: Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien, dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*. Tübingen (Studien zur Iranistik und Indogermanistik 3), pp. 247–269.
- 2007: "The Fire Wāzišt and the Demon." In: M. MAGGI/W. SUNDERMANN/M. MACUCH (eds.): *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*. Wiesbaden (Iranica 13), pp. 119–134.
- forthcoming [2008]: "The Return of the Fravashis in the Avesta." In: D. DURKIN-MEISTERER/CHR. RECK/D. WEBER (eds.): *Literarische Stoffe der mittelpersischen Zeit. Vorträge eines Colloquiums zu Ehren W. Sundermanns*.

- forthcoming: "Prophetic and Priestly Authority in Zoroastrianism." In: J. CHOKSY (ed.): *Festschrift Dastur Dr Firoze Kotwal*. New York.
- HINZ, *Nebenüberlieferungen* = HINZ, W. 1975: *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. Wiesbaden (Göttinger Orientforschungen III.3).
- HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* = HOFFMANN, K. 1975–1992: *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden.
- HOFFMANN, *Injunktiv* = HOFFMANN, K. 1967: *Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchrone Funktionsuntersuchung*. Heidelberg (Indogermanische Bibliothek. Reihe 3, Untersuchungen).
- HOFFMANN, K. 1952 [1956]: "Zum prädikativen Adverb." In: MSS 1, pp. 42–53 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 339–349].
- 1955: "Ein grundsprachliches Possessivsuffix." In: MSS 6, pp. 35–40 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 378–383].
- 1956: "Zur Parenthese im Altpersischen." In: MSS 9, pp. 79–86 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 403–410].
- 1957: "Mārtāṇḍa und Gayōmart." In: MSS 11, pp. 85–103 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 422–438].
- 1958: "Altiranisch." In: HdO 1.4.1.1, pp. 1–19 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, pp. 58–76].
- 1967: "Avest. *upa.mraōdāśca* N 53." In: G. WIESSNER (ed.): *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*. Wiesbaden, pp. 177–188 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, pp. 195–206].
- 1968: "The Avesta fragment FrD.3." In: IJ 10, pp. 282–288 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, pp. 221–227].
- 1970a: "Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums." In: MSS 28, pp. 19–41 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 523–540].
- 1970b: "Zur avestischen Textkritik: Der Akk. Pl. mask. der *a*-Stämme." In: *Henning Mem.Vol.*, pp. 187–200 [= id., *Aufs.*, I, pp. 274–287].
- 1975: "Avest. *yecā*." In: *Mon. Nyberg*, I, pp. 387–395 [= id., *Aufs.*, II, pp. 646–654].
- 1984: "Zur Handschriftenüberlieferung der Gathas." In: MSS 43, pp. 123–131 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, pp. 803–811].
- 1986: "Avestisch *š*." In: *Fs Humbach 1986*, pp. 163–183 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, pp. 837–857].
- 1988: "Avestan Language." In: *Elr* III, pp. 47–62 [= id., *Aufs.*, III, pp. 864–879].
- HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN = HOFFMANN, K./B. FORSSMAN 1996: *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre*. Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 84) [repr. Innsbruck 2004 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 115)].
- HOFFMANN/NARTEN = HOFFMANN, K./J. NARTEN 1989: *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen*. Wiesbaden.
- HORN, *Neupers. Etymologie* = HORN, P. 1893: *Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie*. Straßburg [repr. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1988].
- HS = *Historische Sprachforschung*. Göttingen 1988ff. (vol. 101, continues KZ).
- HÜBSCHMANN, *Armen. Grammatik* = HÜBSCHMANN, H. 1897: *Armenische Grammatik*. Erster Teil: *Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig [4th reprint Hildesheim 1992].
- , *Pers. Studien* = HÜBSCHMANN, H. 1895: *Persische Studien*. Straßburg.
- HUMBACH, *Gathas* = HUMBACH, H. 1959: *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*. Vol. 1: *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Paraphrase*. Vol. 2: *Kommentar*. Heidelberg.
- HUMBACH, *Gāthās*² = HUMBACH, H. 1991: *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*. In collaboration with J. ELFENBEIN and P. O. SKJÆRVØ. Part I: *Introduction – Text and Translation*. Part II: *Commentary*. Heidelberg (Indogermanische Bibliothek. Reihe 1, Lehr- und Handbücher).
- HUMBACH, H. 1952 [1957]: "Gast und Gabe bei Zarathustra." In: MSS 2², pp. 5–34.

- 1956a: "Rituelle Termini technici in den awestischen Gathas (*daēnā*-, *urvan*-, *yāh*-, *yāna*-)." In: MSS 8, pp. 74–83.
- 1956b: "Gathisch-awestische Verbalformen (1. *iśasa*-, 2. *xšnəvīšā*, 3. *yasō*(.)*hyān*, 4. *yečā*)." In: MSS 9, pp. 66–78.
- 1956c: Review J. C. TAVADIA, *Indo-Iranian Studies II. The First Three Gathas of Zarathustra and the Four Principal Prayers in Avestan. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Santiniketan 1952. In: IF 62, pp. 302–305.
- 1957a: "Ahura Mazdā und die Daēvas." In: WZKSO 1, pp. 81–94.
- 1957b: "Zur altiranischen Mythologie." In: ZDMG 107, pp. 362–371.
- 1957–1958a: "Milchprodukte im zarathustrischen Ritual." In: IF 63, pp. 40–54.
- 1957–1958b: "Gathisch-awestische Nomina." In: IJ 63, pp. 209–219.
- 1958: "Gathisch und Jungawestisch." In: WZKSO 2, pp. 22–33.
- 1973: "Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Awesta." In: MSS 31, pp. 109–122.
- 1977: "Zarathustra und die Rinderschlachtung." In: B. BENZING/O. BÖCHER/G. MAYER (eds.): *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik. Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*. Vol. 2. Meisenheim am Glan, pp. 17–29.
- 1981: "Die aramäischen Nymphen von Xanthos." In: *Die Sprache* 27, pp. 30–32.
- 1982: "Der metaphorische Gebrauch von av. *gau*- 'Rind' und die Jātakas." In: MSS 41, pp. 103–118.
- HUMBACH/ELFENBEIN = HUMBACH, H./J. ELFENBEIN 1990: *Ērbedestān. An Avesta-Pahlavi Text*. München (MSS, Beiheft 15).
- HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA = HUMBACH, H./P. R. ICHAPORIA 1994: *The Heritage of Zarathustra. A new translation of his Gāthās*. Heidelberg.
- HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA, *Zamyād Yasht* = HUMBACH, H./P. R. ICHAPORIA 1998: *Zamyād Yasht. Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta. Text, Translation, Commentary*. Wiesbaden.
- IESB = *Indo-European Studies Bulletin*. University of California at Los Angeles.
- IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen*. Berlin/New York 1892ff.
- IJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Dordrecht/Boston/London 1957ff.
- InL = *Incontri Linguistici*. Pisa 1974ff.
- INSLER, *Gāthās* = INSLER, ST. 1975: *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*. Téhéran/Liège (AcIr 8).
- INSLER, ST. 1970: "On Yasna 30.1 and 31.7." In: KZ 84, pp. 187–201.
- 1996: "Avestan *vāz* and Vedic *vāh*." In: *Fs Thieme 1996*, pp. 169–186.
- IPNB I see MAYRHOFFER, IPNB.
- Irano-Judaica IV = SHAKED, SH./A. NETZER (eds.) 1999: *Irano-Judaica IV. Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages*. Jerusalem.
- JA = *Journal Asiatique*
- JAAR = *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*.
- JAMASPASA, *Aog.* = JAMASPASA, K. M. 1982: *Aogāmadaēcā. A Zoroastrian Liturgy*. Wien (SÖAW 397).
- JAMASPASA/HUMBACH, *Purs.* = JAMASPASA, K. M./H. HUMBACH 1971: *Pursišnīhā. A Zoroastrian Catechism*. 2 parts. Wiesbaden.
- JAMASPASA/NAWABI 1976 = *The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches*. Vols. 19–20: *Manuscript D90. Yasnā with its Pahlavi Translation*. 2 parts. Ed. by Dastur Dr. K. M. JAMASPASA and Prof. Y. M. NAWABI. Shiraz.
- JAMISON, *-āya-Formations* = JAMISON, ST. W. 1983: *Function and Form in the -āya-Formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*. Göttingen (KZ, Ergänzungsheft 31).
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

- DE JONG, A. 2002: "Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Zoroastrianism. A Ritual and its Interpretations." In: A. I. BAUMGARTEN (ed.): *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*. Leiden/Boston/Köln (Studies in the history of religions 93), pp. 127–148.
- JOSEPHSON, *Hōm Yašt* = JOSEPHSON, J. 1997: *The Pahlavi Translation Technique as Illustrated by Hōm Yašt*. Uppsala (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Iranica Upsaliensia 2).
- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JUSTI, *Handbuch* = JUSTI, F. 1864: *Handbuch der Zendsprache. Altbactrisches Woerterbuch, Grammatik, Chrestomathie*. Leipzig.
- KEITH, *Religion* = KEITH, A. B. 1925: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. 2 vols. Cambridge [repr. Delhi 1989].
- KELLENS, *Cosmogonie* = KELLENS, J. 1990: *La cosmogonie mazdéenne ancienne: Huttes cosmiques en Iran*. Liège (Les Civilisations Orientales, G 28).
- KELLENS, *Liste* = KELLENS, J. 1995: *Liste du verbe avestique. Avec un appendice sur l'orthographe des racines avestiques par Eric Pirart*. Wiesbaden.
- KELLENS, *Noms-racines* = KELLENS, J. 1974: *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta*. Wiesbaden.
- KELLENS, *Quatrième naissance* = KELLENS, J. 2006: *La quatrième naissance de Zarathustra*. Éditions du Seuil.
- KELLENS, *Verbe av.* = KELLENS, J. 1984: *Le verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden.
- KELLENS, *Zoroastre* = KELLENS, J. 1991: *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*. Paris (Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniques de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle 14) [English translation in KELLENS 2000, pp. 31–94].
- KELLENS, J. 1974: "'Prestige' et 'satisfaction' dans l'Avesta." In: MSS 32, pp. 87–101.
- 1976a: "Les présents avestiques *isa-* et *iša-*." In: KZ 90, pp. 87–103.
- 1976b: "Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides." In: StII 2, pp. 113–132.
- 1984: "*Mazdā Ahura* ou *Ahura Mazdā*?" In: MSS 43, pp. 133–136.
- 1986: "Comment faut-il éditer les formes vieil-avestiques de *paoiriia-*?" In: *Fs Humbach* 1986, pp. 217–226.
- 1987a: "Characters of ancient Mazdaism." In: *History and Anthropology* 3, pp. 239–262 [= KELLENS 2000, pp. 1–24].
- 1987b: "Le sandhi des finales devant °cā en vieil-avestique." In: MSS 48, pp. 167–174.
- 1988: "Yima et la mort". In: M. A. JAZAYERI/W. WINTER (eds.): *Languages and Cultures. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, pp. 329–334.
- 1989a: "Les Fravaši." In: *Anges et démons. Actes du colloque de Liège et de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–26 novembre 1987*. Louvain-la-Neuve, pp. 99–114.
- 1989b: "Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur." In: *Fs Lazard*, pp. 217–228.
- 1989c: "Huttes cosmiques en Iran." In: MSS 50, pp. 65–78.
- 1989d: "Le sens de vieil-avestique *hātqm*." In: MSS 50, pp. 51–64.
- 1996: "Commentaire sur les premiers chapitres du Yasna." In: JA 284, pp. 37–108.
- 1998: "Considérations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta." In: JA 286, pp. 451–519.
- 2000: *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*. Translated and edited by P. O. SKJÆRVØ. Costa Mesa.
- 2001: "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes." In: *Annuaire du Collège de France 1999–2000*. Résumé des cours et travaux, 100^e année, pp. 721–751.
- 2004: "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes." In: *Annuaire du Collège de France 2002–2003*. Résumé des cours et travaux, 103^e année, pp. 815–845.

- KELLENS/PIRART, TVA = KELLENS, J./E. V. PIRART 1988–1991: *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. Vol. I: *Introduction, texte et traduction* (1988). Vol. II: *Répertoires grammaticaux et lexicale* (1990). Vol. III: *Commentaire* (1991). Wiesbaden.
- KENT, *Old Persian* = KENT, R. G. 1953: *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. 2nd ed. New Haven, Connecticut.
- KLEIN, *Particle u* = KLEIN, J. S. 1978: *The Particle u in the Rigveda*. Göttingen (KZ, Ergänzungsheft 29).
- KLINGENSCHMITT, *FiO* = KLINGENSCHMITT, G. 1968: *Farhang-i ōīm. Edition und Kommentar*. Erlangen [Unpublished PhD dissertation].
- KLINGENSCHMITT, G. 1972: "Die mittelpersischen Pronomina 'yn und h'n, neupersisch *īn* und *ān*." In: MSS 30, pp. 93–109.
- KOTWAL/BOYD, *Yasna* = KOTWAL, F. M./J. W. BOYD 1991: *A Persian Offering. The Yasna: A Zoroastrian Liturgy*. Paris (StIr, Cahier 8).
- KOTWAL/HINTZE, forthcoming = KOTWAL, F. M./A. HINTZE: *The Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1. Facsimile Edition*. Wiesbaden (Iranica).
- KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992 = KOTWAL, F. M./PH. KREYENBROEK 1992: *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*. Vol. I: *Hērbedestān*. With contributions by J. R. RUSSELL. Paris (StIr, Cahier 10).
- KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003 = KOTWAL, F. M./PH. KREYENBROEK 2003: *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*. Vol. III: *Nērangestān, Fragard 2*. Paris (StIr, Cahier 30).
- KREYENBROEK, *Sraoša* = KREYENBROEK, PH. 1985: *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition*. Leiden (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 28).
- KUIPER, *Notes* = KUIPER, F. B. J. 1942: *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflection*. Amsterdam.
- KUIPER, F. B. J. 1961–1962: "Remarks on the Avestan Hymn to Mithra." In: IIJ 5, pp. 36–60.
- 1976a: "Ahura Mazdā 'Lord Wisdom'?" In: IIJ 18, pp. 25–42.
- 1976b: "Old East Iranian Dialects." In: IIJ 18, pp. 241–253.
- 1978: "Old East Iranian *nāmani 'names', etc." In: IIJ 20, pp. 83–94.
- 1987: Review of J. NARTEN, *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*, Wiesbaden 1986. In: *Kratylos* 32, pp. 61–67.
- KÜMMEL, *Perfekt* = KÜMMEL, M. J. 2000: *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen. Eine Untersuchung der Form und Funktion einer ererbten Kategorie des Verbums und ihrer Weiterentwicklung in den altindoiranischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden.
- KÜMMEL, *Stativ* = KÜMMEL, M. J. 1996: *Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen*. Göttingen (HS, Ergänzungsheft 39).
- KZ = *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*. 100 vols. Berlin, later Göttingen 1852–1987.
- LANKARANY, *Daēnā* = LANKARANY, F.-TH. 1985: *Daēnā im Avesta. Eine semantische Untersuchung*. Reinbek (StII, Monographie 10).
- LAUSBERG, *Literary Rhetoric* = LAUSBERG, H. 1998: *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation of Literary Study*. London/Boston/Köln [Engl. translation of *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*. München 1960].
- LEHMANN, W. P. 1988: "'The Divine Twins' or 'The Twins ... Divine?'" In: M. A. JAZAYERY/W. WINTER (eds.): *Languages and Cultures. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*. Berlin/New York (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 36), pp. 375–380.
- LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR, *Lat.Gr.* = *Lateinische Grammatik*. Vol. I: *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Ed. by M. LEUMANN. 5th ed. (1926–1928) [repr. 1977].

- Vol. II: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik, mit dem allgemeinen Teil der lateinischen Grammatik*. Ed. by J.B. HOFMANN, revised by A. SZANTYR (1965). München (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II. 2,1 und 2).
- LIV² = KÜMMEL, M./H. RIX 2001: *LIV: Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd enlarged and revised edition. Wiesbaden.
- LOMMEL, *Gathas* = LOMMEL, H. 1971: *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*. Ed. by B. SCHLE-RATH. Basel/Stuttgart.
- LOMMEL, *Religion* = LOMMEL, H. 1930: *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt*. Tübingen.
- LOMMEL, *Yāšt's* = LOMMEL, H. 1927: *Die Yāšt's des Awesta. Übersetzt und eingeleitet. Mit Namenliste und Sachverzeichnis*. Göttingen/Leipzig (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte 15.6).
- LOMMEL, H. 1935: "Gāthā's des Zarathustra. Yasna 47–51. Mit Benützung der Entwürfe von F.C. Andreas übersetzt und erklärt." In: NGWG 1.4, pp. 121–169.
- 1955: "Awestische und vedische Einzelstudien." In: ZDMG 105, pp. 151–174.
- LUBOTSKY, A. 1981: "On the reduced grade -a- in Sanskrit. Review of T. Burrow, *The problem of schwa in Sanskrit*." In: *Lingua* 55, pp. 75–95.
- 1994: "Avestan *θβōrəštār-* and the Indo-European root *√turk-*." In: *Die Sprache* 36, pp. 94–102.
- LÜDERS, *Varuṇa* = LÜDERS, H. 1951–1959: *Varuṇa*. Vol. I: *Varuṇa und die Wasser* (1951). Vol. II: *Varuṇa und das Rta* (1959). Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von L. ALS-DORF. Göttingen.
- MACKENZIE, *Pahl.Dict.* = MacKenzie, D.N. 1971: *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London [repr. with corrections 1986].
- MACUCH, M. 2003: "On the Treatment of Animals in Zoroastrian Law." In: *Fs Skalmowski*, pp. 167–190.
- MAY, *Creatio ex nihilo* = MAY, G. 1994: *Creatio ex nihilo. The Doctrine of 'Creation out of Nothing' in Early Christian Thought*. Translated by A.S. WORRALL. Edinburgh [Engl. translation of *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*. Berlin/New York 1978].
- MAYRHOFFER, *EWaia* = MAYRHOFFER, M. 1992–2001: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg.
- MAYRHOFFER, *IPNB* = MAYRHOFFER, M. 1979: *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*. Vol. I, fasc. 1–3: *Die Altiranischen Namen*. Wien.
- MAYRHOFFER, *KEWA* = MAYRHOFFER, M. 1956–1980: *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*. 4 vols. Heidelberg.
- MAYRHOFFER, *OnP* = MAYRHOFFER, M. 1973: *Onomastica Persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*. Wien (SÖAW 286).
- MAYRHOFFER, *ZNda* = MAYRHOFFER, M. 1977: *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. Wien (SÖAW 308,5).
- MAYRHOFFER, M. 1982: "Altpersisch *taumani* 'Kräfte'." In: *IJ* 24, pp. 201–204.
- MILLS, *J2* = MILLS, L.H. 1893: *The ancient manuscript of the Yasna with its Pahlavi translation, generally quoted as J2*. Oxford.
- Mon.Nyberg* = *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*. 4 vols. Téhéran/Liège 1975 (AcIr 4–7).
- MONNA, *Gathas* = MONNA, M.C. 1978: *The Gathas of Zarathustra. A Reconstruction of the Text*. Amsterdam.
- MSL = *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Vols. 1–23. Paris 1868–1935.

MSS = *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*

NARTEN, *AmSp.* = NARTEN, J. 1982: *Die Amaša Spāntas im Avesta*. Wiesbaden.

NARTEN, *Kl.Schr.* = NARTEN, J. 1995: *Kleine Schriften*. Ed. by M. ALBINO and M. FRITZ. Vol. I. Wiesbaden.

NARTEN, *Sigm.Aor.* = NARTEN, J. 1964: *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*. Wiesbaden.

NARTEN, *YH* = NARTEN, J. 1986: *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*. Wiesbaden.

NARTEN, J. 1968: "Zum 'proterodynamischen' Wurzelpräsens." In: *Fs Kuiper*, pp. 9–19 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 97–107].

– 1969: "Jungavestisch *gaēsāuš*, *bāzāuš* und die Genitive auf *-aoš* und *-āuš*." In: *KZ* 83, pp. 230–242 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 144–156].

– 1971: "Vedisch *aghnyā-* und die Wasser." In: P. W. PESTMAN (ed.): *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica: Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch Oriental Society Held in Leiden on the Occasion of its 50th Anniversary, 8th–9th May 1970*. Leiden, pp. 120–134 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 175–189].

– 1972: "*jāgat-* im Ṛgveda." In: *India maior. Congratulatory Volume Presented to J. Gonda*. Leiden, pp. 161–166 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 190–195].

– 1975: "Avestisch *ciš*." In: *Mon.Nyberg*, II, pp. 81–92 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 208–219].

– 1985a: "Avestisch *frauuāši-*." In: *IJ* 28, pp. 35–48 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 283–296].

– 1985b: "Zur Konstruktion von avestisch *yaz*." In: MSS 45 [= *Festgabe für Karl Hoffmann*, vol. 2], pp. 171–181 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 297–304].

– 1986: "Zum Vokalismus der Gatha-Überlieferung." In: *Fs Humbach 1986*, pp. 257–278 [= id., *Kl.Schr.*, pp. 316–330].

– 1996: "Zarathustra und die Gottheiten des Alten Iran: Überlegungen zur Ahura-Theorie." In: MSS 56, pp. 61–89.

NGWG = *Nachrichten von der (Königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*. Berlin.

NYBERG, *Religionen* = NYBERG, H.S. 1938: *Die Religionen des Alten Irans*. Leipzig (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 43) [repr. Osnabrück 1966].

OBERLIES, TH. 1989: "König Somas Kriegszug — Eine Untersuchung zur Kompositionstechnik der Pavamāna-Hymnen." In: *StII* 15, pp. 71–96.

OERTEL, H. 1937: "Zum altindischen Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus *satyasya satyam* 'das Wahre des Wahren' = 'die Quintessenz des Wahren'." In: *SBAW* 3, pp. 1–48.

OETTINGER, N. 1986: "Avestisch *hāiriši-* 'Frau' syn- und diachron." In: *IF* 91, pp. 116–128.

OLDENBERG, *Noten* = OLDENBERG, H. 1909–1912: *Ṛgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*. 2 vols. Berlin (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. XI, Nr. 5.; Bd. XIII, Nr. 3).

PALMER, *Latin Language* = PALMER, L.R. 1954: *The Latin Language*. London [repr. Bristol 1990, 1995].

PANAINO, *Tištrya* = PANAINO, A. 1990: *Tištrya*. Part I: *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius*. Roma (Serie Orientale Roma LXVIII,1).

PANAINO, A. 1986: "An Aspect of Sacrifice in the Avesta." In: *East and West* 36, pp. 271–274.

– 1998: "A daēvic speech (Yt. 19.57, 60, 63)." In: N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (ed.): *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*. Part I: *Old and Middle Iranian Studies*. Wiesbaden (Beiträge zur Iranistik 17), pp. 71–78.

– 2004a: "Aspects of the 'interiorization' of the sacrifice in the Zoroastrian tradition." In: M. STAUSBERG (ed.): *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. Leiden/Boston, pp. 233–252.

- 2004b: "Per una definizione possibile del 'monoteismo' mazdaico. Note e considerazioni comparative con i grandi monoteismi giudaico-cristiani." In: M. PERANI (ed.): *L'interculturalità dell' ebraismo. Atti del convegno internazionale Bertinoro-Ravenna, 26-28 maggio 2003*. Ravenna, pp. 15-34.
- PIRART, E. V. 1986: "Le traitement des laryngales intervocaliques en vieil-avestique métrique." In: MSS 47, pp. 159-191.
- 1988: "L'instrumental des neutres vieil-avestiques en -an-." In: StIr 17, pp. 141-146.
- PIRAS, *Hādōxt Nask* = PIRAS, A. 2000: *Hādōxt Nask 2. Il racconto zoroastriano della sorte dell' anima*. Edizione critica del testo avestico e pahlavi, traduzione e commento. Roma (Serie Orientale Roma 88).
- PISANI, V. 1976: "Sanskrit *aghnyā-*, griech. ἀφνέτος." In: *Fs Palmer*, pp. 283-284.
- POKORNY, *IEW* = POKORNY, J. 1959-1969: *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Bern/München.
- PW see BÖHTLINGK/ROTH.
- REICHELT, *Aw. Elementarbuch* = REICHELT, H. 1909: *Awestisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg [repr. 1978].
- RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. Paris 1880ff.
- SAMADI, *Chwaresm. Verbum* = SAMADI, M. 1986 *Das chwaresmische Verbum*. Wiesbaden.
- SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der (Königlichen) Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse*. München.
- SCARLATA, *Wurzelkomposita* = SCARLATA, S. 1999: *Die Wurzelkomposita im Rg-Veda*. Wiesbaden.
- SCHAEFER, *Intensivum* = SCHAEFER, CHR. 1994: *Das Intensivum im Vedischen*. Göttingen (HS, Ergänzungsheft 37).
- SCHINDLER, *Wurzelnomen* = SCHINDLER, J. 1972: *Das Wurzelnomen im Arischen und Griechischen*. Würzburg [Unpubl. PhD thesis].
- SCHINDLER, J. 1975: "Zum Ablaut der neutralen s-Stämme des Indogermanischen." In: *Flexion und Wortbildung*, pp. 259-267.
- 1982: "Zum Nom. Sg. m. der nt-Partizipien im Jungavestischen." In: *Gs Kronasser*, pp. 186-209.
- SCHLERATH, B. 1960: "Opfergaben." In: *Fs Lommel*, pp. 307-312 [= pp. 129-134].
- 1980: "Indo-iranisch *var 'wählen'." In: *Fs Thieme 1980*, pp. 199-208.
- 1986: "Die Problematik von Metaphern in den Gathas." In: StII 11/12, pp. 193-201.
- 1987: "Aša. I. Avestan aša." In: Elr II, pp. 694-696.
- SCHMIDT, H.-P. 1963: "aghnya-." In: KZ 78, pp. 1-46, 305-306.
- 1980: "Ancient Iranian Animal Classification." In: *Fs Thieme 1980*, pp. 209-244.
- SCHMITT, *Dichterspr.* = SCHMITT, R. 1967: *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- SCHMITT (ed.), *Idg. Dichtersprache* = SCHMITT, R. (ed.) 1968: *Indogermanische Dichtersprache*. Darmstadt (Wege der Forschung 165).
- SCHWARTZ, M. 1985: "Scatology and Eschatology in Zoroaster: On the Paronomasia of Yasna 48.10 and on Indo-European *h₂eg* 'to make taboo' and the reciprocity verbs **k^wsen(w)* and **megh*." In: *Fs Boyce*, II, pp. 473-496.
- 1990: "Hospitalities and Formalities (√WAZ, √BRAZ)." In: *Fs Yarshater*, pp. 200-207.
- 2006: "The Gathas and other Old Avestan poetry." In: G.-J. PINAULT/D. PETIT (eds.): *La langue poétique indo-européenne. Colloque de travail de la Société des Études Indo-Européennes (Indogermanische Gesellschaft/Society for Indo-European Studies)*

- Paris, 22–24 octobre 2003. Leuven/Paris (Collection linguistique publiée par la société de linguistique de Paris XCI), pp. 459–498.
- SCHWYZER, Gr.Gr. = SCHWYZER, E. 1950–1953: *Griechische Grammatik. Auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik*. Vol. 1: *Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion* (1953) [repr. 1977]. Vol. 2: *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* (1950). Ed. by A. DEBRUNNER [repr. 1975]. Vol. 3: *Register* (1953). Ed. by D. J. GEORGACAS [repr. 1968]. München.
- SCHWYZER, Kl.Schr. = SCHWYZER, E. 1983: *Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. von R. SCHMITT. Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 45).
- SCHWYZER, E. 1929a: "Die sog. mißbräuchlichen Instrumentale im Awesta." In: IF 47, pp. 214–271.
- 1929b: "Zum Srōš-Yašt (y. 57)." In: ZII 7, pp. 97–113.
- SHAKED, *Dualism* = SHAKED, SH. 1994: *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*. London (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 16).
- SHAKED, SH. 1971: "The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi texts and their relation to eschatology." In: *Acta Orientalia* 33, pp. 59–107.
- 2001: "The Moral Responsibility of Animals. Some Zoroastrian and Jewish Views on the Relation of Humans and Animals." In: M. STAUSBERG (ed.): *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin/New York (Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, Ergänzungsband 31), pp. 578–595.
- 2003: "'Mind' and 'power' in the Gāthās: Ritual notions or cosmic entities?" In: *Fs Gnoli*, pp. 391–398.
- SIHLER, *Comparative Grammar* = SIHLER, A. L. 1995: *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York/Oxford.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Bactrian Documents* = SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 2000: *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan I: Legal and Economic Documents*. Oxford (Studies in the Khalili Collection vol. III and CII II.VI.I).
- SIMS-WILLIAMS C2 = SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 1985: *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. Berlin (BTT XII).
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 1983: "Chotano-Sogdica." In: BSOAS 46, pp. 40–51.
- 1994: "The triple system of deixis in Sogdian." In: TPS 92, pp. 41–53.
- 1996: "On the Historic Present and Injunctive in Sogdian and Choresmian." In: MSS 56, pp. 173–189.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N./J. CRIBB 1995–1996: "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great." In: *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, pp. 75–142.
- SKJÆRVØ, P. O. 1997: "The State of Old Avestan Scholarship." In: JAOS 117, pp. 103–114.
- 1999: "Avestan Quotations in Old Persian? Literary Sources of the Old Persian Inscriptions." In: SH. SHAKED/A. NETZER (eds.): *Irano-Judaica IV*. Jerusalem, pp. 1–64.
- 2002a: "Praise and blame in the Avesta: the poet-sacrificer and his duties." In: *Fs Shaked*, pp. 29–67.
- 2002b: "Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti, Heaven and Earth, in the Old Avesta." In: JAOS 122, pp. 399–410.
- 2003a: "Truth and Deception in Ancient Iran." In: C. G. CERETI/F. VAJIFDAR (eds.): *Ātaš-e Dorun. The Fire Within. Jamshid Soroush Soroushian Commemorative Volume II. Assembled Papers on History and Culture of Ancient Iran in Commemoration of the life of Jamshid Soroush Soroushian 1914–1999*. Coordinated by MEHRBORZIN SOROUSHIAN. [Bloomington]: 1st Books Library, pp. 383–434.
- 2003b: "Zarathustra: First Poet-Sacrificer." In: *Fs H.-P. Schmidt*, pp. 157–194.

- 2003–2004: “The Antiquity of Old Avestan.” In: *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 3, pp. 15–41.
- 2005: “Poetic and Cosmic Weaving in Ancient Iran. Reflections on Yasna 34.” In: *Fs Thordarson*, pp. 267–279.
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- SÖDERBLOM, N. 1899: “Les Fravashis.” In: RHR 39, pp. 229–260, 373–418.
- SPIEGEL, *Commentar* = VON SPIEGEL, F. 1864–1868: *Commentar über das Avesta. Die heiligen Schriften der Parsen*. Vol. I: *Der Vendîdâd*. Vol. II: *Vispered, Yaçna und Khorda-Avesta*. Mit Wortregister: Altbaktrisch, Huzvâresh, Pârsi, Neupersisch und Armenisch. Wien.
- StII = *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*. Reinbek 1975ff.
- StIr = *Studia Iranica*. Paris/Leiden 1972ff.
- STEINGASS = STEINGASS, F. 1892: *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. Beirut [repr. 1970, 1975].
- STRUNK, K. 1967: “Wortstruktur und Pronomen im Altpersischen.” In: KZ 81, pp. 265–275.
- 1975: “Horizontale Verkettung und vertikale Flexion in indogermanischen Sprachen.” In: *Flexion und Wortbildung*, pp. 296–324.
- 1994 [1995]: “Lateinisch *sacerdos* und damit verglichene Komposita.” In: *Glotta* 72, pp. 222–234.
- SZEMERÉNYI, *Scripta Minora* = SZEMERÉNYI, O. 1987–1991: *Scripta Minora. Selected Essays in Indo-European, Greek and Latin*. Edited by P. CONSIDINE and J.T. HOOKER. 4 vols. Innsbruck.
- SZEMERÉNYI, O. 1979: “Vedic *šam*, *šam yoh*, and *šam(ca) yoš(ca)*.” In: InL 4, pp. 159–184 [= id., *Scripta Minora*, IV, pp. 1725–1750].
- TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. Cleveland etc. 1869ff.
- THIEME, *Kl.Schr.* = THIEME, P. 1971: *Kleine Schriften*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden.
- THIEME, *Plusquamperfektum* = THIEME, P. 1929: *Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda*. Göttingen.
- THIEME, P. 1954: “Die Wurzel *vat*.” In: *Fs Weller*, pp. 656–666 [repr. in: SCHMITT (ed.), *Idg. Dichtersprache*, pp. 187–203 and THIEME, *Kl.Schr.*, I, pp. 139–149].
- 1960: “The ‘Aryan’ gods of the Mitanni Treaties.” In: JAOS 80, pp. 301–317.
- 1975: “Wurzel *yat* im Veda und Avesta. (Nebst einem Exkurs über eine altiranische (altindische?) Analogie zum zweiten Abenteuer Sindbads, des Seefahrers).” In: *Mon. Nyberg*, III, pp. 325–354.
- TICHY, *Idg. Grundwissen* = TICHY, E. 2000: *Indogermanistisches Grundwissen für Studierende sprachwissenschaftlicher Disziplinen*. Bremen.
- TICHY, *Nomina agentis* = TICHY, E. 1995: *Die Nomina agentis auf -tar- im Vedischen*. Heidelberg.
- TICHY, E. 1980: “Zum Kasusgebrauch bei Kausativa transitiver Verben.” In: *Die Sprache* 26, pp. 1–18.
- 1985: “Jungavestisch *sūnīš*.” In: KZ 98, pp. 150–161.
- 1986: “Vedisch *ṛtāvan-* und avestisch *ašauuan-*.” In: *Die Sprache* 32, pp. 91–105.
- TOPOROV, V.N. 1981: “Die Ursprünge der indoeuropäischen Poetik.” In: *Poetica* 13, pp. 189–251.
- TPS = *Transactions of the Philological Society*. Oxford 1854ff.
- TREMBLAY, X. 2005: “Iranian Historical Linguistics in the Twentieth Century.” In: IESB 11, pp. 1–23.

- TUCKER, E. 1998: "Old Iranian superlatives in *-išta-*." In: *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 3, pp. 105–124.
- DE VAAN, Av. Vowels = DE VAAN, M. 2003: *The Avestan Vowels*. Amsterdam/New York (Leiden Studies in Indo-European 12).
- VARENNE, *Cosmogonies Védiques* = VARENNE, J. 1982: *Cosmogonies Védiques*. Paris/Milano.
- WAAG, *Nirangistân* = WAAG, A. 1941: *Nirangistân. Der Awestatraktat über die rituellen Vorschriften*. Leipzig (Iranische Forschungen 2).
- WACKERNAGEL, *Kl.Schr.* = WACKERNAGEL, J. 1953: *Kleine Schriften*. 2 vols. Göttingen.
- WACKERNAGEL(/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* = WACKERNAGEL J. (and A. DEBRUNNER) 1930–1957: *Altindische Grammatik*. Vol. I: *Lautlehre* (21957). Vol. II.1: *Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominalkomposition* (21957). Vol. II.2: *Die Nominalsuffixe* (1954). Vol. III: *Nominalflexion, Zahlwort, Pronomen* (1930). Göttingen.
- WATKINS, *Dragon* = WATKINS, C. 1995: *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York/Oxford.
- WATKINS, *Selected Writings* = WATKINS, C. 1994: *Selected Writings*. Ed. by L. OLIVER. 2 vols. Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 80).
- WATKINS, C. 1973: "Etyma Enniana (1. *uegeō*, 2. *ceu*)." In: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77, pp. 195–206 [= id., *Selected Writings*, II, pp. 487–498].
- WEST, E. W. 1896–1904: "Pahlavi Literature." In: *GIP* II, pp. 75–129.
- WESTERGAARD, *Zendavesta* = WESTERGAARD, N. L. 1852–1854: *Zendavesta or The Religious Books of the Zoroastrians*. Vol. I: *The Zend Texts*. Copenhagen.
- WILLIAMS, *Pahlavi Rivāyat* = WILLIAMS, A. V. 1990: *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. Part I: *Transliteration, Transcription and Glossary*. Part II: *Translation, Commentary and Pahlavi Text*. Copenhagen (Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 60).
- WOLFF, *Avesta* = WOLFF, F. 1910: *Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*. Übersetzt auf der Grundlage von CHR. BARTHOLOMAES 'Altiranischem Wörterbuch'. Straßburg [repr. Berlin 1960].
- WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Wien 1887ff.
- WZKSO = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*. Leiden/Köln/Wien 1957ff.
- ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig/Wiesbaden 1847ff.
- ZII = *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*. Hefte 1–10. Leipzig 1922–1935/1936.

VI. Abbreviations

A	<i>Āfrīnagān</i>	inj.	injunctive
abbr.	abbreviation, abbreviates	in marg.	<i>in margine</i>
abl.	ablative	instr.	instrumental
acc.	accusative	interrog.	interrogative
ad loc.	to or at the place (Lat. <i>ad locum</i>)	ipf.	imperfect
aor.	aorist	ipt.	imperative
Av.	Avestan	IrBd.	<i>Iranian (or Greater)</i> <i>Bundahišn</i>
AV	<i>Atharvaveda</i>	KāthGS	<i>Kāthaka Gṛhya Sūtra</i>
AZ	<i>Āfrīn i Zartušt</i>	Kli	KLINGENSCHMITT, <i>FiO</i>
BCE	before the Christian Era	Khotan.	Khotanese
CE	Christian Era	Lat.	Latin
cf.	compare (Lat. <i>confer</i>)	lit.	literally
Chor.	Choresmian	loc.	locative
Chr.Sogd.	Christian Sogdian	m.	masculine
comp.	comparative	Med.	Median
compd.	compound	mid.	middle
conj.	conjunction	ms.	manuscript
corr.	correction, corrected	mss.	manuscripts
dat.	dative	n.	note
del.	deletion, deleted	N	<i>Nērangestān</i>
dem.	demonstrative	no.	number
denom.	denominative	ntr.	neuter
desid.	desiderative	nom.	nominative
dial.	dialect, dialectal	OAv.	Old Avestan
disjunct.	disjunctive	OE	Old English
encl.	enclitic	OHG	Old High German
Ep.	Epic	OP	Old Persian
f.	feminine	opt.	optative
fn.	footnote	orig.	originally
gen.	genitive	Pahl.tr.	Pahlavi translation
Goth.	Gothic	part.	participle
Grk.	Greek	Parth.	Parthian
H	<i>Hādōxt Nask</i>	perf.	perfect
Herb.	<i>Hērbedestān</i>	pl.	plural
IE	Indo-European	pluperf.	pluperfect
IIr.	Indo-Iranian	ppp.	perfect passive participle
ind.	indicative	postpos.	postposition
indecl.	indeclinable	prep.	preposition
indef.	indefinite	pres.	present

PrIr.	Proto Iranian	subj.	subjunctive
pr.m.	<i>prima manu</i>	superl.	superlative
pron.	pronoun, pronominal	superscr.	written above the line (Lat. <i>superscriptum</i>)
Purs.	<i>Pursišnihā</i>	S.V.	Sanskrit Version
P.V.	Pahlavi Version	them.	thematic
redupl.	reduplicated	transcr.	transcribed
ref.	references	TS	<i>Taittirīya Saṁhitā</i>
rep.	repetition	Vd	<i>Vīdēvdād</i>
repr.	reprint	viz.	that is, namely (Lat. <i>videlicet</i>)
RV	<i>R̥gveda</i>	Vr	<i>Visperad</i>
ŚB	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>	Vyt	<i>Vīštāsp Yašt</i>
sec.m.	<i>secunda manu</i>	Y	<i>Yasna</i>
sg.	singular	YAv.	Young Avestan
Skt.	Sanskrit	Yt	<i>Yašt</i>
SrB	<i>Srōš Bāj</i>		

VII. Indices

1. Index of Words

Avestan

a-paiti.busti 62 fn. 39
a-paouruuīm 62 fn. 39
a-srutəm 62 fn. 39
ad 'to say, speak' *ādā* 91
**ad-* 72
**ad-āiš* 107
afsman- 3, 192
ahmat̥ hīiat̥ aibī 77f., 289
ahurā mazdā 69–71
aiβidraoxδa- 51
aiβisrūθrima- aibigaiia- 201
aiβitō 84
ainiḍat̥ca 62f.
aka- 115
**amarəxšiiant-* 213
an-arəθe 62
anarəta- 54
aniiadacā 63
aniiāθā 62
arəduš- 116, 126
arəto.kərəiθina- 55, 57
arštāt- 100 fn. 113
astar- 100
astuuat̥.ərəta- 54, 55
auuaoirišta- 126
auuācī 153
axti- 113–118
axtiia- 115
ašā- 116 fn. 19
aša- 53–58
aša.nāsa- 57 with fn. 21
ašacinah- 296

ašastū- 192 with fn. 86
at̥ 71f.
āat̥ 71
ādā- 284
āδū.frāḍana- 83
āiiu- 216
ārmaiti- 205, 211
ātrə.vazana- 137 with fn. 76
āt̥ 272f.
āt̥ iθā 155f.
āzūiti- 224f.
**bā *at̥* 80f.
bairišta- 138
bāzujata- 126
bərəj- (root noun) 50–53
bərəjaiia- 51–53
bərəjiiqstəma- 51
bərəxδa- 51
būiri- 285f.
būmī- 149, 163, 167 with fn. 30, 196f.
būna- 65
ciθənā 68
daēnā- 58–60
daēum.jan- 135, 141
dar 'to hold': *dōrəšt* 215, 216
darš 'to dare': *dārəšt* 216
dašina- 105
daxš 'to teach' 105
dā + paiti + ā 217
dā 'to create' 162–167
dāhišta- 139
dārəšt 215
dārišta- 139
dājīt̥.ərəta- 54, 55

dōrašt 216
fərašti- 205, 211, 214f., 221f.
fradaxštar- 105
frauuaši- 171–177
frauuašiš 181
fraždāta- 214f., 221
friiṇmahī 80, 242–244
frīnəmna- 244 fn. 96
fsəratū- 192–195
fšarəma- 193f.
gauu- 74f.
gənā- 196–209
haxəman- 293, 302f., 323
hāiḍišta- 138
hātqm hudāstəmə 93, 311
hqm.varəti- 173 with fn. 40
hudāstəma- 93, 311
huš.hqm.sāsta- 199 fn. 10
huuṇmahī° 80, 243
huxšaṇrōtəma- 78, 93
idā 62
iiadacā 61–63
iḍā āt 155f.
īžā- 205, 211–214
jījišā- 94
kas-nā 68
kərašuuā 285
mairišta- 138
man ‘to think’: *mainiiāi* 98
mazdā- 284f.
mazdāscā ahurānhō 189f.
mązdā- 215
mān ... dā 178 with fn. 53
mīžda- 315
-na 67
naēcīš 64
naēdā 64
naēḍa 64
naēnaēstārō 63–66
naēstar- 63
nam ‘to attribute’ 138 fn. 78
nam ‘to bend’ 138 fn. 78
namra- ‘bending’ 138 fn. 78
namra- ‘venerating’ 138 fn. 78
nar- 199
nasišta- 139

nāirikā- 199
nqmaiia- ‘to make bend’ 138 fn. 78
nqmiiqsu- 138 fn. 78
nqmišta- 127f., 137f. with fn. 78
nimarəzišta- 139
nōit 64
paiti.asti- 99, 102–105
paiti.astō.vacah- 99, 104
paiti.dārišta- 139
paitiiāstar- 99–105
paitiiāsti- 99, 101, 217
paitiīesti- 99, 104f.
paitištā- 99f.
paouruiia-: paouruiiē 112f.
raocah- 149f.
rud ‘to hinder’ 139 with fn. 82
sarəm 321–323
sax^wārē 138 fn. 80, 178
sāx^wānī 178f.
spəṇjayri- 141
spəṇta-aməša- 188
spəṇtəm aməšəm 188–190, 273f.
spəṇtəṅg aməšəṅg 273f.
sruṭ.gaoša- 55
staota- 108
stāuuišta- 138
taṭ.āḍādū 83–85
ṭβa- ‘the one’ 109
ṭβaṭ 109
upa.raoḍaiia- 139 with fn. 82
uruuaēsa- 315
uruuāzi- 124, 130 with fn. 56, 195
uruuāzišta- 138
utā 304
uxḍa- 97
uzəma- 134f.
uzəmōhī 134f. fn. 67
vac ‘to speak’: *frauuaocāmā* 95–97
vacah- 97
vacahiia- 103 fn. 121
vadəmnō 179 fn. 54
vaēdaiia- 148f., 307–309
vaṇhudā- 241f.
varəna- 174
vazārət- 55, 137 with fn. 77
vaziiamnābiiō 179 fn. 55

vāza- 137 fn. 77
vāzišta- 133–144
vāzišta- asti- 142–144
vīra- 202 fn. 13
vīrō.vqṭṭa- 202 with fn. 13
vīspa.vohu- 188 with fn. 79
xrapaiti 287–289
xšaθrām ... dā 78–80
xšaθrō.cinah- 296
xʰaētāt- 280–282
xʰaētāwš xʰaētātā 280–282
xʰaētu- 280–282
xʰara- 117, 126
xʰatō 84
yaošti- 205, 211, 214–221
yaθnā 66
yaθna 66
yāh- 128–131
yār- ‘year’: gen.sg. *yā* 125 fn. 41
yāskərət- 124
yāta- 124–127
yāt 151f.
yazamaidē 156–162
yūidišta- 139
zam- 167 fn. 30, 197
zā 315

Old Persian

a-nu-u-v: t-u-m-n-i-š-i-y 180
aspacanah- 296
hauv 120
**rtacanah-* 296
uvaipašiya- 280

Middle Persian

ʾwrtwhšt 54
ʾyn 68
hʾn 68
āgrift 126
arduš 126
bāzā-zanišn 126
dard 117

ōirišt 125
sālārīh 192, 194
šarm 193
wārānīg 230
xīndagīh 117
xwar 126
yād rawišn 126
yōjdahrgar 215

New Persian

daxš ‘business’ 105
šarm 193

Bactrian

-βα 81
 ειμιδβα βαγε 81
 ταδο 84 fn. 87

* Sogdian

ʾδwk (Buddhist) 83
 (ʾ)ywpʾzk /ēwpāzē/ 136
 -β(y) 81
 yty (Chr.) 240

Choresmian

bwʾzk /bəwāzək/ 136
 fʾ 81
 krb- ‘to moan, mumble’ 287

Khotanese

buljāte 51
šsar- ‘to exhilarate’ 194

Ossetic

äfsárm, äfsärmi 194
(i)wāzæg 136

Vedic

áka- 'pain' 115
ánna- 53
anyátra 62
anyáthā 62
arámati- 203
ásvínī 206
ásta- 53
asthanvánt- 56
ātmayājín- 259
áyu- 216
ilā- 204, 211
idā- 211
irā- 211
íyant- 62
ukthá- 97
úpa-vājayati 137
ūhiṣe 135
ūhé 135
ūhyáte 135
ṛtá- 53
oh 'to proclaim, praise' 134
kíyant- 62
kíyāti 62
¹*kṛp, kṛpate* 'to lament, implore, long for' 287
²*kṛp, kṛp* 'to take shape' 287
kṣatráṁ dhā 78
gná- 203ff.
ghṛtápadī 212
ghṛtáhasta- 212
jarimán- 154
jīgīṣa- 94
jīgīṣā 94
jīgīṣú- 94
tátas 84
tva- 'one, several' 109
tváṣtar- 202ff.
dakṣ 'to be capable, able' 105

dákṣiṇa- 105
dhiṣánā- 205
dhí- 58
néd 64
ninditár- 63
prath 'to spread out': *paprathe* 151
prati-ṣthí- 100
prathimán- 154
pravara- 173
psáras 194
púrandhi- 204
bháratī- 204
bhúri- 285
bráhmaṇ- 50
budhná- 65
býh- 50
býhaspáti- 50
maná- 98
mahimán- 154
medhá- 284
mīlhá- 315
yatna- 66
yát 151
yātár- 129
vad 'to speak' 179
vadh 'to lead (the bride into marriage)' 179
vasudhátama- 242
vah 'to drive, convey': *ūhyáte* 135
vāja- 136
vājayánt- 136
vāhiṣṭha- 133
viśvabhṛáj- 151
viśvāvasu- 188
vīrá- 202
vṛdh 'to grow': *vāvṛdhánta* 198
vedáya- 148
śās 'to control, instruct' 178
śīrṣaktī- 'headache' (AV) 115
śrútkarṇa- 55
sárasvatī- 204
sthátar-, sthātár- 100
svayám 281
sītā- 53
hótrā- 205

Indo-Iranian

- **ćakuar-* 138, 178
 **ćāsyan-* 178
 **čit na* 68
 **d^haiH-anā-* 58
 **d^hraug^h-* 51
 **hay* 120
 **iat na* 68
 **nai* 63
 **naid-tar-* 63
 **namas-ia-* 138
 **sāy* 120
 **suai-* 280

Greek

- ἄγιος 114, 161
 ἄγος 113
 ἄζομαι 161
 βρωτός 193
 δαΐτύς 193
 ἐδητύς 193
 Εὐθάγης (Euboian) 114
 ζημία 129
 ὄ-ve 67
 o-ne /(h)one/ (Cyprian) 67

- πε]ράγεις (Boiotian) 114
 to-ne /tō(i)ne/ (Cyprian) 67

Latin

- iūs* 215
lucri facere 216
micāre 228
sacerdōs 217 fn. 38
uegeō 136

Indo-European

- **b^herg^h* 51, 52
 **(h₁)eug^(w)^h* 134
 **H₁aĝ* 'to venerate' 114, 161
 **iah₂nt-* 152
 **m_{ns}-d^heh₁-* 285
 **m_{ns}-d^hh₁-éh₂-* 285
 **seHd^h* 138
 **steh₂u-* 138
 **med^h* 179 fn. 55
 **ueĝ* 136, 144
 **uoĝ-éie-* 136
 **uoĝo-* 136

2. Index of Passages

Avesta	Vr 2.7 202	Y 34.16 160
A 1.8 99	Vr 3.4 199	Y 35.2 64
A 3.4 50	Vr 9.6 108	Y 35.3 264, 278
A 3.6 81	Vr 15.2 102, 104	Y 35.4 265
A 3.11 126	Vr 19.2 154	Y 35.5 308
FiO 3f (= Kli 155) 99	Y 1.6 201	Y 35.6 265
FiO 4f (= Kli 254–255) 125	Y 2.6 201	Y 35.7 265
FiO 7 (= Kli 336) 100	Y 9.20 316	Y 36.2 121
G 4.1 201	Y 12.4 67	Y 36.5 309
G 4.2 201	Y 13.1 200	Y 37.1 155, 277
G 4.9 199	Y 13.2 144	Y 37.4 274, 282
G 4.10 201	Y 15.1 50, 180	Y 37.5 282
G 4.13 201	Y 17.11 135, 141	Y 39.1 156, 261, 266, 269
G 5.6 50	Y 20.1 281	Y 39.2 269
N 1 (= Herb.1) 51	Y 21.4 98	Y 39.3 156
N 15 (= Herb.17) 116	Y 24.5 175	Y 39.4 278, 279, 308
N 22 (= 4) 99, 104	Y 26.4 174	Y 40.1 121, 288, 318
N 42 (= 24) 125	Y 26.7 186	Y 40.1–2 318
N 83 62	Y 28.2 293, 304	Y 40.2 217, 321
Purs. 5 199	Y 28.4 178	Y 40.3–4 302
Purs. 48 50	Y 28.6 92	Y 41.1 148, 308
Vd 2.5 115	Y 28.7 224	Y 41.4 316
Vd 2.11 59	Y 28.9 224	Y 41.5 317
Vd 4.26 117	Y 28.11 267	Y 41.5–6 319
Vd 5.21 220	Y 29.4 138, 178	Y 41.6 287
Vd 6.43 116	Y 29.5 258	Y 43.4 59, 140
Vd 7.28 220	Y 29.6 84	Y 43.5 71, 117
Vd 7.29 217	Y 29.7 186, 224	Y 43.8 297
Vd 7.52 52	Y 29.9 224	Y 43.9 98
Vd 7.57 116	Y 30.2 130	Y 43.10 316
Vd 7.59 116	Y 31.5 178	Y 43.13 215
Vd 10.19 221	Y 31.9 260	Y 43.14 297
Vd 13.28 225	Y 31.10 260	Y 43.16 174
Vd 15.9 193	Y 31.15 79, 297	Y 44.1 291
Vd 15.10 194	Y 31.19 99	Y 44.3 109, 164
Vd 19.29 126	Y 31.21 142, 286	Y 44.7 254
Vd 19.40 135, 141	Y 31.22 142	Y 44.8 178
Vd 19.42 139	Y 32.2 72	Y 44.9 217, 218
Vd 20.5 242 with fn. 92	Y 32.12 117	Y 45.1 178, 263
Vd 22.7 104	Y 33.1 76	Y 45.3 92
Vd 22.13 99, 104	Y 33.11 284	Y 46.1 303
Vr 1.5 202	Y 33.12 284	Y 46.2 297
	Y 33.14 169	Y 46.7 291
	Y 34.5 60	Y 46.9 134

- Y 46.10 197
 Y 46.14 131
 Y 46.18 219
 Y 48.1 75
 Y 48.4 59
 Y 48.10 296, 322
 Y 49.2 216
 Y 49.5 214, 224
 Y 49.8 138
 Y 49.9 130, 131
 Y 49.10 214
 Y 50.4 223
 Y 50.8 212
 Y 50.11 318
 Y 51.12 137
 Y 51.22c 184
 Y 53.5 60, 178, 290
 Y 53.6 55
 Y 53.9 55
 Y 57.33 63
 Y 62.10 50
 Y 65.2 217
 Y 65.11 52
 Y 68.10–11 233
 Y 68.12 92
 Y 68.21 211
 Y 70.4 143, 213
 Y 71.11 159
 Yt 1.29 213
 Yt 5.21 183
 Yt 5.86 296
 Yt 6.3 100
 Yt 6.4 184
 Yt 6.5 160
 Yt 10.50 115
 Yt 10.90 52
 Yt 10.92 50
 Yt 10.126 139
 Yt 11.2 139
 Yt 11.3 129
 Yt 12.8 139
 Yt 13.17 139
 Yt 13.50 57
 Yt 13.89 66
 Yt 13.90 97
 Yt 13.145 172
 Yt 13.149 174
 Yt 13.152 67, 93
 Yt 13.153 163
 Yt 13.154 296
 Yt 15.1: 99, 103, 104
 Yt 16.1 139
 Yt 17.22 252
 Yt 19.10 165
 Yt 19.94 212
 Vedic
 AV 13.2.25 273
 RV 1.6.1 272
 RV 1.6.2 272
 RV 1.6.3 273
 RV 1.6.4 273
 RV 1.22.9–12 204
 RV 1.26.6 157
 RV 1.27.7 263
 RV 1.31.15 158
 RV 1.57.4 305
 RV 1.57.5 305
 RV 1.64.5 249
 RV 1.105.5 121
 RV 1.113.1 150
 RV 1.164.50 157
 RV 1.165.14 285 fn. 5
 RV 2.31.4 204
 RV 3.22.2 263
 RV 3.35.9 264
 RV 4.36.2 148, 307
 RV 4.54.2 79
 RV 5.43.6 203
 RV 5.46.7 206
 RV 5.46.8 206
 RV 5.63.3 232
 RV 5.63.5 249
 RV 5.73.10 96
 RV 5.83.6 232
 RV 6.11.2 158
 RV 6.12.1 154
 RV 6.16.2 183
 RV 6.67.1 311
 RV 6.68.4 198
 RV 7.34.20 202
 RV 7.66.11 272
 RV 7.67.5 254
 RV 8.31.1 157
 RV 8.46.22 182
 RV 8.54.1 255
 RV 8.89.4 249
 RV 8.92.32 305
 RV 10.14.3 263
 RV 10.30.10 249
 RV 10.30.11 249
 RV 10.70.8 212
 RV 10.80.7 181
 RV 10.81.5 158
 RV 10.90.16 157
 RV 10.129.7 166
 RV 10.170.3 150
 ŚB 1.6.1.5 185
 Scholiast on Pāṇini 1.3.72
 158
 Old Persian
 DSk 3–4 304
 Greek
 Hom. Iliad 1.20–21 161
 Latin
 Ennius, Annals 487 137
 Plt. Trin. 360 68

3. Index of Names and Subjects

- accent
 substantivizing accent retraction 53
 action nouns
 in *-i-* from roots in *-ā-* 100
 adverbial function
 of ablatives 109
 of dem.pron. case forms 76, 107
 of loc. 113
 adverbs
 in *-tas*, Ved. and Av. 84
 affected and effected objects 242
 agriculture 83
 Ahura Mazdā
 creator 162
 father of the spiritual creations 208
 Amesha Spentas 274, 282
 good mind corresponding to the
 cow 11
 analogical remodelling 61–63
 bərəx-ša- ← **b^hrg^h-t^ha-* 51
 animal sacrifice 183, 204, 225, 258
 aor.inj.
 denotes a resultative statement 97
 in non-prohibitive clauses 96
āprī-hymns 204, 212
Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā 203
 artificial nonce forms
 Av. *fərašti-* 221
 Av. *yaošti-* 218
 aspect 240
 aor. and pres. stems 276
 assimilation
 -dn- > *-nn-* > *-n-* 65
 Avesta transmission
 confusion of *i* and *ī* 59
 liturgical recitation of the OAv.
 texts 80
 liturgical slow chanting 84
 orthoepic revision 85
 perseveration 104
 vulgate pronunciation 70–72, 225,
 300
 vulgate text 107
 Avestan quotations in Old Persian 304
 Bartholomae's law 51
 chaos 165
 chariot race 315
 Cinwad Bridge 198 fn. 5, 199, 221
 cow (*gauu-*)
 to be cared for 169
 meaning in the Avesta 74
creatio ex nihilo 166
daēnā-
 shaped by its owner's choices 59f.,
 180 fn. 56, 221
 dem.pron.
 adverbial function 76, 107
 different deictic functions 120
 huuō 119
 ima-, near-deictic function 96
 OAv. nom.sg.m. *hō* of neutral deixis
 replaced by *huuō* 122
 education 199 fn. 10
 emphasizing particles
 Av. *aṭ* 80
 Av. *bā* 80
 IE **-ne* 67
 fire
 judicial function 140
fraunuaši-
 etymology 173
 meaning
 assist Ahura Mazdā in creating the
 material world 176
 collectively of past, present, future
 truthful persons 175
 denotes a human faculty 174
 of Amesha Spentas and Ahura
 Mazdā 175
 of bellicose supernatural beings 175
 their role in creation 176
 Zarathustra's provides the model
 for all human beings 175
 owned only by truthful persons 174
 uses in YAv. 171, 174
ganā-/gnā-
 associated with earth and water 205
 daughters of Ahura Mazdā (Av.) 207

- lists of four (Av. & Ved.) 205
- wives of the gods (Ved.) 204, 206
- haplology 281
 - aməratāt-* < *aməratatāt-* 100
 - arštāt-* < **arštātāt-* 100 fn. 113
- hendiadys 97
- i*-stems
 - acc.pl. 59
- identity of "I" 92
- idiomatic expression of modesty
 - ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī* 78
- Indo-Iranian technical terms
 - royal consecration 79
 - *uktha-* 97
- joy 195
- Judgement
 - Individual 180, 198 fn. 5, 199
 - Universal, role of fire 140
- list of four 'ladies' 211
- literary genre
 - differences between *Gathas* and YH
 - aṭ* in second position preferred in YH 71
 - cow in YH not presented as subject to violence 75
- litotic qualifier formula 65
- mazdā-*
 - as an appellative noun 'wisdom' 284f.
- metaplasm 300
- mission 303
- nominal stems
 - a*-stems, dat.sg. OAv. *-āiiā* instead of *-āi.ā* 124
 - i*-stems, acc.pl. in *-īš* < **-iNs* 172
 - iman-* in Ved. 154
 - n*-stems
 - nom./acc.pl.ntr. 180
 - nom./acc.pl.ntr. in *-ēni* < **-ani* 180
- OAv. loan-words in YAv.
 - yazamaidē* 159
- OAv. language
 - dialectal features
 - dat.sg. **-āīa* (also in Ved.), but YAv. only *-āi* 124
- orthoepic revision
 - dem.pron. *hō* replaced by *huuō* in OAv. 122
 - general characterization 85
 - *nait* generalized at the expense of **nai* 64
 - staotāiš* 107
 - taṭ.ēāādū* 83
- Pahlavi translation
 - Y 35.2 64
 - Y 36.3 136, 140
- parenthesis
 - ahmaṭ hīiaṭ aibī* 78
- particles
 - Av. *āṭ* in sentence initial position 272
 - Ved. *āt* in sentence initial position 272
- personification of abstract notions 211
- phonology
 - interchange between *fs-* and *fš-* *afsmān-/afšmān-* 2
 - fšaratū-* instead of **fšratū-* 192
- polyandry 206 fn. 19
- postpositions
 - aibī* + abl. 110
- postuvular nasal 80, 242f., 248f.
- quotation
 - of Y 38.1 in Vr 3.4 and G 4.9 199
 - of Y 38.2 *ašīm ... parəndīm* in Y 13.1 201
- reciprocal relationship
 - between animals and human beings 266
 - between human beings 297f.
 - between worshippers and Amesha Spentas 282
 - three types in YH 305
- resultative statement denoted by aor. inj. 72
- ritual
 - downwards/upwards movement 93, 143
 - patron 143
 - offerings 284
 - rebirth of the sun (Ved.) 272
 - Yasna*, Ahura Mazda's fire and creative force present in ritual fire 133

sandhi

adāiš instead of *aṭ āiš* 76

aḍāṭ instead of *aṭ āṭ* 76

ād instead of *āṭ* 84

staotāiš for **staotā āiš** 107

yaḍāiš for *yaḍā āiš* 107

Sasanian Archetype

letter *q̇* 80, 242f., 249

semantic pair

yaošti- and *fərašti-* 222

sound change

-dn- > *-nn-* > *-n-* 65

-ē < **-aṭ* present in OAv. 113

-e < **-iā* in YAv. 112

-iiē < **-iiā* absent from OAv. 112

psilosis 114

psilosis in Grk. ἄγος 114

u-Umlaut of *-a-* 135 fn. 67

Spenta Mainyu

represents Ahura Mazdā's creative force 141

spiritual (*mēnōg*) and material (*gētīg*) life 73

stylistic figures'

abstract noun + gen.

yasnanəm pauruuatātā 168

alliteration 14

anaphora 16, 186, 281, 301

anticipation 152

Argument + Counter Argument 63, 65

Argument + Negated Counter

Argument 65, 66

Behaghel's Law 10

chiasmus 4, 16, 65, 152, 186, 234

climax 300, 301, 322

emphatic repetition 122

epistrophe 186

homoioteleuton 13

intensification 123

inverse genitive 168

invocation 'you there!' 121, 292f.

litotes 65

metaphor

chariot race as an image for the ritual 315

eyes of invigoration 212

ši 'to dwell' 169

the Mazdā-worshipper is

'invigoration and libation' for the deity 214

waters as milch cows 14, 15, 249

parallelism, lexical and stylistic 186

parallel statement 65

paronomasia 234, 280, 298

plural of personal names 211

ring-composition 9, 11, 17, 19, 21, 188, 211, 321

superl. adj. + subst. + gen.pl.

sraēštəm ... kəhrpām

kəhrpəm 150

superl. + gen.pl.

*barəzištəm *barəzəmanəm* 154

symploce 186

variation 123

zeugma 285

substantivizing accent retraction 53

suffixes

-i- attached to roots in *-ā* 100

sun

born daily as a result of the ritual (Ved.) 272

superlative

deverbative 138

switching

between 'I' and 'we' 290

between 1sg. and 1pl. verb forms 254

synaloipha 107

syntax

acc.: affected and effected objects 242 with fn. 91

double acc. with *vac* (Ved.) 181

adjectives as substantives 286

genitive of sphere or rubric 216

mān ... dā with acc. 178

of Y 40.1 288

of Y 40.1–2 = 41.5–6 322

subordinating conjunction in non-initial position 152

technical terms

legal

Av. *arəduš-* 117

Av. *x^aara-* 117

- terms for bodily injury 125
- Av. *yātəm gaēθanəm* ‘share of possessions’ 127
- ritual
 - Av. *maga-* ‘gift-exchange’ 130
 - Irr. **ukthá-* 97
 - Ved. *vedáya-* 148
 - Av. *xšnu* ‘to gratify’ 130
- social
 - Irr. **vad^h* ‘to lead (the bride home)’ 179 fn. 54 and 55
- transfer of power 77
 - Av. *xšaθrəm dā* 78
 - Av. *huxšaθrō.təma-* 78
 - Ved. *rājasúya-* 79
 - royal consecration 79
 - Av. *xšaθrəm hū* 79
- univerbation 63
- verbal construction
 - of nouns in *-ā* or *-iiā* (*manā-*) 99
- Yasna Haptañhāiti
 - alluded to in YAv. Yt 13.152 93
 - composition 6
 - literary genre 2, 5, 273
 - ritual highpoint in Y 36 133
- YAv. allusions to YH
 - Yt 13.152 93
- YAv. forms in the Older Avesta 290
 - ē < *-ai* 112
- Zarathustra 92
 - his *fraunnaši-* provides the model for that of all human beings 175
 - “I” in the *Gathas* 92
 - “I” in the YH 92, 255
- Zoroastrian law
 - offences
 - arəduš-* 117
 - bad reasons for not studying 116 with fn. 19
 - terms for bodily injury 125